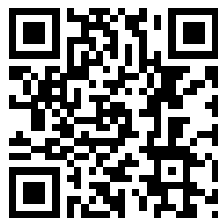


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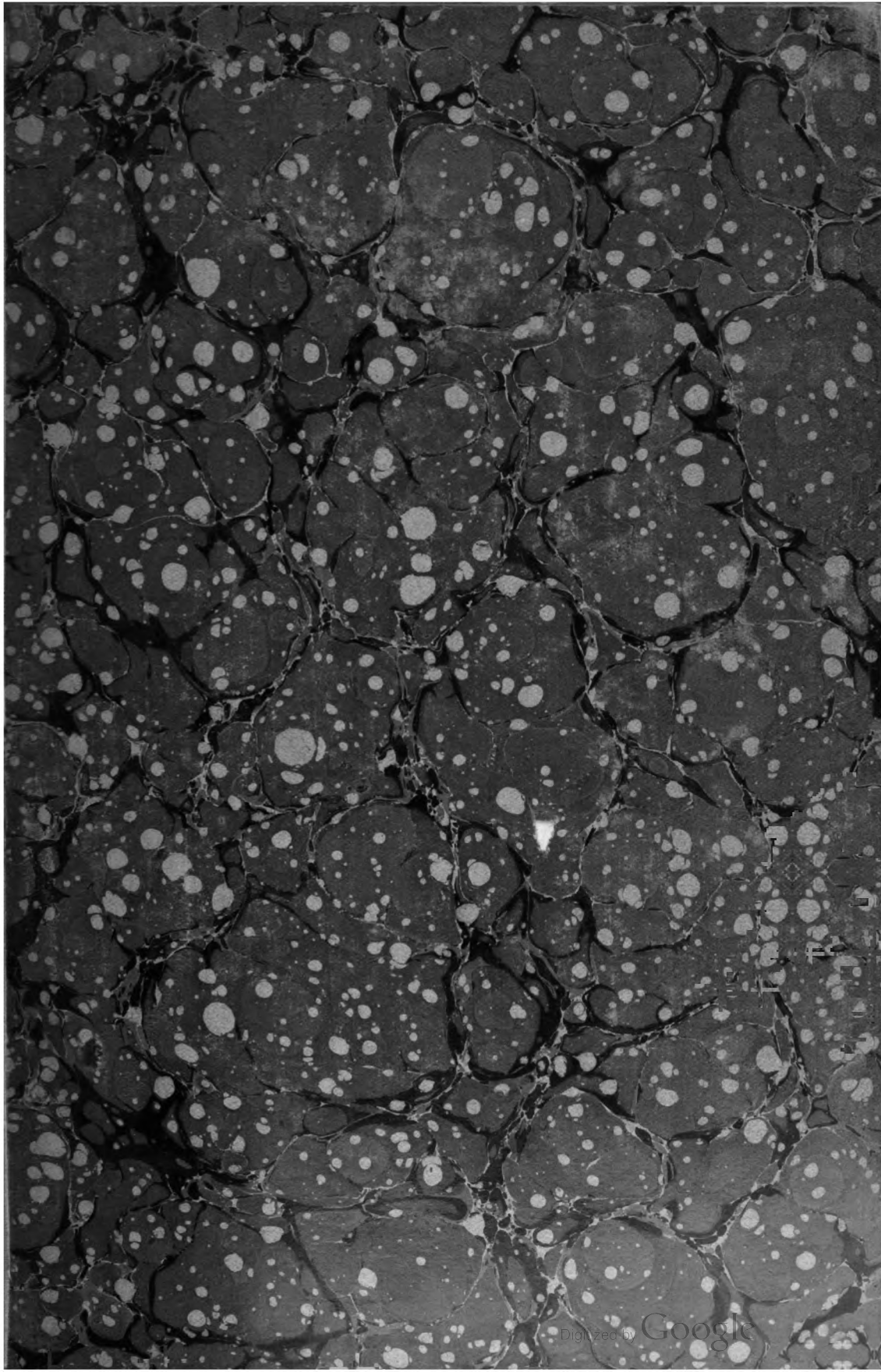






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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

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# Modern Philology

VOL. IX

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No. 1

## THE PROLOGUE OF CHAUCER'S "LYF OF SEINT CECILE"

The most interesting critical problems relating to Chaucer's *Lyf of St. Cecile* (The Second Nun's Tale) are those which have to do with the Prologue rather than with the tale itself. It is in the Prologue that one finds the well-known reference to the "sone of Eue," which establishes the fact that this legend was composed before the *Canterbury Tales* had been planned. In this Prologue, moreover, occurs a passage imitated from the *Paradiso*, which is commonly regarded as the earliest appearance in Chaucer's works of the influence of Dante. The obvious importance of this Prologue, therefore, to the whole question of Chaucerian chronology—at present the storm center of Chaucerian criticism—makes it worth while to undertake a somewhat detailed examination of its structure.

The Prologue begins with four introductory stanzas which are so ill suited to the present setting of the Tale that we may be sure they were not revised by Chaucer when he decided to incorporate the *Lyf of St. Cecile* in the Canterbury collection. Indeed, the scribe of Camb. MS. Dd. 4. 24 was so far impressed with this lack of adjustment that he wrote at the head of this Tale: "Heere endeth the Tale of the Nonnes Preest & bigynneth the Secund Nonnes Tale of Seynt Cecile *with-out* a Prologe." These first four stanzas, it is clear, with their reference to the evils which attend Idleness, form an introduction appropriate to a *writer*, not to a narrator.

The suggestion for these remarks upon idleness, it has been somewhat hastily assumed, Chaucer took from Jehan de Vignay, who prefixed to his translation of the *Legenda Aurea* a Prologue on the

dangers of "oysivete," made up for the most part of quotations from the Fathers.<sup>1</sup> The likelihood that Chaucer was influenced by the prologue of this French translator is, however, seriously lessened by the fact, which the researches of Kölbing<sup>2</sup> and Holt-hausen<sup>3</sup> have established, that Chaucer's story of St. Cecile, so far from following De Vignay's version in preference to the Latin text, is not directly based on the *Legenda Aurea* at all. In this case, one may ask, what chance is there that Chaucer had De Vignay's Prologue before him when he wrote the lines on Idleness with which he prefaces his story? Moreover, De Vignay's Prologue, even if Chaucer had consulted it, could have given him nothing more than the suggestion that he compose another of his own. For in contents the two Prologues resemble each other only in the single respect that both deal with the evils of Idleness. Instead of the patristic authorities marshaled in the French prologue, Chaucer gives us quotations from Jean de Meun and Dionysius Cato. The reference to Idleness, in Chaucer's third line, as porter of the gate of delices, is plainly inspired, as Professor Skeat<sup>4</sup> points out, by the *Roman de la Rose*. But Professor Skeat is surely mistaken in suggesting that Chaucer's characterization of Idleness, in the first line, as

The ministre and the norice vn-to vices

is to be traced back through De Vignay to St. Bernard. The idea here expressed is more directly related to one of Cato's distiches:

Plus vigila semper, ne somno deditus esto.  
Nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat.

—Lib. I, dist. 2.

The notion that Chaucer's introductory stanzas owe any obligation to the translator of the *Legenda Aurea* becomes still more improbable when one observes that similar remarks upon Idleness were frequently expressed by authors and translators when they took pen in hand. To take an example strikingly similar to Chaucer's

<sup>1</sup> Jehan de Vignay's Prologue is printed in *Originals and Analogues*, 190-91. Professor Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 401) states that the idea for the first four stanzas of Chaucer's Prologue was taken from De Vignay.

<sup>2</sup> *Engl. Stud.*, I, 215-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, LXXXVII, 265-73.

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 401.



lines, I may quote the opening lines of the Prologue written by the unknown author of the Scottish collection of Saints' Legends:<sup>1</sup>

Catone sais, pat suthfaste thing is,  
pat Idilnes giffis novrysingis  
to vicis. pare-for, quha<sup>3</sup> sa wil be  
vertuise suld Idilnes fle  
as sais pe romance of pe rose.<sup>2</sup>

The comparison of this passage with Chaucer's becomes the more remarkable when one considers that the situation is almost identical. Both poets are about to undertake the translation of saints' legends—in Chaucer's case, to be sure, it is only a single legend—in order to escape the dangers of idleness. The Scottish poet, who is a superannuate priest, tells us:

zet, for til eschew ydilnes,  
I hafe translatit symply  
sume part, as I fand in story,  
of mary & hir sone Ihesu (vss. 36–39).

The date of the Scottish collection is given by its editor, on linguistic grounds, as "about the year 1400" (p. xxii). So far as chronology goes, therefore, it would be quite possible to suppose that the author knew the *Lyf of St. Cecile*. Yet such a supposition is, to my mind, too improbable to be seriously considered. The Scottish translator closely follows the text of the *Legenda Aurea*, and in his story of St. Cecile (No. XLIII) betrays no acquaintance with Chaucer's version. Moreover, though he refers to the *Roman de la Rose*, he does not use the figure of the porter of the gate. Finally, it should be remarked, this characterization of Idleness is a commonplace. I may refer to the "Dietorie," printed by Dr. Furnivall from Lambeth MS 853, in which the reader is warned against Idleness:

And also of long sleep and of ydilnesse  
The which of alle vicis sche is porteresse.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Horstmann, who first edited this collection, assigned the authorship to Barbour, but his evidence has been refuted by Dr. P. Buss (*Sind die von Horstmann herausg. schottischen Legenden ein Werk Barbours?* Halle, 1886), whose conclusions are accepted by Dr. Metcalfe, the more recent editor of the collection.

<sup>2</sup> *Legends of the Saints in the Scot. Dialect of the XIV Cent.*, Ed. W. M. Metcalfe (Scot. Text Soc., 1896), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Babees Book*, EETS, 1868, p. 56; cf. also the original Latin text (in Sloane MS 3534):

Pigricies mane sompnolenta ociositas que  
Mater viciorum omnium est janitrix dicta (*ibid.*, p. 57).

And in the sixteenth century we find John Rolland explaining in the Prologue of the *Court of Venus* that he has undertaken the composition of the poem to keep himself from idleness:

For Idilnes is Mother Radycall,  
Of all vicis, and font originall.  
Thocht the corps ly in ociositie,  
zit than the thoct can neuer idill be.  
Bot ay mouand on vertew, or on vice,  
Of guid, or euill findand sum new dew [ice]  
And the maist part to peruersitie geuin  
Quhilk throw maistrie of Idilnes is di [ ]  
And siclyk als throw wickit compan[ie]  
Mannis maneris may oftymes chang[e].  
And for that cause, sic cumpanie to [tell]  
This wark and cuir I tuik vpon my sell.<sup>1</sup>

This recognition of the fact that authors frequently begin their tasks by inveighing against idleness certainly gives us the right to dismiss De Vignay from further consideration as a "source" for Chaucer. It should at the same time put us on our guard against the chronological deduction drawn from this passage by ten Brink,<sup>2</sup> who finds in these references to Idleness conclusive proof that the *Lyf of St. Cecile* was composed before Chaucer entered upon his active duties at the Customs Office. That ten Brink should take Chaucer's words with such extreme literalness is especially surprising since he freely concedes that a host of writers before Chaucer had begun their prologues in the same vein. One surely may recognize Chaucer's use of convention without regarding him as "einen gedankenlosen schwätzer . . . der nach art eines papageis ohne verständniss wiederholt, was ihm vorgesagt wird." These first four stanzas, with their somewhat obvious moral sentiment, need not, it seems to me, detain us longer. We shall make no mistake if we accept the simplest view of the case and the one which lies nearest to hand, namely, that Chaucer wrote these lines in accordance with convention, and merely as a convenient way of addressing himself to his task.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. W. Gregor (Scot. Text Soc., 1884), p. 10. The *Court of Venus* was written. It appears, in 1560.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaucer Studien*, p. 138; cf. also *Engl. Stud.*, XVII, 12. Ten Brink's inferences in this matter are followed unquestioningly by Koch, *Chronol. of Chaucer's Writings* (Chaucer Soc., 1890), p. 28.

These introductory stanzas are followed by an *Inuocacio ad Mariam*, extending from vs. 29 to vs. 77. The relation of this Invocation to the rest of the Prologue is, now, the real problem to be solved. In order to reach any definite conclusion in regard to the matter it will be necessary to consider, first, the structure of the Invocation itself, and second, the way in which the Invocation is joined to the lines which precede and follow. It will be convenient to begin with the question of its internal structure.

It has long been recognized that vss. 36-56 in the Invocation are, with the exception of vss. 45-49, which form a digression, closely modeled upon the prayer to the Virgin at the beginning of Canto XXXIII of the *Paradiso*.<sup>1</sup> Accepting without question Dante's direct influence upon Chaucer in this passage, we proceed to inquire as to the source of the rest of the Invocation. For, without reflecting upon Chaucer's originality, it may fairly be supposed that this parallel, which covers only 16 of the 49 lines in the Invocation, does not make up the sum of his obligations. When one looks about for the most likely source from which Chaucer might have borrowed material for a composition of this sort, one thinks first of all of the liturgy of the Church, which abounded in hymns in praise of the Virgin and which, moreover, must have been thoroughly familiar to any poet of the fourteenth century. And in several passages we shall find unmistakable evidence of the influence of these Latin hymns upon Chaucer's lines.

The first instance occurs in the third stanza (vss. 43-49), in which occurs the digression from Dante already noted above. The structure of this stanza is of special interest on account of the skilful combination which it reveals of material drawn from several different sources. The first two lines have hitherto been regarded as based entirely upon Dante's third *terzina*:

*Nel ventre tuo si raccese l'amore,  
Per lo cui caldo nell' eterna pace  
Così è germinato questo fiore.*

<sup>1</sup> The single exception to this view which I have noticed is a somewhat guarded remark by Mr. A. W. Pollard in the Introduction to his edition of the *Cant. Tales*, that "the way in which the Dante lines occur is rather suggestive of their being derived from some common original, probably a Latin hymn, than taken straight from the *Paradiso*" (Lond., 1894, p. xiv, note). A year later, however, in his *Chaucer Primer*, Mr. Pollard appears to have receded from this position, for he speaks of the Invocation as "imitated from the *Paradiso*" (p. 34).

But the parallel does not extend beyond the phrases which I have italicized. And the remaining lines in Chaucer's third stanza are wholly independent of Dante. A more important source for this stanza is to be found in the opening lines of a hymn by Venantius Fortunatus:

Quem terra, pontus, aethera  
colunt, adorant, praedicant,  
trinam regentem machinam,  
claustrum Mariae bajulat.<sup>1</sup>

Chaucer's first line, "Within the cloistre blisful of thy sydes," which has hitherto been regarded as built upon Dante's "nel ventre tuo," is now seen to owe a direct suggestion to the "claustrum Mariae" in the hymn. In the second line the phrase, "the eternal loue and pees," is a literal borrowing from Dante. But in the third line Chaucer turns again to the hymn, which he paraphrases closely in the words,

That of the tryne compas lorde and gyde is,  
Whom erthe and see and heuen, out of relees,  
Ay herien.

For the concluding lines of the stanza I can find no such close parallel in any of the Latin hymns. The thought is a commonplace, and there is in the phraseology nothing striking which would suggest direct borrowing. Nevertheless, it may be worth while, perhaps, to compare with these lines a couplet in the well-known responsorium, *Gaude Maria*:

Dum Virgo Deum et hominem genuisti,  
Et post partum Virgo inviolata permansisti.

In the fourth stanza practically everything is to be referred directly to the *Paradiso*. Two phrases which have no counterpart in the Italian are, "the sonne of excellence" (vs. 52), and "her lyues leche" (vs. 56). The first of these Mr. Paget Toynbee<sup>2</sup> proposes to bring into conformity with Dante's

in te s'aduna  
Quantunque in creatura è di bontate,

<sup>1</sup> Mone, *Lat. Hymn. des Mittelalt.*, II, 128; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, I, 172; this hymn is also found, with an Anglo-Saxon gloss, in Durham MS B, III, 32, fol. 22, from which it has been printed by Stevenson (*Lat. Hymns of the Anglo-Sax. Church*, Surtees Soc., 1851, p. 74). Cf. also the English commentary on these lines, "The Myoure of Oure Ladye," EETS, Ext. Ser., 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, October 15, 1904, p. 518.

by emending "sonne" to "somme." The emendation is slight and perhaps we are here to recognize a slip on the part of Adam Scryuen. On the other hand, all the MSS—at least all those so far printed by the Chaucer Society—agree in the reading "sonne." And it should be noted that this is a term not infrequently applied to the Virgin. Compare for example:

Gaude coelorum regina  
Sol mirae fulgentiae,<sup>1</sup>

as well as the line "praelecta ut sol."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Daniel remarks: "Duos locos, *Cant.* vi. 9 et *Apoc.* xii. 1, ecclesia Romana vertit in honorem b. Virginis: comparatur soli et lunae, sole amicta praedicatur."<sup>3</sup> As for the term "lyues leche" which Chaucer uses, it may be compared with "Maria medicus," which occurs in Albertus Magnus' *De Laudibus B. M. V.*,<sup>4</sup> as well as with the phrases "medicamen infirmorum"<sup>5</sup> and "medicina peccatoris"<sup>6</sup> in the hymns.<sup>7</sup>

In the fifth stanza of the Invocation Chaucer once more turns aside from Dante, and here again we find him weaving in material from the Latin hymns. An important source for this stanza, as Holthausen has already pointed out,<sup>8</sup> is the celebrated Marian antiphon, *Salve regina*. I give the text of the antiphon in full, italicizing the phrases utilized by Chaucer:

Salve regina, mater misericordiae  
Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.  
Ad te clamamus exules<sup>9</sup> filii Hevae<sup>10</sup>

Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.<sup>11</sup>

*Eia ergo advocata nostra*,<sup>12</sup> illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte  
Et Iesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende,  
*O clemens, o pia, o dulcis virgo*<sup>13</sup> Maria (Daniel, II, 321).

<sup>1</sup> Mone, II, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. XI, cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, II, 32, stanza 3.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel, II, 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 160.

<sup>6</sup> Mone, II, 201.

<sup>7</sup> In similar fashion vs. 37, "Thou welles of mercy, synful soules cure," which is sandwiched in between lines from Dante, seems to owe its origin to the hymn literature. In a hymn by St. Bonaventura we read: "Misericordiae fons dicit meruisti" (Daniel, II, 323); cf. also Albertus Magnus' *De Laudibus*, Lib. IX, cap. 1. On "synful soules cure" cf. the "medicina peccatoris" noted above.

<sup>8</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, LXXXVII, 265.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. "flemed wrecche," vs. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. "some of Eue," vs. 62.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. "in this desert of galle," vs. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. "Be myn aduocat," vs. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. "thou meke and blisful fayre mayde," vs. 57.

Professor Lounsbury<sup>1</sup> has suggested as the source of Chaucer's "flemed wrecche" and "sone of Eue," a sentence in Bernard's *Tractatus ad Laudem gloriose V. Marie*, which runs: "Respice ergo, beatissima Virgo, ad nos proscriptos in exilio filios Evae." Bernard's phrase, however—which as we now see was itself derived from the *Salve regina*—brings us no nearer to Chaucer. Moreover, in Bernard's treatise one does not find the other points of resemblance to Chaucer's Invocation which meet us in the antiphon—all grouped within the compass of a few lines. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Chaucer depended upon the antiphon rather than upon Bernard.<sup>2</sup>

In the sixth stanza, after several lines whose source is not recognizable, Chaucer returns again to the *Paradiso*—a fact which, so far as I am aware, has escaped observation, for the reason, doubtless, that the dependence is not as before upon Canto XXXIII, but upon a passage which occurs slightly earlier. Almost at the end of Canto XXXII one finds, in the description of the highest ranks of the glorified, these lines:

Di contro a Pietro vedi sedere Anna,  
Tanto contenta di mirar sua figlia,  
Che non muove occhi per cantare Osanna. (vss. 133–35)

When one bears in mind the identity of situation, it appears certain that Chaucer had these lines directly in mind when he wrote:

Be myn aduocat in that heye place  
Ther as withouten ende is songe "Osanne,"  
Thou Cristes moder, doughter dere of Anne! (vss. 68–70)

It is interesting to note in passing that in the *Man of Law's Tale* Chaucer essentially repeats this couplet:

Mary I mene, doughter to Seint Anne  
Before whos child aungeles singe Osanne. (vss. 641–42)

If further proof be needed to convince us that Chaucer still has Dante in mind in the later portion of his Invocation, it will be found in the first four lines of the seventh stanza, which present unmistakable evidence of the influence of the *Paradiso*. That the parallel is not here so complete as in the second and fourth stanzas, where

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 389, note.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Lounsbury's suggestion is accepted by Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 404), who ignores the parallel pointed out by Holthausen.

Dante is followed throughout, is due to the different situation presented in the two poems. Chaucer is addressing the Virgin directly: Dante, on the other hand, represents the petition as offered in his behalf by Bernard. Bernard prays for the poet:

Perchè tu ogni nube<sup>1</sup> gli dislegli  
Di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,  
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi (vss. 31-33).

Chaucer prays for himself:

And of thy lyght my soule in prison lyghte,  
That troubled is by the contagioun  
Of my body.

Bernard asks further:

che conservi sani,  
Dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi.  
Vinca tua guardia i movimenti umani.<sup>2</sup> (vss. 35-37)

Chaucer asks to be relieved from "the wyghte Of erthly lust and fals affeccioun." When one allows for the necessary change from the third person to the first, one sees that Chaucer has here adapted to his own use the phrases of the *Paradiso*.

The figure which Chaucer employs, of the Virgin illumining the darkness of the prison-house (cf. also vs. 66: "That I be quit fro thennes that most derk is"), is not, of course, found in Dante's lines, where it would not have been appropriate. Nevertheless, it is one which occurs frequently in the Latin hymns—if, indeed, Chaucer needed a direct suggestion for it. One may compare, for example, the following stanza from the *Salve sancta mater dei*:

Salve virgo tam sublimis,  
carceratos nos in imis  
prece tua libera,  
in te juva confidentes  
et devote recensentes  
tua sancta munera.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. A. Scartazzini's note on this word is of interest: "*Nube*: quella oscurità che dà il corpo all' anima" (*Div. Comm.*, ed. Leipzig, 1882).

<sup>2</sup> See again Scartazzini's note: "*i movimenti*: non solo gl' impulsi dell' umano orgoglio ma in generale gli urti delle umane passioni."

<sup>3</sup> Mone, *Lat. Hymn.*, II, 282.

The word "contagion," which Chaucer employs in v. 72, is of such infrequent occurrence as to call for a remark.<sup>1</sup> Though suggested, as we have seen, by the "nube di mortalità" in the *Paradiso*, it is hardly a close counterpart of the Italian phrase. It may be noted that in a hymn to the Virgin written by St. Bonaventura essentially the same expression occurs—though in adjective instead of substantive construction:

In hac valle miseræ multum tenebrosa  
Hominum sunt genera multum foetosa,  
Nam eorum opera sunt contagiosa  
Propter facta scelera et opprobriosa.<sup>2</sup>

It would surely be spending labor in vain to seek a definite source for the pious exclamations with which the Invocation concludes. "Hauen of refut" is a phrase which Chaucer had previously used in his *ABC* poem (vs. 14), translating Deguileville's "de salu porte"; and it occurs again in the *Man of Law's Tale* (vs. 852). Similar expressions are also applied to the Virgin in the Latin hymns.<sup>3</sup> As for the clause which follows—"o saluacioun Of hem that been in sorwe and in distresse"—an innumerable host of similar phrases might be collected, not only from the hymns but from devotional literature in general.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Contagion," curiously enough, is not registered in the Glossarial Index of the *Oxford Chaucer*, nor in Bradley-Stratmann or Mätzner. The *New Eng. Dict.*, also, fails to record Chaucer's use of it, citing as the earliest instance a passage in Trevisa.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.*, II, 324.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "portus navigantium" (Daniel, II, 197, stanza 7); also "in portu salutari" (Daniel, II, 213, stanza 12).

<sup>4</sup> I cite a few specimens from the hymns:

Ave salus infirmorum  
et solamen miserorum.  
—Mone, II, 202.

Quae es in angustiis  
Et in rebus dubiis  
Salus et solatium.  
—Daniel, II, 197, stanza 4.

Tu animarum spes afflictarum dulcis Maria.  
—Daniel II, 186, vs. 16.

Tu peccatorum venia  
spes desperatorum.  
—Morel, *Lat. Hymn. des Mittelalt.*, No. 205, stanza 5.

Spes et salus infirmorum  
sublevatrix oppressorum.  
—Kehreins, *Sequenzen des Mittelalt.*, p. 208.

O Maria languidorum  
dulcis consolatio  
tu adjutrix miserorum  
mihl sis protectio.  
—Mone, II, 286, vss. 61-64.



As the result of this scrutiny of Chaucer's Invocation item by item, two important conclusions may be drawn as to its general structure. The first is, that the Invocation was composed in one piece and cannot be separated into two sections, one written before Chaucer knew the *Paradiso* and the other added later. This is the view which has been put forward by Professor Skeat. "I am persuaded," he remarks, "that ll. 36-56 (three stanzas) were added at a later period. Being taken from Dante, they could hardly have been written very early; whereas the Life of St. Cecile seems to have been quite a juvenile performance."<sup>1</sup> Postponing for the moment the question of chronology which is here raised, I may note briefly the objections to regarding vss. 36-56 as "a later insertion," as Professor Skeat terms them (p. 404).

In the first place, the center of gravity—to borrow a term from physics—of the Invocation lies within these very lines. Imagine a prayer to the Virgin which should omit all reference to the part which she played in the Incarnation! Yet if these lines be removed these references at once disappear. It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that Chaucer could at any time have written the Invocation with vs. 57 following immediately after vs. 35.

Again, Professor Skeat leaves out of account the reference to Bernard in vs. 30—

Of whom that Bernard list so wel to wryte—

which seems to imply that Chaucer already had the *Paradiso* in mind. Dante, it will be remembered, represents the prayer at the beginning of Canto XXXIII as uttered by Bernard. This occurrence of Bernard's name in both poems can hardly be fortuitous. Bernard, to be sure, wrote much in praise of the Virgin, but it is clear that he did not supply the source for Chaucer's Invocation. On the other hand, Chaucer's line is at once explained if we suppose that this ostensible reference to Bernard he actually intended as a delicate acknowledgment to Dante himself.

Finally, the theory of "a later insertion" breaks down completely with the discovery that the influence of Dante does not cease at vs. 56, but is clearly discernible, here and there, down to vs. 74, only three lines from the close.

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 403; cf. also III, 485.

The other conclusion from our examination of the Invocation has to do with Chaucer's use of the Latin hymns. The extent of their influence upon these lines has not hitherto been appreciated. There are two clear instances of direct borrowing from well-known hymns; and in a number of other lines, though no definite source is recognizable, the phraseology of the hymns appears. No one imagines, to be sure, that Chaucer ransacked the hymnbook to assemble his materials. In most cases the influence of the hymns upon him may have been almost unconscious. For we may easily believe that the phrases which he took from this source had become so familiar to him through the liturgy and manuals of devotion that when he sat down to write this prayer to the Virgin they came into mind unbidden. At all events, our examination of the Invocation has made it clear that if the warp of the fabric be from Dante, the woof was supplied by these hymns.<sup>1</sup>

The Invocation is not, therefore, a mere paraphrase of the prayer in the *Paradiso*. Chaucer allows himself to digress at will from Dante's *terzine*. And as he proceeds with his work this freedom becomes more and more noticeable. In a word, then, the Invocation is a skilful mosaic into which scattered materials have been fitted according to a harmonious pattern.

It is time now to consider the chronological problem which this Invocation presents. Professor Skeat felt it difficult, it will be remembered, to believe that Chaucer was already acquainted with Dante at the time when he composed the *Lyf of St. Cecile*, which he considered "quite a juvenile performance." This difficulty is now increased rather than diminished. For the influence of the prayer in the *Paradiso*, instead of being restricted to vss. 36-56, is seen to extend over the whole Invocation. Indeed, we may fairly

<sup>1</sup> I believe that a detailed examination of the prayers to the Virgin in the Prioress's Prologue and the Man of Law's Tale would reveal the similar employment of phrases scattered through the Latin hymns. As a single example I note that the phrase in the Prioress's Prologue,

the whyte lily flour  
Which that thee bar, and is a mayde alway,

is to be compared with lines from the Sequence, *Flos pudicitie*:

castitatis liliū  
Prole fecunda, gignis dei filium;  
Virgo, que munda tu post puerperium.

—Daniel, II, 247.

This sequence, which occurs in the thirteenth century MS, Arundel 248 (fol. 153b), is, as Daniel notes, of English origin.

suppose that Dante supplied the initial suggestion for its composition. Moreover, Chaucer not only makes use of the prayer in Canto XXXIII but avails himself of a *terzina* in the preceding Canto. It is unlikely that Chaucer began his reading of the *Paradiso* at the last canto, or even that he opened the *Paradiso* before reading the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. At the time he wrote this Invocation, therefore, he had probably gone through the whole of the *Divina Commedia*. On the other hand, the date ordinarily assigned to the *Lyf of St. Cecile* by the chronologists is 1373-74. The question at once presents itself: Is it possible that Chaucer, within the twelve-month following his return from the first visit to Italy, had read so widely in the *Divina Commedia* as seems to be implied by this use of a passage which stands in its very last canto?

There are two ways of escaping this chronological difficulty. The first is to set back the *Lyf of St. Cecile* to a later date. This is the position taken by Professor Kittredge, who in his recent monograph<sup>1</sup> expresses the opinion that "the date usually adopted, 1373 or 1374, seems on the whole a little too early."

The second is, to suppose that the *Inuocacio ad Mariam* was composed at a later date and inserted in its present position. This is the view suggested by Mr. Pollard. "The Invocation," he writes in the note previously referred to, "is certainly better work than the story itself and may have been added some years afterwards. . . . Ten Brink himself assigned both poems [i.e., the *ABC* and the *Cecile*] to the date usually assigned to the *Cecile*, viz., about 1373. I should myself be inclined to bring them both back to the date usually given to the *ABC*, viz., about 1366."<sup>2</sup>

Our choice between these two views, it is clear, turns entirely upon the question whether the Invocation is a later insertion. If the *Lyf of St. Cecile* as originally written included the Invocation it would be impossible, for the reasons given above, to date it as early as 1374. Ten Brink, who set this up as the lower date for the

<sup>1</sup> *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus and Other Chaucer Matters*, Chaucer Soc., 1909, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Cant. Tales*, 1894, p. xiv, note; cf. also *Chaucer Primer*, p. 34. Mr. Paget Toynbee has recently given indorsement to this view that the Invocation is a later addition: "That this was the case with the *Inuocacio ad Mariam* in the *Second Nun's Tale* (which is in fact a more or less youthful poem—the *Lyf of Seynt Cecile*—composed probably in 1373, and afterwards embodied by Chaucer in the *Canterbury Tales*) there can hardly be a doubt" (*Dante in Engl. Literature*, 1909, p. xv).

poem, relied wholly upon Chaucer's remarks upon idleness in the introductory stanzas, which in his opinion would not have been written after June 8, 1374, when Chaucer entered upon his duties at the Customs Office. The conventional character of these lines upon idleness, however, makes it unsafe to rely upon them in dating the poem.

There is nothing, therefore, to hinder us from putting the *Lyf of St. Cecile* as late in the seventies as we please—except the literary workmanship of the poem itself. All critics agree that it is written in Chaucer's earlier manner. Professor Kittredge, though he favors a date later than 1374, freely recognizes this. "Style, metre, everything about the poem," he writes, "are in perfect accord with assignment to the French period. The only thing Italian is the invocation to the Virgin from Dante's *Paradiso*." The very fact, then, that the Invocation in comparison with the rest of the poem stands out as a purple patch suggests that it may be a piece of new cloth on an old garment, and so leads us to consider the suggestion of Mr. Pollard, that "it may have been added some years afterwards."<sup>1</sup>

In favor of this view, in the first place, is the fact that the workmanship of the Invocation is distinctly superior to that of the rest of the Prologue or of the *Lyf* itself. Those who believe that the entire Prologue, in the form in which we have it, was written at one time explain the superior merit of these seven stanzas as the result of the uplift from the *Paradiso*. But to give Dante the whole credit for the improved style of the Invocation seems to me not altogether fair to Chaucer. For Chaucer's lines, as we have seen, are something more than mere imitation. No small part of the skill in the Invocation is that displayed in weaving together materials from scattered sources. But this skill in combining materials is just what is conspicuously absent from the *Lyf of St. Cecile*, in which, as Kölbing and Holthausen have demonstrated, Chaucer has followed his original in every detail.

A more important consideration, however, in determining the question before us is the relation of the Invocation to its context. If one reads Chaucer's text, omitting the Invocation, it will be seen

<sup>1</sup> Professor Kittredge does not ignore this possibility, but dismisses it briefly in a footnote: "There is no reason for regarding the prayer as a later insertion. Its connection is perfect, and if it is thought to be better than the rest of the poem, the superiority is at once intelligible when one remembers whom Chaucer is following" (*loc. cit.*, note).

that vs. 78 follows vs. 28 without a break. Indeed, there would be, it seems to me, a positive improvement in the connection. The closing line of the Invocation,

Now help, for to my werk I wol me dresse,  
was written, one may suppose, to join the Invocation to what follows. But it will be observed Chaucer does not yet "dresse him to his werk," but proceeds with an apology to his reader:

Foryeue me, that I do no diligence  
This ilke storie subtilly to endyte.

This apology continues the thought of vss. 24-26, in which he speaks of the fidelity with which he has translated the legend. Note again that in this concluding stanza Cecile, though not mentioned by name, is referred to in a way which supposes that the reader has her name directly in mind:

him that at the seintes reuerence  
The storie wroot, and folwe hir legende.

Nevertheless, as the text now stands, seven stanzas devoted to the Virgin intervene since the last mention of Cecile. On the other hand, let this concluding stanza follow directly after vs. 28,

Thee mene I, mayde and martir seynt Cecilie,  
and there is no longer any occasion to repeat the name.

I am not disposed to insist upon these considerations as conclusively establishing the later addition of the Invocation, though the fact that these seven stanzas may be stricken out without leaving any gap in the Prologue appears to me significant. It may be granted, on the other hand, that as the text now stands the Invocation is neatly joined to the lines which precede and follow. This, however, is hardly decisive against the view that it was added later. For, at the time when he was capable of the excellent lines of the Invocation, Chaucer might be expected to succeed in fitting them into their present position without too obvious a suture.

The present form of the text, then, at least opposes no obstacle to the theory that the Invocation is a later addition. Moreover, it is possible to understand how the suggestion for its insertion may have come into Chaucer's mind. If, after the prayer in the *Paradiso* had moved him to admiration and then to imitation, Chaucer had read over the introductory stanzas of the *Lyf of St. Cecile*, he would

have noted the brief sentence addressing Cecile, and from this might easily have conceived the idea of adding at that point an invocation to the Virgin. Without calling up the spirit of Chaucer himself it is, of course, impossible to prove that this is what actually occurred. At the same time this hypothesis appears to offer a plausible explanation for a passage which otherwise presents a puzzling anachronism.

Finally, if this hypothesis of the later date of the Invocation be accepted, is there any means of fixing even approximately the time at which it was added? Manifestly it must have been written before the *Lyf* was incorporated in the *Canterbury Tales*; otherwise we should not find in it the phrase, "unworthy sone of Eue." It is possible, I believe, to narrow the limits somewhat further, by observing that the two other poems in which Chaucer shows the direct influence of the *Paradiso* are the *Hous of Fame* and the *Troilus*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the *Troilus*,<sup>2</sup> as Koepfel has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> Chaucer weaves into an apostrophe to Love certain lines from this very prayer in Canto XXXIII. From the fact that the Dante lines here used are passed over in the Invocation of the *Lyf of St. Cecile*, Koepfel argued that the *Troilus* must have been written first. This contention, however, was thoroughly refuted by ten Brink,<sup>4</sup> and has been generally discredited. Indeed, on the face of it one would say that the serious imitation of the prayer which is found in Chaucer's Invocation is more likely to have preceded the perversion of Dante's phrases to a secular purpose in the *Troilus*. We shall hardly be mistaken, therefore, in assuming that the composition of the Invocation preceded the *Troilus*. At the same time, that Chaucer when writing a purely secular apostrophe to Love should so readily recall the phrases of Dante's prayer to the Virgin strongly suggests that this passage in the *Paradiso* was still fresh in his mind. And from this one may infer, it seems to me, that the interval between the Invocation and the *Troilus* was not long.

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BRYN MAWR, PA.  
February 19, 1910

<sup>1</sup> I do not include the Prologue of the Prioress, which in the fourth stanza shows undoubted resemblance to the phrases of the prayer in Canto XXXIII of the *Paradiso*, for the reason that Chaucer's language is here more directly parallel to the fourth stanza of his own Invocation in the *Lyf of St. Cecile*. It would appear, therefore, that in the Prioress's Prologue he was not making direct use of Dante's text.

<sup>2</sup> Book III, 1261-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, XIV, 230.

<sup>4</sup> *Engl. Stud.*, XVII, 1 ff.

## "THE PARDONER'S TALE" AND "DER DOT IM STOCK"

Clouston, in his discussion of analogues of *The Pardoner's Tale*,<sup>1</sup> refers to the *Meisterlied* and *Fastnachtspiel* of Hans Sachs, and there is a similar reference in Skeat's Notes on *The Pardoner's Tale*. Stiefel, in one of his articles on the sources of Hans Sachs,<sup>2</sup> points out some of the striking resemblances between Sachs and Chaucer, and there is some further discussion in Creizenach's *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*.<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, however, no one, so far as I know, has sufficiently emphasized the importance, for Chaucer students, of Sachs's play, nor shown that it is, as a matter of fact, the nearest surviving relative of Chaucer's version. Sachs, as Stiefel says,<sup>4</sup> was in the habit of finding material for his *Fastnachtspiele* in sermon-books and in German translations of *fabliaux*, and it is, of course, quite possible that Chaucer made use of a similar source.<sup>5</sup> *Der Dot im Stock* may, then, be of the greatest significance, as throwing some light on the nature of the material which Chaucer turned to gold.

The Pardoner, as everyone remembers, chose to satisfy the conflicting demands, of the Host, for som mirthe or japes, and of the gentles, for som moral thing, by preaching a typical sermon, illustrated by a tale.

'Lordings,' quod he, 'in chirches whan I preche,  
I payne me to han an hauteyn speche,  
And ringe it out as round as gooth as belle,  
For I can al by rote that I telle.  
My theme is alwey oon and ever was—  
"Radix malorum est Cupiditas." (vss. 329 ff.)

He began with an account of a company of young folk in Flanders who "haunteden folye," but he broke off to preach a sermon against the three vices of gluttony, gambling, and profanity. This sermon

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer Society, *Originals and Analogues*, 434.

<sup>2</sup> *Germania*, XXXVI, 51.

<sup>3</sup> III, 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Germania*, XXXVII, 219.

<sup>5</sup> Although the story has not been found in any mediaeval sermon or story-book. See Clouston, *Originals and Analogues*, 417.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also vs. 426.

finished, he took up, once more, his tale, but with his company of young people now suddenly reduced to three revelers. Early one morning, these three, seated, as was their wont, in the tavern, heard the sound of a bell carried before a corpse. The body, they learned, was that of one of their old companions, slain by "a privee thief, men clepeth Deeth." Immediately they determined, with many oaths, upon revenge, and, plighting their troth to live and die each for the others, they set out to slay Deeth, which that so many sleeth. At a stile not far from the tavern they met an old and poor man, who greeted them meekly. The proudest of the three revelers answered him roughly:

What, carl, with sory grace!  
Why artow al forwrapped save thy face?  
Why livestow so longe in so greet age? (vss. 717 ff.)

The old man replied that no one would exchange youth for his age, and that death would not take his life. He reproved their lack of the courtesy due the aged, and begged leave to go his way. "Not," cried the second gambler, "until you have told us of this false traitor Death."

Tel wher he is, or thou shalt it abyde,  
By god, and by the holy sacrament!  
For soothly, thou art oon of his assent,  
To sleen us yonge folk, thou false thief! (vss. 756 ff.)

The old man thereupon directed them to an oak standing in a grove near by. Thither they ran and there they found

Of florins fyne of golde y-coyned rounde  
Wel ny an eighte bussshels, as hem thoughte. (vss. 770 f.)

The worst of the three revelers at once proposed that two of them should guard the treasure, while the third, chosen by lot, should run to the town and secretly fetch bread and wine. The lot fell upon the youngest. During his absence the others plotted to stab him on his return, in order to divide the gold into two, instead of into three, parts. He, meanwhile, permitted his imagination to dwell upon the beauty of the florins, and to draw a pleasant picture of the life that he could lead if all were his. Thereupon he went to an apothecary and asked for



Som poyson, that he mighte his rattes quelle;  
 And eek ther was a polcat in his hawe,  
 That, as he seyde, his capouns hadde y-slawe,  
 And fayn he wolde wreke him, if he mighte,  
 On vermin, that destroyed him by nighte. (vss. 854 ff.)

Then he procured three large bottles, put the poison into two of them, and filled all three with wine. Upon his return his two companions slew him, as they had planned, drank of the poisoned wine, and died.

But, certes, I suppose that Avicen  
 Wroot never in no canon, ne in no fen,  
 Mo wonder signes of empoisoning  
 Than hadde thise wrecches two, er hir ending. (vss. 889 ff.)

Nearly two hundred years later (August, 1555), Hans Sachs dramatized a similar tale for one of his *Fastnachtspiele*, *Der Dot im Stock*.<sup>1</sup> An angel speaks the prologue, explaining that this is to be an "*erschrocklich peyspiel*" of how through covetousness three murderers slew one another. A hermit (*Waldbruder*) "get ein an einem stecklein, dregt ein paternoster, spricht:

"Ich pin hewt lang im wald vmdreten,  
 Mein degliche tagzeit zw petten,  
 Wie ich das trieben hab vil jar.  
 Von der welt abgeschieden gar  
 Hab ich got dint in allen sachen  
 Mit vasten, petten vnd mit wachen,  
 Mit vil kestigung vnd hart liegen.  
 . . . . .  
 Hab mich gleich müed im wald vmbgangen.

Da secz ich mich, ich merck gar wol:  
 Dieser stock ist inwendig hol.  
 Ich wil aufsten vnd schawen nein,  
 Was darin mag verporgen sein.  
 Da ligt ein schacz; pehüet mich got!  
 Warhaft steckt darinen der dot,  
 Wan Salomon sagt, das reichtümb  
 Seim herren oft zv schaden kümb." (vss. 19 ff.)

For a moment he is tempted, then flies from temptation.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Goetze, in *Werke von Hans Sachs*, VI, 95 ("Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke," Bde. 60-61).

Three murderers enter. Their conversation, strewn with oaths, reveals their way of life. They have had bad luck of late and have been hard pressed by the officers of the law. But the first, Dismas, declares that he fears nothing so long as his mother lives, for she is a magician and can keep him out of prison; and, as for the next world, there is, he declares, no heaven or hell, no god or devil; we all die like cattle. At this the third murderer, Jesmas, protests. He fears the law and thinks that they should leave that wood; and he fears the day of judgment and the life to come. Now they see the hermit running fearfully. Dismas proposes an attack; Jesmas protests on account of the old man's manifest poverty. Barrabas, the second murderer, answers (here as elsewhere) these protests. Dismas speaks to the hermit:

Alter, wan her? peschaide mich!  
 Wartumb schawst so oft hintersich? (vss. 143 f.)

He replies that he has seen death in the stump. Dismas answers that it is death for him. He begs for his life, but they strike him down, and he declares that God will avenge his death upon them. Dismas discovers the treasure in the stump, "pey dawsent guelden rot." He suggests that they draw lots to see who shall go to the town for bread and wine. The lot falls upon Jesmas. His conscience is troubled, and he fears the old man's curse. As soon as he has gone, Dismas suggests killing him to prevent his betraying them. Barrabas agrees, and calls attention to the advantage of dividing the treasure into two, rather than three, parts. They swear to keep faith in one another, and go out to see if the hermit had not some gold about him. In their absence Jesmas returns. He explains to the audience that he has poisoned the wine, and affirms that it will be a good deed to rid the world of his two companions; moreover, the treasure will be his, and he can live happily—and piously—ever after. But Dismas and Barrabas now return, accuse him of informing, and declare that he must die. After his death they eat and drink, and make plans for the future. But suddenly, "Dismas . . . grewft vnd reipt sein pruest vnd spricht:

"O gsel, wie üebel thüet mir grawen  
 Vnd thüet mich gleich ein frost an stosen!

"Barrabas rüemfft sich auch vnd spricht:

"Vnd mir auch; hab dir die franczosen!  
Wie wirt mir so eng vmb das hercz!  
Mein ganczer leib pidmet vor schmercz.  
Mich dünkt, es grewff mir nach dem leben.

"Dismas . . . . . stet auff, get lancksam, spricht:

"Wie sint mein schenkel mir so schwer!  
Kan nit mer auf den füesen sten!  
Mir wil geleich die sel augen. (vss. 288 ff.)

"Er felt nider sam dot."

The angel speaks the epilogue to the effect that "Wan geicz ist ein wurczl aller süent," as St. Paul says.

Between Hans Sachs's version and Chaucer's certain points of resemblance will be apparent:

1. The conception of the Hermit—old and weary, at least, in S., though, manifestly, not immortal, as in C. (In *C.N.A.*<sup>1</sup> he is "un romito . . . . che era assai affaticato.")

2. His treatment by the leader of the three—which does not, indeed, go beyond rough speaking in C. (In *C.N.A.* they accost him simply, ask him to show them where Death is, and call him a fool when they see the treasure.)

3. The old man's protest. (Not present, of course, in *C.N.A.*)

4. The position of the treasure—in a hollow tree in S., under an oak in C. (In *C.N.A.* it is in "vna grandissima grotta.")

5. The nature of the treasure—gülden in S., florins in C. (In *C.N.A.*, it is "molto oro" simply.)

6. The conception of the two groups of murderers as profane, blasphemous, and of an evil way of life. (In *C.N.A.* they are not characterized at all.)

7. The conception of the characters of the three. In each case one is clearly the leader, the most wicked, the originator of the ideas. The second is neutral, easily led. The third, who goes to the village for bread and wine, is younger, perhaps less evil than his companions. In S. he protests against the leader's blasphemy, against killing the hermit, has conscientious scruples and fears.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., in the story in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, reprinted in *Originals and Analogues*, 132 ff.

In C. he manifests his inexperience in overdoing his explanations to the apothecary. (In *C.N.A.* the characters are not differentiated.)

8. The vows of brotherhood—in S., the two, after the departure of the third murderer; in C., all three revelers. (No vows in *C.N.A.*)

9. They let chance decide who shall go to town—by dice in S., by lot in C. In both the youngest is chosen. (In *C.N.A.* the second murderer proposes the plan simply.)

10. The order of the narrative—in both S. and C. the account of the third murderer's plot follows the account of the plot of the other two. (This order is reversed in *C.N.A.*)

11. The moral. The Angel's "Wan geicz ist ein wurczl aller süent" is obviously a translation of the Pardoner's text: "Radix malorum est cupiditas." (In *C.N.A.* this does not occur.)

12. The two murderers' dramatic account of their sufferings, in S., suggests C.'s reference to the "wonder signes of empoisoning" which "hadde thise wrecches two ere hir ending." (In *C.N.A.* there is no reference to the nature of their sufferings.)

Manifestly Sachs's and Chaucer's versions are much more closely related to one another than is either to their nearest common relative, the version in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*. It is no part of the present purpose to make once more the comparisons with the other versions. For these the reader is referred to Clouston's article<sup>1</sup> and to Professor Canby's.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Originals and Analogues*, 129 ff., 415 ff., 544 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Some Comments on the Sources of Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale," *Modern Philology*, II, 477 ff.

## THE SONG OF DEOR

### I

One of the most striking characteristics of early Germanic poetry is its fondness for the didactic mood. Wise saws and modern instances poke their solemn visages into all kinds of verse in a way very annoying to readers at the present day. The epic tranquillity of *Beowulf* is thus interrupted; the dramatic intensity of many of the Eddic lays suffers for a similar reason, and the Anglo-Saxon lyric poems, which are among the finest survivals of "the long Gothic night," are honeycombed with hortatory digressions. In the *Wanderer* there is certainly a great deal of moralizing, the *Seafarer* sails straight into the doldrums of didacticism, while the piece with which we here have to deal, the *Song of Deor*, is a veritable *Consolatio Philosophiae* of minstrelsy. That stoic courage in the face of misfortune which was so prominent a trait of our Germanic ancestors is here strikingly illustrated by the endurance of great heroes and heroines of song and story, and by an apparently intimate revelation of the poet's own troubles and moral victory. Many qualities make the piece noteworthy—its stanzaic structure and refrain, its allusions to heroic saga, its interesting suggestion of minstrel life, its charm and simplicity of expression. It stands quite alone, indeed, among Anglo-Saxon lyrics, with its singing quality, and its complete subordination to a single theme. But this theme is not, as is usually stated, the misfortunes of Deor; it is rather the message of hope which the singer utters—"Old troubles have passed, and present ones may!"

It is with the purpose of clearing up certain misconceptions in regard to this piece that the following article has been written. The poem is full of obscurities. In particular, the third strophe, which cites the experiences of "Hild," or "Maethhild," and a mysterious "Geat," has never been satisfactorily explained. Although the minstrel thinks a bare reference sufficient, and remarks, confidentially, that the business is familiar, we know little more about these figures than scholars did sixty years ago, when Thorpe first pub-

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lished his edition of the Exeter Book. Furthermore, the passage which has generally been thought a Christian interpolation, as well as the name Deor itself and the information which the minstrel gives about his fortunes at the court of the Heodenings, much needs elucidation. Of still greater importance is the interpretation of the poem as a whole, in regard to which there is much variety of opinion. Even Professor Gummere, in his admirable volume of translations from Anglo-Saxon poetry,<sup>1</sup> appears to have been undecided on some points, and to have erred in others, as when he states it as "probable that Deor must pass for a definite man," and interprets the third stanza as a reference to "Odila." A careful examination of the poem will, I think, reveal that it deals with an imaginary situation, worked up at a later time, the "autobiographical" evidence at the end really proving that the piece is not autobiographical at all.

Unfortunately, all these perplexing questions cannot be definitively settled. The text is frequently corrupt, and allusions are too vague to make certain identification possible. The more such difficulties are studied, the less ready one is to dogmatize about them. But there are many matters which may, I think, be put in a much clearer light. A review of the whole poem, with certain suggestions not hitherto made, will at least give a better understanding of the obscurities of the text, and provide an introduction to the probable solution of the larger problems.

## II

"Wayland learned bitterly banishment's ways," begins the singer. "Nithhad forged fetters on his limbs; his companions were Care and Longing." However—

þæs oferēode; þisses swā mæg!

The misfortunes of Beadohild, of Hild (or, as some have thought, of Maethhild), of Dietrich of Bern, and of the peoples oppressed by Eormanric are passed in review. After each strophe the same refrain recurs, forming a sort of *leitmotiv* for the whole piece. The fifteen lines following, which close the poem, introduce a passage of different character, and give a brief account of troubles which the present singer has himself had in the past. These lines must be quoted in full.

<sup>1</sup> *The Oldest English Epic* (New York, 1909).

Siteð sorgcearig, sælum bidæled,  
on sefan sweorceð; sylfum þinceð,  
30 þæt sý endelēas earfoða dæl.

Mæg þonne geþencan, þæt geond þās woruld  
wītīg dryhten wendeþ geneahhe  
eorle monegum, āre gescēawað,  
wislīcne blæd, sumum wēana dæl.

35 Þæt ic bi mē sylfum secgan wille  
þæt ic hwīle wæs Heodeninga scop,  
dryhtne dýre: mē wæs Dēor noma.  
Āhte ic fela wintra folgað tilne,  
holdne hlāford, oþ þæt Heorrenda nū,  
40 lēoðcræftig monn, londryht geþāh,  
þæt mē eorla hlēo ær gesealde.  
þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg!<sup>1</sup>

Before discussing the interpretation of the poem as a whole, it is necessary to understand clearly the significance of its haunting refrain. Professor Gummere's rendering, which is virtually the same as Thorpe's, gives it in each case a personal application to the singer and his troubles. After the Wayland strophe,

That he surmounted; so this may I!

After the strophe mentioning the victims of Eormanric,

That they surmounted: so this may I!

Professor Brandl, in a recent analysis, says, "Deor vergleicht nun sein Leid mit dem verschiedener Sagenhelden und -heldinnen."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stopford Brooke,<sup>3</sup> Professor Charlton Lewis,<sup>4</sup> and others indicate a similar conception of the situation in their renderings. Possibly this may be right, but it should be noted that *mæg* is not in the first person, but the third. To translate *þisses swā mæg* "so this may I!" really gives a false idea of the construction, as is evident when the phrase is taken in connection with the first half-line. The use of the genitive *þæs* with *oferēode* indicates that the verb is impersonal, while *ofergān* in the active sense is followed by the accusative; cf. *Beow.*, 1409, 2960; *Andreas*, 820, 826, 862, and the

<sup>1</sup> Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, I, 280. I have changed the punctuation in some cases, and added the marks of quantity.

<sup>2</sup> Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), II, 975.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Early English Literature* (New York, 1892), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cook and Tinker, *Translations from Old English Poetry*, 58.

examples in the Bosworth-Toller lexicon.<sup>1</sup> The line *þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen wære*, "that the kingdom should be overcome," in this very poem forms an interesting parallel. It should be remembered, then, that *mæg* in the second half-line is in the third person, continuing this construction, with *ofergān* understood, and not in the first person, as the rendering "so this may I!" suggests. Perhaps the simplest rendering in English would be "That passed over; this likewise may!" Brandl's translation, "das ging vorüber; dieses (gehe vorüber) wie es kann," requires a more elaborate ellipsis, and I venture to think is not so much in accord with Anglo-Saxon idiom. But what does "this" refer to? That the singer is not drawing a parallel between the various *exempla* and his own ill-luck at the court of the Heodenings is sufficiently shown by the fact that after citing his own experiences he repeats the refrain, just as he did after each of the historical instances preceding. The *þisses* of the refrain, then, cannot stand for the misfortunes of the singer, unless he is referring to other and more present woes than those at the court of the Heodenings.

It will be observed that in each instance in which the refrain is used, the *þæs* points to the calamity which has just been alluded to—the maiming of Wayland, the shame of Beadohild, and so forth. Similarly, in l. 42 the *þæs* must refer to the troubles of Deor among the Heodenings. To translate the last refrain of all "He has his day, he overcame," as Professor Lewis does, or "That he surmounted, so this may I!" as Professor Gummere does, or to say, as Professor Brandl has, "diese alle, und auch Deors Rivale, überwanden ihr Leid, nur Deor muss ungetröstet bleiben," is to read into the poem a meaning which is directly contrary to the sense. Professor Gummere has evidently felt the weakness of this rendering, for he questions, in a note to this line, who the "he" may be, and suggests that the refrain may perhaps be a kind of echo. This is highly unsatisfactory. The natural reply to Professor Brandl is that there is no mention of more than one rival, namely Heorrenda, and no indication that he had anything to surmount; quite the reverse, indeed, since he got the place which had once been Deor's own.

Thorpe's rendering of this final refrain is, "that I surmounted;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Shipley, *The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Baltimore, 1903), 18, 50.



so may I this!" That is to say, present woes to the singer, which are not further particularized, are contrasted with the troubles at the Heodening court. Ten Brink favors a similar interpretation.<sup>1</sup> This may be correct, and at least it makes sense, but there is no direct evidence to prove it. The whole piece seems most easily interpreted as a general poem of consolation, applicable to anyone in present trouble. Rieger, in an inconspicuous note in an article dealing with another subject, made a suggestion to this effect,<sup>2</sup> and Professor Gummere himself seems to have considered this a possible solution to the difficulties of the closing lines. This view of the poem as a whole is confirmed by more careful examination.

Lines 28-34, which form the beginning of the passage quoted above, are generally regarded as spurious. Brandl remarks, "Sie passen durchaus nicht in die Komposition herein, gehören zu den sichersten Interpolationen, die man in ags. Poesie aufdecken kann, waren aber vielleicht der Anlass, dass ein so privates Gelegenheitsgedicht aufgezeichnet und gerettet wurde."<sup>3</sup> Obviously, however, the way to interpret the poem is not to excise whatever is disturbing to modern taste, or to preconceived ideas of the situation which it sets forth, but to seek for a reasonable explanation on the basis of the text as it stands. And is it so certain that all this is an interpolation? The Christian coloring, which affects only the last four lines, does not seem a sufficient reason for sacrificing the passage, any more than if the lines occurred in *Beowulf*. The futility of attempting to separate Christian and heathen conceptions in that poem is now well recognized, Professor Brandl having been one of the foremost to adopt that view.<sup>4</sup> It is possible, of course, that ll. 31-34 may be a later insertion, made to give the whole a religious turn. They are awkward in syntax, and muddy in thought, and their philosophy is not quite that of the refrain, although not contrary to it. But such reproaches do not hold for ll. 28-30, and there seems to be no reason to find them at variance with the rest of the piece. They enter somewhat abruptly; possibly something may have been lost at this point. Wülker notes that the poem is "jedenfalls

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Literature* (New York, 1889; transl. by Kennedy), 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VII, 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> "Wer die unheldnischen Elemente aus dem *Beowulf* Epos vollständig entfernen will, muss es umdichten."—Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 1003.

uns nur lückenhaft überliefert."<sup>1</sup> It is undeniably in bad shape, and copied by an unintelligent scribe.

The irregularity of the strophic structure need not disturb us, and the efforts of critics to establish a uniform number of lines in each strophe may safely be disregarded. The strophes here seem to be of native origin, and not imitated from the Scandinavian. There are no signs of the characteristic Norse types, such as the *ljóðsháttir*, which appears in the so-called *First Riddle of Cynewulf*, nor any evidences of Scandinavian idiom such as appear in that poem.<sup>2</sup> The presence of strophes in West-Germanic verse, while unusual, does not necessarily indicate that foreign influences have been at work. There is so little lyrical poetry in Anglo-Saxon that it is dangerous to draw sweeping conclusions. Much of this verse has undoubtedly been lost. Probably the metrical structure of *Deor's* lay indicates that stanzaic lyrical poetry with refrain, which there is every reason to suppose was a heritage of the Anglo-Saxon folk, had affected more conscious and artistic productions. The earlier strophic verse was in all likelihood irregular. Sievers notes<sup>3</sup> that even in northern poetry regularity of structure first developed in artistic rather than in popular productions, and he further points out a similar situation in Old High German. There is really no necessity of assuming that the Anglo-Saxons must have reduced all their stanzas to one pattern, in occasionally making use of this form in the midst of writing prevailingly stichic.

Whether interpolated or not, the lines which strike us at first as an interruption of the lyric sweep of the whole are seen to be really quite in accord with its structure, making plainer its message. When one is overwhelmed with sorrow and discouragement, let him remember how many have suffered and overcome, Wayland, Beadohild, Hild, Theodric, the Goths—even the singer himself has had his woes at the court of the Heodenings. But old troubles have passed, and present ones may! The "this" of the refrain refers, then, to the

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss der angelsächsischen Litteratur*, 334.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVII, 250 ff. I thought it possible that *Deor* had been affected by Scandinavian verse and was inclined to minimize the probable extent of strophic poetry in England. A private letter from Professor W. P. Ker has done much to clear up my ideas on this matter.

<sup>3</sup> *Allgermanische Metrik* (1893), 19.

present trouble which a Sorrowful Person—possibly, but not necessarily, Deor himself—is now enduring. The gloomy mood expressed in the lines

Siteð sorggearig, sǣlum bidǣled,  
on swefan sweorceð; sylfum þinceð,  
þæt sý endelēas earfoða dǣl,

is thoroughly characteristic of the group of lyrical poems to which the *Song of Deor* belongs, whether the person referred to as “sitting full of sorrow” is Deor himself, or merely any dejected person who meditates, like the Wanderer, on the misfortunes of this earthly life. But while the Wanderer conjures up rather barren gnomic commonplaces—*Wita sceal gelydig*, and the like—Deor’s philosophy is cheerful and practical, “Old troubles have passed, and present ones may!”

The whole poem, then, is not a complaint, but a consolation. It is personal and lyric in so far as the singer cites his own experiences to enforce his moral. There is no way of telling that he may not have had present woes of his own in mind when he says *þisses swā mæg!* but there is nothing to indicate it, and ll. 28 ff. are certainly general rather than personal. This interpretation of the piece is confirmed by an examination of the “autobiographical” passage, ll. 35 ff., which, when closely analyzed, shows that Deor is really a literary lay-figure—a very lifelike one, indeed, but an imaginary creation, none the less. This passage will be clearer if the puzzling “Maethhild” stanza is first disposed of. To this, then, we may now direct our attention.

### III

Wē þæt mæð Hilde monge gefrugnon:  
wurdon grundlēase Gēates frige,  
þæt him sēo sorglufu slæp ealne binōm.  
      Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg!<sup>1</sup>

The text in the Exeter Book reads *þæt mæð hilde*. With the exception of Grein (in the *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie* and in Pfeiffer’s *Germania*, X), the editors and critics have generally made the two syllables into a single proper name, *Mæðhilde*. So Thorpe, Rieger,

<sup>1</sup> The Grein-Wülker text, with the emendation *ealne* for *ealle* in l. 16, and the indications of quantity added.

Ettmüller, Kemble, Kluge, Klaeber,<sup>1</sup> and others. But this lady "Maethhild" has never been identified nor the whole passage satisfactorily explained on this basis. The scribe wrote *mæð hilde* as two separate words, which affords some evidence that they are to be interpreted as such, although the MSS sometimes divide proper names, and the present scribe was a stupid fellow.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the syntax is awkward and unusual, if permissible. *þæt Mæðhilde* cannot, of course, mean "illam Mathildam," and such a translation as Thorpe's "that of Mæthhilde we many have heard," besides doing violence to Anglo-Saxon idiom, makes an awkward transition to what follows. This was evidently felt by Rieger, who read *be Mæðhilde*, and assumed the loss of a line after 14. In view of these considerations, it is certainly better, if possible, to keep the reading of the MS, which, as we shall see, will involve no conjectural emendations.<sup>3</sup>

Grein proposed a translation in his *Sprachschatz* which has had considerable acceptance. He read *mæð Hilde*, and suggested that the line might allude to the violation of Odila, the wife of Sifeca, as related in the *Thidrekssaga*.<sup>4</sup> *mæð* he interpreted as "violatio," connecting it with ON *meida*, "violare," a very plausible idea. But his view of the passage suffers from the obvious defect that the name is not Odila, but Hild. Dr. J. H. Tupper thought that "the explanation would be accepted at once but for the difficulty of accounting for the name Hild instead of Odila." This defect he attempted

<sup>1</sup> For Klaeber's discussion, see *Anglia Beiblatt*, XVII, 283.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the confusion which he has made in the first line—*Weland himbe wurman wræces cunnade*. Wülker's reading seems to be the best, *be warnum wræces*, "W. for himself through hardships had experience of exile." Whatever is done with *himbe wurman*, *wræces cunnade* makes a perfect half-line, with complete sense.

<sup>3</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Reverend Chancellor Edmunds, of Exeter Cathedral, who has examined the passage in the Codex, and made a tracing as proof of the complete separation of the words *mæð* and *hilde*, and informed me that they "are written with the usual space between them." For a full list of editorial conjectures I refer the reader to the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*, I, 279. It will be noted that the name "Mæðhilde" is unusual in Anglo-Saxon, to say the least, no occurrence of it (save the conjecture for this poem) being listed in Searle's *Onomasticon Saxonum*.

<sup>4</sup> "Nehmen wir *Hild* einfach als Name der Gemahlin des Sifeca (Sifka), die in der altn. *Thidrekssaga* *Odila* heisst, so stimmt unsere Stelle völlig zur Erzählung jener Saga, und *þæt mæð Hilde* ist die Schändung der Hild (*Odila*) durch Eormannrich; um diese Schmach an Eormannrich zu rächen, verräth Sifka nicht nur dessen Söhne, sondern reizt ihn auch durch falschen Rat, seinem Blutsfreund Thidrek nach dem Leben zu stellen, der aber mit den Seinen entflieht: auf diese Flucht beziehen sich die Worte *wurdon grundlæss Gæates frige*, heimatlos wurden die Gothenmannen."—Grein, *Sprachschatz*, sub *mæð*.

to remove by assuming that the little-known name Odila had been supplanted by a more familiar one.<sup>1</sup> One must agree with Professor Klaeber that this is an "optimistische Ansicht . . . schwach begründet."<sup>2</sup>

Evidently, before this line can be cleared up, the remainder of the stanza must be carefully considered. Grein translated *wurdon grundlēase Gēates frige* "heimatlos wurden die Gothenmänner," still further carrying out his interpretation of the line preceding. This view has been pretty generally accepted. Koegel renders the entire passage "Es wurden grundlos (landlos, heimatlos) die Gotenmänner (*Gēates frige*, die Edlen des *Gaut*) so dass ihnen die Sehnsucht (das Heimweh) den Schlaf ganz benahm."<sup>3</sup> Professor Gummere favors this rendering, and Professor Brandl, in his discussion of the lyric in Paul's *Grundriss*,<sup>4</sup> paraphrases "Die Gauten verloren ihren Heimatbesitz."

There seems to me little doubt that this is wrong, and that Professor Klaeber is right in favoring the earlier interpretation, and arguing for "die liebe des Geat war grenzenlos, so dass liebesqual (quälende liebe) ihm allen schlaf nahm." He points out other occurrences of this motive in Germanic poetry, the *locus classicus* being the *Skirnismál*. The Balder-Nanna passage in Saxo, the Hithinus-Hilde passage in Saxo, and the humorous *Thrymskviða* also afford illustrations. The principal difficulty with the other reading is in straining *grundlēas* to mean "heimatlos." The usual meaning of the word is "boundless," "immense"; cf. examples in Bosworth-Toller's *Lexicon*. No other instance of its meaning "homeless" exists, as far as I know. *Grund* regularly means "abyss," "profundity"; cf. *grundfūs*, "bound for hell," where such an interpretation as Grein's would make it mean equally well "bound for home!"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Notes* (1895), 125 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia Beiblatt*, loc. cit. It does not seem worth while to criticize this argument of Tupper's further here, especially since acceptance of his view would depend on the interpretation of the closing lines of the poem. See below, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesch. der deutschen Litt.*, I, 151.

<sup>4</sup> II, 975.

<sup>5</sup> For detailed criticism, see Klaeber, loc. cit. Stopford Brooke, *Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, 462, had already called attention to the parallel in the *Skirnismál*. But there is no similarity beyond that in the love-motive. Frey is not Geat, and Gerd is not Hilde. Brooke's explanation "if Geat be derived from *gēotan*, 'to pour,' it harmonizes with the character of Frey," etc., will convince nobody.

To return once more to the preceding line, we now see an added reason for reading in it a feminine proper name, rather than some such word as *mæghilde* or *mægðhilde*, as Müllenhoff suggested. Since the "Maethhild" interpretation lacks any direct support, it seems best to assume that the true reading is the very common name *Hilde*. Grein's translation of *mæð* as "violatio" has the merit of involving no alteration in the text, and receives a certain additional confirmation from the fact that the preceding *exemplum* has been that of a woman whose misfortune was of this character. The mention of Beadohild might well lead to another instance of dishonor in love. In the corrupt state of the text, however, it is not possible to make a more definite statement than this. One might, for example, read *þā mægð Hilde*. Leaving these uncertainties, let us look at the interpretation of the stanza as a whole.

Surely the most familiar *Hilde* of Germanic story is that distressed maiden whose name was in later times linked with that of Gudrun, and whose fortunes are related in the great Middle High German *Kudrun*. The earlier form of the story, in regard to which we get our chief testimony from northern sources, was surely known to the Anglo-Saxons. There are unmistakable references to the *Hildesaga* in one of the oldest portions of *Widsith*.<sup>1</sup> It is important to remember, however, that the Anglo-Saxon version represented by the passage in *Widsith* may well have been different from that in *Deor*, and that both of these probably varied from the story as we get it in Scandinavian monuments. This matter will be discussed in detail a little later. I would first suggest that the key to the interpretation of the third stanza, and to the "experiences" of *Deor*, may lie in this tale. References to the *Hilde*-story have of course been frequently pointed out in the closing lines, but the conclusions drawn from them seem to me to have missed the point. Professor Klaeber has seen a parallel to the love-motive of ll. 15-16 in the version told by Saxo, but he apparently considered it of minor importance, "auch die heisse gegenseitige Liebe des Hithinus und der Hilda könnte erwähnt werden," and he developed it no further.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 713, says: "so steht in jedem Falle fest, dass die Sage von Hagen und Heden im 7. Jahrh. in England bekannt gewesen ist." He might safely have put it earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Since the above was written, I notice that Mr. Stopford Brooke has suggested that "there may have been a full stanza about *Hild*, and another about *Geat*, and that these

It is this point which I would elaborate in some detail. The story as related by Snorri in the "*Skáldskaparmál*" may first be examined.

A king whose name was Hogni had a daughter named Hild. She was carried off in a plundering expedition by a king named Hedin, the son of Hjarrandi. Hogni had gone meanwhile to the meeting of the kings, but when he found out that his land had been devastated and his daughter stolen away, he fared forth with his men in pursuit of Hedin, and heard that he had sailed away to the north along the coast. When Hogni came to Norway, he learned that Hedin had sailed over the sea to the west. So Hogni pursued him all the way to the Orkney Isles, and when he reached the island of Haey, Hedin and his men were already there.

Then Hild went out to meet her father, and offered him a necklace as a peace-offering in the name of Hedin, but she told him further that Hedin was ready for combat, and that Hogni need not look for mercy at his hands. Hogni answered his daughter rudely, and when she returned to Hedin, she told him that Hogni wished no compromise, and bade him prepare himself for battle.

And this they did on both sides; they landed and drew up in battle array. Then Hedin called to Hogni, his kinsman, and proposed a compromise, and much gold to boot.

Then Hogni said, "Too late dost thou offer me this, if thou art desirous of a truce, for now have I drawn my sword Dainsleif, which was made by dwarfs, and causes the death of a man every time it is bared; never is a stroke given with it in vain, and the wound which it makes never heals."

Then Hedin answered, "You may boast of your sword, but not yet of the victory; I call a sword good which serves its master well!"

Then they began the combat which is called the Hjathning fight, and they kept it up all day; but at evening the kings returned to their ships. But Hild went at night to the battle-field, and raised up all the dead men by means of magic. And on the next day the kings went to the place of combat, and fought, and with them all those who had fallen on the previous day.

So the fight was continued, one day after another, and all those that were slain, and all their weapons and shields which lay on the field, were turned to stone. But when day dawned, all the dead men stood up and fought, and all weapons were made new. It is said in lays, that the Hjathnings shall continue thus until the day of doom.<sup>1</sup>

two persons are not connected at all, but have here got together by the loss of four or five lines. . . . But this is a guess and no more." By the story of Hild he means "the tale of Hogni and Hedinn, in which Hild, the daughter of Hogni, is basely ravished away by Hedinn," etc. There is no evidence of a gap beyond the difficulty of interpretation. Mr. Brooke evidently attached little weight to this suggestion (*Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, 462; cf. also Sandbach, *Nibelungenlied and Gudrun* [London, 1904], 188).

<sup>1</sup> "*Skáldskaparmál*," *Snorra Edda*, cap. 57.

Such is the story as related by Snorri. It by no means represents the earlier form of the story in its purity, but, as Symons<sup>1</sup> has noted, exhibits a confusion of two different motives, the carrying away of Hild and the fight between her husband and her father, and the waking of the dead and the everlasting combat. The second motive itself appears in an awkward and debased form.<sup>2</sup> There is no very striking parallel in Snorri's account to the lines in *Deor's Lament*, but the situation appears to be quite otherwise with the passages in Saxo which tell this story. It seems unnecessary to give Saxo's version in full; the significant portions are these:<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile Hedin, prince of a considerable tribe of the Norwegians, approached the fleet of Frode with a hundred and fifty vessels. Choosing twelve out of these, he proceeded to cruise nearer, signalling the approach of friends by a shield raised on the mast. He thus greatly augmented the forces of the king, and was received into this closest friendship. A mutual love afterwards arose between this man and Hilda, the daughter of Hogni, a chieftain of the Jutes, and a maiden of most eminent renown. For, though they had not yet seen one another, each had been kindled by the other's glory. But when they had a chance of beholding one another, neither could look away; so steadfast was the love that made their eyes linger.

Meanwhile, Frode distributed his soldiers through the towns, and carefully gathered in the materials needed for the winter supplies; but even so he could not maintain his army, with its burden of expense: and plague fell upon him almost as great as the destruction that met the Huns. Therefore, to prevent the influx of foreigners, he sent a fleet to the Elbe to take care that nothing should cross; the admirals were Revil and Mevil. When the winter broke up, Hedin and Hogni resolved to make a raid together, for Hogni did not know that his partner was in love with his daughter. Now Hogni was of unusual stature, and stiff in temper; while Hedin was very comely, but short. Also, when Frode saw that the cost of keeping up his army grew daily harder to bear, he sent Roller to Norway, Olmar to Sweden, King Onef and Glomer, a rover captain, to the Orkneys for supplies, each with his own forces. Thirty kings followed Frode, and were his friends or vassals. But when Hun heard that Frode had sent away his forces he mustered another and a fresh army. But Hogni betrothed his daughter to

<sup>1</sup> *Kudrun* (Halle, 1883), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensage* (Leipzig, 1906), 187.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience, I give the English translation of Elton (London, 1894) for the outline of the narrative. Although one might occasionally suggest a more felicitous rendering of certain expressions, it has seemed best to make no alterations. The Latin of the more important passages is given below.



Hedin, after they had sworn to one another that whichever of them should perish by the sword should be avenged by the other.

(There follows a description of the ensuing campaigns.)

Meantime certain slanderous tongues accused Hedin to Hogni of having tempted and defiled his daughter before the rites of betrothal; which was then accounted an enormous crime by all nations. So the credulous ears of Hogni drank in this lying report, and with his fleet he attacked Hedin who was collecting the king's dues among the Slavs; there was an engagement, and Hogni was beaten, and went to Jutland. And thus the peace instituted by Frode was disturbed by intestine war, and natives were the first to disobey the king's law. Frode, therefore, sent men to summon them both at once, and inquired closely what was the reason of their feud. When he had heard it, he gave judgment according to the terms of the law he had enacted; but when he saw that even this could not reconcile them (for the father obstinately demanded his daughter back), he decreed that the quarrel should be settled by the sword—it seemed the only remedy for ending the dispute. The fight began, and Hedin was grievously wounded; but when he began to lose blood and bodily strength, he received an unexpected mercy from his enemy. For though Hogni had an easy chance of killing him, yet, pitying his youth and beauty, he constrained his cruelty to give way to clemency. And so, loth to cut off a stripling who was panting at his last gasp, he refrained his sword. For of old it was accounted shameful to deprive of his life one who was ungrown or a weakling; so closely did the antique bravery of champions take heed of all that could incline them to modesty. So Hedin, with the help of his men, was taken back to his ship, saved by the kindness of his foe.

In the seventh year after, these same men began to fight on Hedin's isle, and wounded each other so that they died. Hogni would have been lucky if he had shown severity rather than compassion to Hedin when he had once conquered him. They say that Hilda longed so ardently for her husband, that she is believed to have conjured up the spirits of the combatants by her spells in the night in order to renew the war.<sup>1</sup>

While there is much in the details of this account which points to a reworking in later days, and while even the connection of the episode with the campaigns of Frode or Frotho IV cannot represent a very early form of the tale, it is by no means certain that some of the incidents are not indicative of a more archaic form of the story than that given by Snorri. According to Olrik,<sup>2</sup> the sources for this particular passage are Danish, not Icelandic-Norwegian. Which of the two peoples developed the material first is still a matter of

<sup>1</sup> Elton, *Saxo Grammaticus*, 195 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Aarbog for nord. Oldk. og Hist.* (1892), 132.

dispute, and indeed is perhaps an insoluble question. But it is worth noting that in Saxo the two motives emphasized in *Deor* appear very plainly. First, the passionate love between Hedin and Hild, a thing rarely so strongly emphasized in heroic poetry, which has been noted as a parallel by Professor Klaeber. "At ubi mutue conspeccionis copia incidit, neuter obtutum ab altero remittere poterat; adeo pertinax amor oculos morabatur. . . . Ferunt Hildam tanta mariti cupiditate flagrasse, ut noctu interfectorum manes reintegrandi belli gracia carminibus excitasse credatur."<sup>1</sup> Second, the violation-motive: "Interea Hithinus apud Huginum quorundam obtreccatione insimulatus est, quasi filiam eius ante sponsalium sacra stupri illecebris temerasset, quod tunc immane cunctis gentibus facinus habebatur."<sup>2</sup> And this motive is of great importance, for it, and not the stealing of Hild, is made the cause of the combat in which the father and the lover engage. Panzer, in his study of the Hilde-Gudrun saga, contends that Saxo's account stands nearer to the original form of the saga than has usually been thought the case.<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, he emphasizes just these two points which we have observed in *Deor*. Both the love-motive and the violation-motive appear in certain *märchen* which Panzer believes closely related to the saga. Too much weight should not be attached to the first of these; love is likely to be fervid in fairy-tales. Panzer's theory of the development of the story out of the *Goldner-märchen* has not met with universal acceptance, by any means, but even if his own elaborate hypothesis does not stand, the resemblances which he has shown in this *märchen* are worth notice, as perhaps affording additional evidence for the evolution of the saga.

The question now arises, as to how "Geat" fits into the story. The name has always been a source of perplexity. It appears to occur elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon only in the royal genealogies.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Chadwick considers that "since the passage [in *Deor*] has a strong resemblance to what is said of Frey in *Sktrnismál* it is at least possible that the divine ancestor of the kings is meant."<sup>5</sup> This makes

<sup>1</sup> Saxo, ed. Holder, Strassburg (1886), 158 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, 318 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Haack, *Zeugnisse zur altengl. Heldensage*, Kieler diss., 1893, for a convenient summary of the genealogical material.

<sup>5</sup> *Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge (Eng.), 1907, 271.

it necessary to assume that a passionate love such as was felt for a maiden by Frey or Balder is here attributed to the hero Geat. This Geat appears as a god in Florence of Worcester's genealogical line, and also in Symeon of Durham's, but these were obviously borrowed, as the identity of language proves, from a passage in Asser's life of Alfred. In Asser's account we read "qui fuit Geata, quem Getam iamdudum pagani pro deo venerabantur." This seems to be due, however, to the misunderstanding of a passage in Sedulius, which follows in Asser's text. The biographer of Alfred confused the Terentian slave Geta with the hero Geat.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore unsafe to make much of the divinity of this Geat, as Mr. Chadwick acknowledges,<sup>2</sup> although he somewhat incautiously speaks of him later as "the divine ancestor of the kings." The hypothesis that we have here an Anglo-Saxon version of the *Skirnismál* story rests solely on the love-longing-motive and on nothing else.

It is possible that Geat may be not a personal but a tribal name, and that the line should be translated "The love of the Geat (i.e., Hedin) was so boundless," etc. It is evident from the first line of this stanza that the poet considered the situation perfectly familiar to his hearers—"many of us have heard of Hild," is the way he puts it. Consequently there would be nothing strange in referring to her lover in this casual way, just as Beowulf is mentioned, when he finds favor in the eyes of Wealhtheow,

þām wīfe þā word wēl licodon,  
gilp-cwide Gēates.<sup>3</sup>

Several considerations must be borne in mind in judging of this hypothesis. In the first place, there is absolutely no uniformity in the localization of Hedin's kingdom in the different versions of the story. Saxo and the Bravalla poem place it in Norway, the Danish *Kununktallit* in Denmark, the *Sqrlabátt* and the *Göngu-hrólfs saga* in "Serkland" or India—in the romantic antipodes. The Middle High German *Kudrun* exhibits the greatest confusion. Hetel is said to rule over "Hegelingen," Denmark, Stürmen, Dietmarschen, Friesland, Holstein, Livland, Ortland, and Wales. Widsith informs us that Heodena ruled the Glommas, a people who have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Asser, ed. Stevenson (1904), 3, and note, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 270.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 640-41.

never been identified, even conjecturally. Hagen-Hogni's kingdom is placed in Denmark in the majority of the sources. Snorri merely says it was south of Norway and Saxo specifies it as Jutland. The *Kudrun* removes it to Ireland. Widsith calls Hagen's people the Holmrygas, generally supposed to be the Ulmerigi of Jordanes at the mouth of the Vistula. The fight between Hedin and Hogni shifts from place to place in the different versions, being now in the Orkneys, now on the island of Rügen, now at the mouth of the Schelde, etc. It is plain that the scene of the action and the nationality of the actors were varied as the story was retold among different peoples.<sup>1</sup>

In the second place it must be noted that there is no general agreement among scholars as to the origin and transmission of the material. Symons believes in a northern origin (cf. his preface to *Kudrun*, 21), but has since spoken less confidently (Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 713 f.), while still supporting the Scandinavian hypothesis.<sup>2</sup> Panzer believes the northern material a secondary development.<sup>3</sup> Jiriczek rightly observes that decision in this matter is impossible.<sup>4</sup> The early material is too scanty and the indications which it affords are too vague to permit of definite conclusions.

We get little satisfaction, then, in the attempt to locate the personages of the story in the version current among the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the composition of this lyric. It is worth while to examine the evidence in *Widsith*, although it must be repeated that the situation there does not, in all probability, hold for *Deor*. In the mnemonic list in the early part of *Widsith* we read:

Cāsēre wēold Crēacum and Cælic Finnum,  
Hagena Holm-Rygum and Heoden Glommum.  
Witta wēold Swāfum, Wada Haelsingum,  
Meaca Myrgingum, Mearchealf Hundingum.

The Ulmerigi of Jordanes, supposedly identical with the Holmrygas, appear to have been settled at the mouth of the Vistula, but they subsequently migrated elsewhere, ultimately reappearing as the Holmrygir in Norway. It would be necessary to know the date of this list in *Widsith*—it must be very old—in order to know where

<sup>1</sup> For details the reader is referred to Panzer, 101 ff., 431 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 434 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. 188.

the Holmrygas were conceived as dwelling, but it is generally thought at the present time that this memory-list<sup>1</sup> is old enough to put them in about the same region as Jordanes did. The coupling of the two names, with the mention of Wate in the next line, is a pretty clear indication that a saga-connection between them had become established. The poet of *Deor*, which must have been written much later than this passage, in all probability not on the Continent at all, as we shall see, may well have conceived these migratory peoples, if he had a clear idea of their position at all, in a very different situation from that set forth in *Widsith*. For the Glommas may well have been one of those many small migratory tribes which ultimately settled farther East in Scandinavia, their name having been lost as they were merged in other peoples, just as the Ulmerigi became, as time went on, a part of the Norwegians. May the Glommas have settled later in the Scandinavian peninsula? No conclusions can be drawn from the Hælsingas, the people of Wate, even if we assume that their proximity to the Hilde-saga heroes in the passage in *Widsith* is significant, since there is no agreement among scholars as to their identification. No sound ethnological argument is possible here; the evidence is too meager.<sup>2</sup>

Panzer thinks all indications point to Denmark as the real home of the saga. Whatever one may think of the elaborate arguments by which he supports this view, it is reasonable to suppose that the abduction by sea, which appears in all extant versions, may well have been located along the coast-lands of northern Europe, and have shifted according to the interests of the different peoples who developed it. If, as the majority of the sources suggest, the kingdom of Hagen was located somewhere in Danish territory, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the domain of Hedin might have been put by the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the composition of this poem in the southern Scandinavian territory opposite, and a situation similar to the relation of the Geats and the Danes in *Beowulf* created. As regards the vexed question of the location of the Geats, which is not of great importance in the present discussion, one may almost

<sup>1</sup> "Uralte versus memoriales" (ten Brink).

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller analysis of *Widsith*, cf. *Modern Philology*, IV, 329 ff. With this should be compared the discussions by Bremer, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, and Schütte, *Oldsagn om Godtjod* (Copenhagen, 1907).

consider the Fahlbeck-Bugge hypothesis definitively disproved by the recent monograph by Schück.<sup>1</sup>

That this third stanza deals with the Hilde-saga is rendered still more probable by the closing lines, in which the poet proclaims himself to have been minstrel of the Heodenings, or the people of Hedin. However we are to explain this, it is natural to suppose that he might have drawn one of his *exempla* from the famous story connected with this name. It is important to observe, however, that the interpretation of the passage at the end of the poem is in no wise dependent upon the third stanza. Whatever one may think of the meaning of the stanza we have just been discussing, he can approach the significance of the poem as a whole as a separate problem, though one which will be illuminated by a thorough understanding of the separate sections. In the present state of our knowledge, no one can dogmatize about "Hild" and "Geat"—the passage is too brief, too corrupt, and too allusive.

#### IV

We now return to the question how far the experiences of Deor as a court minstrel are to be accepted as genuine autobiography. Some justification for treating the word Deor as a proper name may first be in order. The half-line *mē wæs Dēor noma* has for various reasons given critics pause.

Panzer asks,<sup>2</sup> "Warum *Dēor*? Und *wæs*; also nur in jener Stellung hiess er so, aus der Heorrenda ihn verdrängte, und dieser übernahm wohl auch den Namen *Dēor*." Panzer's further discussion gives the impression of having been written to fit a theory, and need not be considered here. There is no intimation whatever that Heorrenda succeeded to the name Deor. The preterit *wæs* is used, since that was the name which the singer bore among the Heodenings. Nicknames were commonly given to skalds; when one first attached himself to the service of a northern potentate he was likely to find himself renamed. In the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, for example, a minstrel named Hallfred comes to king Olaf, and the following conversation ensues:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* (1907), Prog. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 311.

<sup>3</sup> I use the translation of Morris and Magnússon, *Heimskringla*, I, 338 (cap. xc).

"From all that is told me," said the king, "thou art neither so wise nor so meek but it seemeth like enough to me that thou mayest do some deed or other which I may in no wise put up with."

"Slay me then," said Halfred.

The king said: "Thou art a Troublous-skald; but my man shalt thou be now."

Answereth Halfred: "What wilt thou give me, king, for a name-gift, if I am to be called Troublous-skald?"

So, too, King Hrolf Kraki renames Hött, calling him Hjalti, in the *Hrólfs saga Kraka*.<sup>1</sup>

Rieger remarks,<sup>2</sup> "Ich kann mich nicht entschliessen, nach Grein 'Deor's Klage' zu citieren. B. m. wyrd. 42 heisst es von dem gehangten *bið him wearg* (so Ettmüller einleuchtend für *werig* des mscr.) *noma*: dem entsprechend heisst *mē waes dēor noma* nichts anders als 'ich wurde teuer genannt.'"

We may dismiss Rieger's interpretation immediately, since *dēor* does not mean "carus, dilectus," the word for which is *dēore* or *dýre*, as in the first half of this line. *Dēor* is here ultimately either the adjective "bold," as Müllenhoff suggested, or it is the noun *dēor*, "the deer," "the wild animal." It is quite as likely to be the latter. In either case it is to be treated as a proper name. Scandinavian singers were often given animal names, "the he-goat" (*Björn bukk*), "the calf" (*Hvannar-Kálfr*); cf. the *Skjaldefortegnelse* in Jónsson's *Oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*. In the first of these cases, the real meaning of the name Björn, "the bear," has been so far forgotten that the man can receive a second name as little congruous with it as "the calf." In one case, a skald was actually named *Helge dýr* or *dýrr* (Jónsson, p. 478). A similar ambiguity in meaning exists here as in the word *dēor*. Whether the Anglo-Saxon singer's appellation meant "the deer" or "the brave one," then, it is hard to say. Just what Rieger meant by "ich wurde teuer genannt" is not plain; he did not explain further. Apparently he considered the adjective not as a name, but a complimentary epithet frequently applied. It is really impossible to limit it thus, since proper names in Germanic were to a great extent merely crystallized epithets. A criminal might be known as Eadweard wearh, Edward Outlaw, in which the second word had come

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VII, 30.

to be a part of the man's name, as in the phrase quoted by Rieger from the *Fates of Men*. In the present instance, even if *dēor* is to be taken as ultimately the word "brave," I see no reason for not capitalizing it, and printing it as a proper name, as much as such names as Grim or Frod.<sup>1</sup>

The elucidation of this line throws no particular light upon the autobiographical question. Deor was a name which a singer might very well hold, as the Scandinavian parallel shows. It might have been borne by a real man, or have been given to a fictitious character. For the solution of the main question in hand, we must look farther.

"The sons of Hedin," says Professor Gummere, "are shadowy folk." As far as their ethnography is concerned, this is true, but the implications connected with their name are definite enough. An Anglo-Saxon, we may be sure, on hearing of the Heodeningas would connect them with the Heoden or Hedin whom we have just been considering as the hero of the Hilde-saga. This is confirmed by the mention of Heorrenda, who is, almost beyond a doubt, an earlier incarnation of the singer Horant of *Kudrun*. Critics are practically agreed as to this.<sup>2</sup> That Heorrenda was a famous singer is borne out by the mention of a *Hjarranda-hljóð* in the *Herraudssaga ok Bosa*.<sup>3</sup> That Hedin's father in Snorri's version of the story is named Hjarrandi introduces the perplexing question whether he has any relation to the singer, and if so, how the confusion in names arose.<sup>4</sup> Panzer's elaborate theory<sup>5</sup> that Heorrenda and Heoden

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Searle, *Onomasticon*.

<sup>2</sup> Notice that Symons' views have somewhat altered; cf. his preface to *Kudrun* (1883), p. 5, and Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 713 f.: "Die Sangeskunst in der Sage, wenn nicht von jeher, so doch bereits sehr früh an Herrando haftete." "Es ist eine anerkannte Tatsache, dass dieser Heorrenda [i.e., in *Deor*] der Horand unserer *Kudrun* ist."—Dettler und Heinzel, *PBB*, XVIII, 552. See also Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensage*, 199; ten Brink, *History English Lit.*, transl. Kennedy, I, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Jiriczek, Strassburg, 1893, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Symons' discussion, *Grundriss*, loc. cit., with Meyer's, *PBB*, XVI, 523. Meyer says, "Für mich folgt weiter nichts aus der Stelle, als dass es einst einen berühmten Sänger Heorrenda-Hjarrandi gegeben habe—dessen Existenz schon durch die Erwähnung der Hjarrandahljóð . . . erwiesen ist—und zwar am Hofe der Heodeningen. . . . Heorrenda ist doch nichts anders als Deor, ein fremder Sänger. Die Uebereinstimmung des Namens mit dem vom Heöins Vater kann zufällig sein." Sandbach, *Nibelungenlied and Kudrun*, p. 187, comments, "Possibly the author of *Deor's Lament* knew a form of the story in which Heorrenda played Horand's rôle without being a relative of his master; at the very least, he must have known some story in which Heorrenda, the singer of the Heodenings (Hegellings), was an important character."

<sup>5</sup> "Auch die Darstellung dieses ags. Zeugnisses erklärt sich eben nur dann, wenn Horand und Hetel ursprünglich eine Person waren. Der sangeskundige Heorrenda,



were originally one and the same person will certainly not hold for the passage under discussion. It is hard to see how such a theory can be seriously maintained. These critical disputes do not really concern us here; the important thing to note is that Deor tells us he was once at the court of the people of the famous hero Hedin, and that he was supplanted in favor by Heorrenda, later celebrated for his minstrelsy in the Middle High German version of the Hilde-story under the name of Horant.

Is it not perfectly clear that we are dealing with an imaginary situation, not with actual fact? Deor asserts himself to have been the favored minstrel of Heoden, a great figure of Germanic story, just as Widsith claimed Eormanric and Alboin and the rest as patrons. At the same time he makes it plain that the loss of his position was due to no less eminent a man than Heorrenda, celebrated in saga for his gift of song. His tale seems very simple and circumstantial—consider the mention of the *londryht*, for example, and the name that the Heodenings bestowed on him—but so do the details of Widsith's narrative, such as the six hundred *sceats* on his arm-band. I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> tried to show how easily one is misled by this kind of "evidence" in early poetry, particularly in connection with the supposed autobiographical element in *Widsith*, and to that criticism I must refer for a detailed discussion of this matter. Deor's artless way of introducing his own case, moreover, is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon lyric when it deals with a purely imaginary situation. His phraseology itself recalls the Seafarer's confidences. Deor says, *þæt ic bī mē sylfum secgan wille*; the Seafarer, *mæg ic be mē sylfum sōðgied wrecan*. Does anyone suppose that the writer of *The Seafarer* must have been a mariner? Certainly not; he is, like the Wanderer, an imaginary figure, vividly conceived and presented. In *The Wife's Lament* we have a strikingly realistic dramatic monologue, spoken, in all probability, by the

der zugleich Heoden war, konnte in der alten Sage ebenso wohl *Heodeninga cyning* wie *Heodeninga scop* genannt werden, von letzterer Bezeichnung aber konnte die Umdeutung des ags. Gedichtes um so leichter ausgehen, als Heoden nach dem Berichte des Märchens wie der Sage ja thatsächlich (in dienender Stellung) an fremden Königshöfe seine Sangeskunst ausübt."—Panzer, p. 311. How can Heorrenda be Heoden, succeeding to the privileges which he has himself conferred on the singer? If in the *märchen* the hero did sing at foreign courts, there is no indication of this here. He is among his own people. But the whole theory is too preposterous to consider further.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, IV, No. 2, 368 ff.

unfortunate heroine of the Offa-saga. So poignant is its pathos that one may almost mistake it for the actual outpouring of an anguished heart. But whatever one may think as to the story, he will hardly maintain that it was actually written by a lady who had suffered these experiences herself.

So, then, there is really no more reason to read autobiographical significance into the *Song of Deor* than into *My Last Duchess* or *Andrea del Sarto*. If the personal history of the poet of those two dramatic monologues were not so well known, it might be possible to defend an argument that he had once murdered his wife or found her lacking in the sympathy due from a spouse to a man of artistic temperament. And, in the same way, one may say that the poet who created *Deor* was a slighted minstrel. But the tale which he tells is as clearly in the region of the imagination as are the narratives of the two Browning soliloquizers. That the little story creates the impression of reality is the best evidence of its artistry—no bungling poet could have written it. *Deor* is indeed “artistically an individual,” but not “a definite man who tells us as a matter of the witness-box his own emotion and thought.” There is no evidence that the events of the Hilde-saga are other than the creation of fable. It is not certain that the names are historical. There is not even the slight basis for making the piece a human document which the experiences of Widsith at the court of Alboin present. We are dealing with pure fancy, with an effort to secure interest in the fortunes of an imaginary bard by connecting him with a legendary prince whose court was famed for its minstrelsy.

Nothing indicates, then, that the piece is of especial antiquity. It may well enough belong in the eighth century, where it appears to be safe to place the majority of the Anglo-Saxon lyrics. To assign to it a continental origin is to violate antecedent probability and argue for a case unsupported by tangible evidence.

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Since the preceding discussion was written, Dr. Svet. Stefanovič has suggested (*Anglia*, N.F., XXI, 397-402) a new solution of ll. 14-17. With his general interpretation of the stanza as a love-episode I am in hearty

agreement, and I think his explanation of l. 17 as "dass sie die kummer-[sorgen]volle liebe des schlafes ganz beraubte" more in accord with Anglo-Saxon idiom than the usual one. Moreover, it requires only one emendation (*slæp* to *slæpe*) instead of two, and accords well with the interpretation of the passage suggested above, affording an even closer parallel, perhaps, to Saxo's account of the passion of Hild for Hedin. But Dr. Stefanović believes that the lines reveal an incestuous love of Woden, whom he equates with Geat, the well-known figure of the genealogies, for the Valkyrie Hilde, his daughter. This theory he supports as follows: "Am meisten wird diese annahme einer liebesverfolgung einer Walkyr durch Wodan (Geat) unterstützt durch eine parallele verfolgung der mit Hilde zusammen erwähnten Walkyre Thryðo durch ihren bösen vater (Thor), der in der 'Vita Offae' I wohl schon zu einem namenlosen könige von York herabgesunken ist, dessen mythischen charakter ich aber durch mehrere analoge volksmärchen nachgewiesen habe. Der unter einer sorgenvollen liebe des gottes Geat—Wodan—leidenden Walkyre Hilde, entspricht hier die durch unkeusche liebe des vaters (Thor's ?) verfolgte Thryðo; diesem vater Thryðo's entspricht in 'Deor' Geat—Wodan, der herrscher der Wallhall, öfters auch vater der Walkyren genannt."

Several objections to this theory present themselves immediately. In the first place, the episode is entirely hypothetical; there is, so far as I am aware, no such account of an amour between Woden and Hilde, even if we accept the equation Geat=Woden without hesitation. In the second place, the "parallel pursuit" of Thrytho by Thor is also hypothetical. In the third place, such a story as that in the Offa-legend, in which a girl is tormented by the advances of an unnatural father, and ultimately flees from him, is hardly suggested by the line "dass sie die sorgenvolle liebe des schlafes ganz beraubte," as this seems to indicate that she herself felt love in this immoral relationship, whereas she is represented as overcome by shame and horror, her refusal causing her to take refuge in flight or to be severely punished—unless, indeed, we assume that the story in the Anglo-Saxon lyric differed in making the heroine guilty of returning the love of her father, in which case we are more up in the air than ever. It is worth noticing that Dr. Stefanović goes back on his parallel, "Ich glaube nicht, dass die liebesverfolgung in diesen beiden mythen analog war; vielmehr, dass sie schon in jener alten zeit von einander abweichende gestalten erhalten haben. Ueber blosse vermutungen kommt man da aber nicht weiter hinaus." In this last sentence Dr. Stefanović has himself furnished the sharpest possible criticism of his own theory.

W. W. L.



## WHAT WE KNOW OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE<sup>1</sup>

The last few years have witnessed the publication of a large number of books, articles, and monographs in whole or in part concerned with the Elizabethan stage. After years of neglect students seem pretty generally to have realized the importance of knowledge concerning the theatrical conditions in which Shakespeare and his contemporaries did their work. Though the permanent elements of their greatness may not indeed have depended upon the equipment and arrangement of their stage, the outward form and technic of their dramas unquestionably did. If all this recent study had resulted in nothing more than this increased appreciation of the Elizabethan dramatists as practical playwrights, it would by no means have been in vain.

But it has achieved other results as well. On many points practical unanimity has been arrived at. It is the purpose of this paper briefly to point out what is thus agreed upon, what is still in dispute, and what is the trend of recent opinion as manifested in the more

<sup>1</sup> The articles, monographs, etc., published since 1905, and referred to in this paper, as a rule simply by the name of the author, are as follows:

Albright, Victor: *The Shakespearean Stage*. New York, 1909.

Archer, William: "The Stage of Shakespeare," *London Tribune*, August 10, 1907; "The Growth of the Playhouse," *London Tribune*, August 17, 1907; "The Fortune Theatre," *London Tribune*, October 12, 1907 (reprinted *New Shakespeariana*, October, 1908; *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1908); "Under the Greenwood Tree," *London Tribune*, December, 1907. My copy of this article is mislaid and I have been unable to discover another or to find its exact date; "The Elizabethan Stage," *Quarterly Review*, April, 1908.

Baker, G. P.: *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*. New York, 1907.

Brandl, Alois: "A Review of Albright's Shakespearean Stage," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1910.

Bradley, A. C.: "Shakespeare's Theatre and Audience," 1902, in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1909.

Brooke, C. F. Tucker: "The Shape of the Shakespearean Stage," [*New York*] *Nation*, December 15, 1910.

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Corbin, John: "Shakespeare and the Plastic Stage," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1906; "Poetry and the Pivot Stage," *New York Sun*, September 23, 1906.

Creizenach, W.: *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. IV, Part I, Book VIII, Halle, 1893-1909.

important studies of the last few years. I shall also, perhaps at more length than they deserve, consider the conclusions I advanced some years ago and the objections raised to them. I shall at this time present little new evidence or argument, but in general limit myself to summarizing the conclusions of others and to making clearer my own views where misunderstandings show them to have been obscure. Convenient subjects for this review are, first, as fundamental to any investigation, the Treatment of the Sources; second, the Construction of the Stage; and third, the Principles of Stage Management.

## I

Our chief sources of information besides such contemporary documents as Henslowe's *Diary* and the contracts for theater building, or such contemporary allusions as those in the *Gul's Horne-booke*,

- "Elizabethan Stage Theories." *London Times*, November 3, 1905; reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, December 2, 1905.
- "First Folio" *Shakespeare*, editors, Charlotte Porter, Helen A. Clarke, 1907-.
- Helmholtz-Phelan, Anna Augusta: "Staging of the Court Drama to 1595," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIV, 2; New Series, XVII, 2.
- Jusserand, J. J.: *Literary History of the English People*, Vol. III, 1910.
- Lawrence, W. J.: "Music in the Elizabethan Theatre," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1908; "The Situation of the Lords' Room," *Englische Studien*, 1908; "Title and Locality Boards on the Pre-Restoration Stage," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1909.
- Lee, Sidney: *Introduction to the Facsimile Reprint of the First Folio of Shakespeare*.
- Matthews, Brander: *A Study of the Drama*, Boston, 1910.
- Mönkemeyer, Paul: *Prolegomena zu einer Darstellung der englischen Volksbühne zur Elizabeth und Stuart Zeit nach den alten Bühnen-Anweisungen*. Hanover and Leipzig, 1905.
- Pollard, A. W.: *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos*. London, 1909.
- Pröls, Robert: *Von den ältesten Drucken der Dramen Shakespeares*. Leipzig, 1905.
- Reynolds, G. F.: "Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging," *Modern Philology*, April, June, 1905; "Trees on the Stage of Shakespeare," *Modern Philology*, October, 1907.
- Schelling, Felix E.: *Elizabethan Drama*. Boston and New York, 1908; *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, reprinted from *Proc. Num. and Antiq. Soc. of Philadelphia*, 1908.
- Skemp, Arthur R.: "Some Characteristics of the English Stage before the Restoration," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1909.
- Stevenson, Henry Thew: *Shakespeare's London*. New York, 1905.
- Stopes, Mrs. C. C.: "Elizabethan Stage Scenery," *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1907.
- Tolman, Albert H.: "Alternation in the Staging of Shakespeare's Plays," *Modern Philology*, April, 1909.
- Walkley, A. B.: *Drama and Life*. London, 1907.
- Wallace, C. W.: *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*. University of Nebraska, 1908.
- Wegener, Richard: *Bahneneinrichtung des Shakespeareschen Theaters nach den zeitgenössischen Dramen*. Halle, 1907.
- See also the following:
- Greg, W. W.: *Henslowe's Diary*, London, 1904; *Papers*, 1908.
- Poel, William: "Shakespeare on the Stage in the Elizabethan Manner," *London Times*, Literary Supplement, June 2, 1905.
- Mantzius, Karl: *A History of Theatrical Art in Ancient and Modern Times*, transl. by Louise von Cossel; 5 vols., 1903-9.
- Wallace, C. W.: "Shakespeare in London," *London Times*, October 2 and 4, 1909, with replies by various persons in the next few issues and in the *Athenaeum*.

each of which must be individually interpreted and valued, are (1) the contemporary pictures, and (2) the plays themselves, especially their directions. Of the pictures those most valuable for our purpose are the four interiors known as the Swan, the "Red Bull," the Roxana, and the Messallina<sup>1</sup> pictures.

Five years ago the Swan picture was the most emphasized of these; but today this attitude has changed. The difficulty of finding in the Swan a place for the curtain, and its lack of three stage entrances show that, however faithful to the playhouse it purports to represent, it could not have represented a typical theater.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly Lawrence's proof (*Englische Studien*, XXXIX, 404n) that the "Red Bull" picture<sup>3</sup> had really nothing to do with the Red Bull Theater, and Albright's discussion of it (40-43) as a stage for the drolls have largely diminished its importance.

As to the Roxana and Messallina pictures, both much alike, opinion is still at variance: Baker (x), and Wallace (8) call both academic stages; Albright (45) places the Roxana in this class, but considers the Messallina to represent perhaps the Red Bull stage;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As this Messallina picture has been republished by Arthur R. Skemp in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1909 as a new find, the reader will pardon me for pointing out that this picture was first reprinted by me in 1905, and before that had been unknown to writers on the stage, except for a single line in *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, VI, 221, where Wm. Rendle, after speaking of the picture on the Roxana title-page, added, "Messallina shows faintly nearly the same." To this note later writers apparently had paid no attention.

Note may here be made also of "an old wood cut" of considerable significance provided it be authentic, which Frau Mentzel describes in *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt*, 38-39, as representing the stage of English comedians in Germany. The picture, according to Frau Mentzel, shows a stage divided by a curtain into a large open front stage and a smaller rear stage, somewhat raised, and reached by two steps. Two sign-boards are shown, on one of which is an illegible inscription; on the other "A room in the house." Personal inquiry has failed to elicit any further information concerning this picture.

<sup>2</sup> For these objections to the Swan see especially W. J. Lawrence's "Some Characteristics of the Elizabethan and Stuart Stage," *Englische Studien*, XXXII (1903), 36. See also *Some Principles*, I, 7-8. Ohld (292) regards the picture with more favor than do other recent writers because of its agreement with the details of the Swan mentioned in the Hope contract.

<sup>3</sup> In spite of Lawrence's objections to this picture, first made some years ago—the reference given above is not to his first but to his fullest discussion of it—Baker (47, 84), Wegener (19), and Skemp (102, 104) all use this as indeed a picture of the Red Bull Theater in its days as a practical playhouse. In 1905 I had myself, while ignorant of Lawrence's conclusions, pointed out that the picture could not possibly represent the Red Bull Theater in its original condition (*Some Principles*, I, 12-13, note).

<sup>4</sup> "Messallina was according to its title-page 'Acted with general applause divers times by the Company of his Majesties Revells' who played, according to Fleay, at the Red Bull."—Albright, 44-45.

Wegener—he did not know of the Messallina picture—thinks (20) Roxana portrays a “Singspielhalle”; Skemp considers (102–3) the Roxana to represent a private theater, and the Messallina a public theater, probably the Fortune (115); Misses Porter and Clarke (see, for example, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 172) reconstruct the Globe in accordance with the Messallina print, while Brooke suggests that it may be largely fanciful. In reprinting these pictures I expressed no opinion because I saw no possibility of certainty. One may note, however, that the obviously permanent platforms of both hardly seem likely for academic stages; that the projecting rear stage of the Messallina picture is hardly possible in a public theater where spectators in the boxes, to say nothing of those in the yard, are supposed to have viewed the stage from three sides; and that both, since they are so nearly alike, may therefore, as Schelling (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 151) supposes, show private theaters. This seems to me especially likely of the Messallina picture. What more probable method of reconstruction could be adopted in turning a hall into a permanent theater, than thus to construct the rear stage as a projecting structure? This is all pure conjecture of course, yet in spite of their late date of publication, and of this doubt as to exactly what each represents, these two views, because they most nearly meet the demands of the directions even of early plays, seem to be the most authoritative pictures of the Elizabethan stage.

As to the value of the stage directions as evidence there is some diversity of opinion. Child (298) finds them untrustworthy because of their doubtful authorship, and the difficulty of determining exactly what sort of playing place they apply to. Wallace (49) says, “It must not be expected however that any study of stage directions or other internal evidence can ever be final in matters of stage history. Such a study at best can be but corroborative, never determinative of data, and may thus rightly serve to illuminate and enliven placid realities.” Baker (72) thinks the directions “make but a weak basis for argument. At best they are the hints of the writer to the experienced stage managers of the day, their short-hand correspondence, so to speak. To us, with our incomplete knowledge of the detailed conditions of the Elizabethan stage, they can convey but half truths.” The directions are indeed tantalizing, often misleading; a ground



plan or a precise contract might settle the construction of a particular theater, but no document could make us surer than we are concerning much of the stage equipment, and no document can ever settle the all-important question of stage management. While fully admitting the value of such finds as Wallace's, we cannot disregard the directions; no matter what documents are discovered, the directions will always remain our ultimate source of information with which everything else must accord, or, like the Swan picture, be discredited. They are among the most trustworthy sources of evidence we possess, and whatever the perplexity or difficulty they occasion, they must be carefully and scientifically studied.

What that scientific study means is only now coming to be recognized. Stage directions, especially those of the Elizabethan plays, are, as sources, in a class by themselves. Perhaps the most important rule to follow in treating them is to be sure that one is studying them and not the guesses of modern editors. Not to speak of editions obviously inaccurate, even Dyce's, the Globe, and Bullen's, except in his accurate reprints, are almost valueless in this study. One must have the quartos and folios themselves, or some of the editions, fortunately now becoming more common, which recognize that changes of stage directions are as indefensible as changes of text. Even the modern division into acts and scenes with indications of more or less appropriate locations, is misleading and likely unconsciously to influence one's conclusions. Any work based upon modern editions is by virtue of that fact alone open to serious question, and it is a pity that Mönkemeyer, Wegener, and Albright have not recognized this.

But even when one has the Elizabethan directions he cannot cease his watchfulness. All early editions are not of equal value. Mönkemeyer, Prölsz, and Pollard have all written interestingly on this subject; Albright's neglect of it, in a study pretending to completeness, seems inexplicable. Disregarding plays never intended for production, we may assign the quartos to three classes: those printed from transcripts made by scribes during the performances, usually for piratical publication; those printed from copies in use in the theater; and those made from the author's manuscript uninfluenced by the stage performance. Into the second of these

classes fall by far the largest number of plays, but examples of the others are not uncommon. All prints of any of these classes, it must also be noted, were intended for readers and were subject to more or less "editorial" modification. The less of this they received, however, the better for our purpose, for the nearer they remain to the original performance.

Perhaps most likely to be true to the stage representation are the quartos based on stenographic transcripts—*Pericles* seems a good example. They were, we may suppose, printed hurriedly without any particular "editing," almost if not quite as taken down. Made primarily for readers, they are likely to omit such purely theatrical directions as those concerning the use of the curtain or the placing of properties (thus in *Pericles* two almost certain discoveries are quite unnoted in the directions). They describe rather the result ("Enter Pericles wet") than the means by which it is secured. Sometimes, in order to save time, the scribe condensed a few minutes of action and dialogue into a single descriptive direction ("Great shouts and all cry the Mean Knight"); sometimes he omitted parts of speeches or even whole scenes. Yet despite these characteristics such copies give, we may safely say, a fairly faithful picture of the theatrical effect of a performance at the date of their publication.

Some quartos were printed from the author's manuscript uninfluenced by the stage manager. Such a play, as we learn from Dekker's introduction, is *The Whore of Babylon*. The play was given at the Fortune but was printed without regard to the acted version. It shows certain curious traits; though it is in places very careless, with entrances and exits left in the greatest confusion, somewhat unusual directions are given with minuteness. It is not unlikely that this represents fairly well the typical Elizabethan author's manuscript, except that where the author was a member of the company these unusual directions may have been communicated by word of mouth. Of course also all authors did not submit their plays in the same condition. Mönkemeyer (63) finds the hand of the author in such directions as "Enter Clifford wounded with an arrow in his neck," *III Henry VI*, II, 6, Q, which gives a bit of information obtainable not from the play itself but from its source, as also in those directions of the type "if possible it may be." Such plays,

printed directly from the author's manuscript, even if never produced,<sup>1</sup> are of great value, for a practical dramatist would scarcely write a play intended for production which would make impossible demands upon the stage manager, and any omissions made in the play when acted would be rather in the way of "poetry" or "eloquence" than of stage effect or action. This was probably true also of such plays as *The Duchess of Malfi*, the published form of which contains portions "that the length of the play would not beare in the Presentment," and of *Sejanus*, of which parts, Jonson says, were rewritten for publication. Such statements though perhaps diminishing the value of the plays as evidence need not greatly discredit them.

Most plays, however, belong to neither of these classes, but seem printed from playhouse versions more or less edited. One such playhouse manuscript unchanged by the printer is Massinger's *Believe as You List*, but it does not conform very well to the tests some editors have suggested for playhouse versions. Sidney Lee in the introduction to the facsimile reprint of the First Folio (xix-xx) says the complete division of a play into acts and scenes, the indication of the "scene," and the list of dramatis personae are "essential to a perfect playhouse transcript." *Believe as You List* contains no list of dramatis personae nor any indication of the "scene" in the form of a direction, though it is divided into acts and in small part—though the divisions were canceled—into scenes. Pollard (72) notes, as some time ago did Furness, the imperative form of directions as indicating origin from a playhouse copy. One imperative direction, "Be ready: ye two merchants," occurs in *Believe as You List*, but also one distinctively

<sup>1</sup> Percy's plays, of which I have made considerable use and to which various writers have objected, seem to me to belong to this class. Even if they never were produced, as Wallace asserts (49, n.; 131, n.) upon no authority and for no adequate reason, they certainly were intended for production and show familiarity with the customs of the stage. Some of them as plays are indeed sufficiently absurd, but they could not have varied widely from the established procedure of the theaters which Percy had in mind, Paul's, or the other children's theater, the Blackfriars. It is unthinkable that any man, much less the author of *The Aphrodisial*, would or could have devised the system of staging which Percy's plays so minutely illustrate. Indeed no reason appears for doubting their validity except that they completely invalidate the alternation theory (by showing that some properties—"those that be outward"—stood outside the curtain) and that they show sitting upon the stage was not confined to the Blackfriars, and thus upset Wallace's theory concerning that custom. Lawrence's (*Title-boards*, 161) and Baker's (78) idea that though competent for Paul's, these plays cannot be used in considering the public theater is true enough as to the construction of the stage, but not, I think, as regards stage customs, for which these plays are peculiarly illuminating.

descriptive direction, "The lute strikes and then the song." There are no explanatory or informational directions, no indicated use of the curtain, and but one direction for business—"Offers to kiss her." Most characteristic of all, however, are the numerous directions for properties; for example, "Table ready and six chairs set out." A few properties certainly used in the play are not thus indicated but as a rule few such directions seem omitted. Such a copy is of the highest value, and its omissions are almost as significant as its provisions. That some properties are not thus arranged for is perhaps because of negligence, perhaps because the particular person of the playhouse whose copy we possess, "the bookholder," the property man, or what not, had nothing to do with them.

Several plays similar to *Believe as You List* exist in printed form—notably Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *The Spanish Curate*, etc. They were printed practically without change, we may therefore conclude, from the playhouse versions. Usually, however, when the plays were printed they were more or less "edited"; sometimes, as in Jonson's *Folio*, nearly every direction was removed and the play rendered theatrically almost unintelligible; sometimes, as in *The Tempest*, the editors attempted, as Pollard points out (125), to give fairly full directions, but literary and descriptive rather than technical and theatrical; sometimes less care was taken, and some directions were omitted, some made more or less descriptive, with information inserted for the reader, and some left in their playhouse form. The second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* with its "Enter Will Kempe" for "Enter Servingman," IV, 5, shows such editorial negligence. Other directions markedly theatrical which Pollard cites are "Bed put forth," *II Henry VI*, III, 2; "Enter with the Asse head," *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, 1; "at one door . . . at another" in a forest scene in the same play, to which may be added similar directions in street scenes and the like, where the doors represent the end of the street. Such editorial treatment, more or less thorough, may also have been visited upon plays published from private transcripts or the author's MSS, so that all require practically the same treatment. Stage managers' or prompters' versions left unedited are of course of the greatest value; only upon the strongest grounds are additions to be made to them or

directions questioned; the more the "editing" the more the opportunity for justly supplying directions or of doubting the material realization of those present, but the less also the dependence to be placed upon theories formed on such assumptions. It is right here that the greatest difficulty of our investigation lies. Practically every student begins his study of the plays with certain preconceived ideas based naturally enough upon modern stagecraft; he begins his work almost as certainly with plays more important from a literary point of view, the very plays which in their own day were most likely to be issued with editorial care. These plays as a rule omit directions for properties and perhaps those even for the curtain, thus offering the investigator admirable opportunity for assumption and surmise, but also, be it noted, affording no real proof of anything. Not these, but the plays printed just as they were given, even those "more or less crude anonymous plays" which Albright so conveniently neglects, are the ones which must be most carefully considered and satisfactorily explained if we would learn the truth concerning the Elizabethan stage. Following their guidance in our assumption in plays less completely furnished with directions,<sup>1</sup> we may hope to secure fairly reliable conclusions.

Finally, not even all plays which faithfully represent performances can be used for all investigations. Neglect of this is one great cause of the vagueness in which the whole subject of the stage is even yet enveloped. The endeavor has continually been to discover the construction of the "typical" Elizabethan theater, and evidence from all sorts of plays given at all sorts of dates and in all sorts of places has been accumulated in the vain hope that in this way sure results might be reached. When we remember that the public theaters were peculiar structures built specially for entertainments—some with removable stages, some with fixed ones; that the private theaters were halls permanently remodeled for theatrical purposes;

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps note should be made here that certain directions are not always to be interpreted as would at first appear. There is now pretty general agreement that "enter" may sometimes mean rather "discovered," and that "discovered" usually refers to disclosure by means of the stage curtain, though sometimes use of a bed curtain may be implied. Albright (143) asserts that "set out" "when referring to a regular setting signified the placing of properties on the inner stage behind closed curtains." Mönke-meyer (77) interprets the similar "ready" of the directions as referring to properties "in the wings" so to speak, at hand for immediate use. Perhaps the commoner meaning of "set out" is "placed before the audience."

that at court plays were given in halls only temporarily arranged for the purpose, our natural conclusion can only be that the stages were probably unlike and a contrary opinion must be, not the beginning, but the end of our inquiry. Thus Baker (70), Wegener (7-22), Wallace (44), Chambers (354), Schelling (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 150), Lawrence, and Skemp (in general treatment) emphasize, as also did I (*Some Principles*, I, 3, 23), the belief that the theaters did differ or might have differed in construction. Similarly, changes both in construction and management must have arisen, it would seem, in the sixty odd years between 1576 and 1642. Archer (*Quarterly*, 446) is perhaps right in saying that there was "a certain standardization of effect"; Creizenach (419), admitting the possibility of difference, thinks all the theaters had alcove stages and balconies; but Albright's assumption that all the theaters all the time had stages essentially alike is more than one can accept offhand. If we could be certain of this it would amazingly simplify our task by rendering unnecessary much preliminary work. But we cannot be certain of it until we prove it: it is the pinnacle, not the cornerstone of our investigation. That it may have been true in large particulars is not unlikely—the transfer of plays from one theater to another is evidence in that direction—but for certainty of result we must classify the extant plays on the basis of the different theaters where they were produced, and arranging them in approximately chronological order, consider all produced at one theater in a given period. Even late publication of a play presented at the theater in question may invalidate its evidence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only the "First Folio" editors have as yet carried out to any length a study based on these principles, and to this owe largely the clearness and interest of their results. Mönkemeyer (38-57) discusses at some length what plays can with profit be considered as bearing on public theatrical conditions.

Perhaps I may best note here a criticism of my own work. I did not in *Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging* follow the method here advocated and there advised, because of two reasons. It is impossible to assign plays before 1603, the downward limit of my study, to any definite theater with any certainty, because only a few years before had the companies become permanently settled. Moreover, I was primarily interested not in the construction or furnishing of the theaters but in principles of stage management, and these I felt then and still feel to have been true for all performances by professional companies in any given period, whether at the court, the public, or the private theaters. Any other view seemed to me impossible, since the audiences in part were composed of the same people, and were thus dominated by the same theatrical conventions. Thus all plays given by professional companies at any place would be competent evidence, certainly not concerning the equipment or the construction of any theater, but on stage custom and convention. Other students however have not agreed with me, and I shall

## II

Whether the Elizabethan stages were in construction really alike or not, the folly of beginning one's discussion with that assumption is apparent when one considers what differences might have existed and have been contended for. Everyone now agrees that the "typical" Elizabethan stage consisted of a platform, uncurtained<sup>1</sup> in front, open as well at the sides, carpeted, it is generally said, with rushes,<sup>2</sup> and surrounded with a railing;<sup>3</sup> a space behind this platform closed by a sliding curtain;<sup>4</sup> and a balcony with its own curtain and entrances. There were also a space below the stage reached by trap doors, the tiring-room,<sup>5</sup> machinery by which characters ascended to and descended from some place above,<sup>6</sup> and in

in the future, not because I am convinced but in order that I may be convincing, distinguish between plays given at court, at the public, and at the private theaters. How far this is from the present custom of investigators appears in Wegener's use (77) of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, a school play, to prove a feature of construction of the public stage.

<sup>1</sup> Until recently students have said little of the shape of this front stage, accepting both the square or rectangular platform of the Swan and the stage narrowing toward the front apparently shown in the *Messallina* and *Roxana* pictures. Brooke maintains that this narrowing may be only apparent, and criticizes Albright for accepting it as the typical form. He does not refer to Skemp, who (114-15) makes even more than does Albright of this narrowing form. As Brooke points out, the stage of the Fortune at least, and presumably therefore that of the Globe, was square-cornered.

Baker (84) and Corbin (380) both assert the use of front curtains in the modern sense at court performances, and I cannot see what is to prevent one from supposing them, for all we know to the contrary, in the private theaters. A stage in a hall is a different matter from one in a roofless building, and a projecting front stage would not only be less necessary there, but would take up space of the greatest value for the seating of spectators. I suggest this, not as something I believe to have been true, but to illustrate how really vague our knowledge is, in that though opposed to general belief it is a reasonable possibility. One should note also Lawrence's assertion that the front curtains at court were employed only at the beginning and at the end of the performance, changes of scene having been unconcealed from the audience ("The Mounting of the Stuart Masques," *New York Dramatic Mirror*, January 2, 1904). As for front curtains in a public theater, Skemp's long argument against them (106-110) appears at this late date rather unnecessary, though Prölsz does (84-85) assert their use and Sidney Lee (*Chambers*, 355) is said to believe in them.

<sup>2</sup> Child (303) finds in Wotton's mention of this matting in his account of the burning of the Globe a hint that it was unusual, and points out that it would interfere with the operation of the trap doors.

<sup>3</sup> Schelling (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 155) notes that the presence of this is not supported by the Fortune contract. Perhaps it was one of the "other Contrivitions" unnamed, which were present in the Globe.

<sup>4</sup> Wegener (8) and Lawrence (*Englische Studien*, XXXII, 48) find no place for a curtain on the Swan stage; Skemp (113) denies its existence at the early Globe as well. Archer (*The Fortune Theater*, and *Quarterly*, 470) notes very plausibly that the curtained space was not boxed in, but presumably was almost if not entirely open at either side.

<sup>5</sup> Lawrence (*Music*, 50) shows that in the later Blackfriars the balcony was sometimes spoken of as the tiring-room.

<sup>6</sup> Did the private theaters allow this?

some theaters at least, a "heavens"<sup>1</sup> or roof over part or all of the stage.

Perhaps the most interesting suggestion of the last few years concerning the construction of the stage is that advanced by Corbin (*Sun*, 1906), independently, I imagine, by Archer (*The Fortune Theater*), accepted by Lawrence (*Title-boards*, 166), by Albright (frontispiece), by Schelling (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 155), and adopted in the New Theater production of *The Winter's Tale*. According to this opinion, the back wall of the stage, instead of being flat, raked forward at either end so that the doors and balcony ran obliquely to the spectator. This arrangement would allow characters entering oppositely to meet naturally or "to pass over the stage," it helps to

<sup>1</sup> Prölsz, ignorant it would appear of the Hope contract, thinks the "heavens" (62) to have been a hanging, probably blue, put across the stage above.

The only contributions I attempted to this phase of the subject were to prove (1) that in spite of the general belief and the evidence of the pictures, the curtain, at least in some theaters, did not conceal the whole end of the stage, but instead of hiding the doors, hung between them; that (2) instead of the usually accepted two doors from the tiring-room to the front stage, there were, at least in the Red Bull, the Blackfriars, the Cockpit, and Paul's, certainly three such entrances, the third presumably being through the rear stage and curtains; and (3) that the curtain did not hide the balcony which had a curtain of its own.

Few argue any longer that the curtain covered the whole end of the stage in all theaters, and only Tolman (5) bases any argument on such an arrangement. Skemp (112) and Jusserand (57) seem to treat all entrances as made through the curtain, Skemp splitting it into several sections, and Jusserand offering no solution for the numerous situations cited by me ("discoveries" made to persons who have just entered) which with his arrangement of the stage become most unreal. That the alcove rear stage existed certainly seems true, therefore, but it has by no means been proved the only form. For arguments in favor of it see Lawrence, "A Forgotten Stage Convention," *Anglia*, June, 1903; *Some Principles*, I, 13-24; Archer, *The Fortune Theater*; and Albright (54-58). Creizenach (424-425) prints interesting pictures of stages in Ghent and Antwerp dating from 1539 and 1561 showing such an arrangement of doors and curtain.

There has been no objection to my argument in favor of these three entrances (*Some Principles*, I, 7, note). Baker (80), however, goes to unwarranted extremes, and seeming to have forgotten that plays were not given in long continuous runs, and that these entrances were cut, not through canvas but through the structural framework of the stage, supposes the doors to have been placed now here and now there in any number as individual playwrights wished.

I must here confess to negligence in having spoken of this third entrance as a door, as Lawrence notes (*Title-boards*, 163). Though I did not intend to give that impression I am not sure that it is so far wrong. I did suggest then that perhaps the front side of the rear stage might have been filled by a pair of doors as well as by the curtains (*Some Principles*, I, 20), and the same idea occurred to Wegener (77), who pierces the doors by windows, and to Baker (80), who would break them by smaller doors. Archer (*Quarterly*, 470) finds these doors to the rear stage plausible but sees great architectural difficulties in accepting them. Yet some such substantial protection would have been almost necessary in the public theaters and would have been convenient in the private theaters. During a play these doors could have been folded back out of the way, or, as hinted in at least a few plays, they may themselves have appeared in certain scenes. Students wishing to find suitable backgrounds for scenes on the front stage will note how well these doors would simulate house fronts or city gates.



explain a difficulty in the use of the balcony presently to be spoken of, it seems to agree with the development of the stage after the Restoration, and therefore, though hardly proved, may at least be tentatively accepted.

The spaces directly before these doors—at either side of the projecting rear stage of the *Messallina* picture, or outside the shadow of the cover in the *Swan*—have recently claimed considerable attention. The “First Folio” editors employ these side stages for *asides*, which thus cease to be such (*Antony and Cleopatra*, 176; *Cymbeline*, 160, 194, 198; *Othello*, 238); to simulate places a little distance apart (*Measure for Measure*, 131; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 174); for concealment and as a point of observation (*Antony and Cleopatra*, 174; *Othello*, 238) and for the “trees,” which they leave permanently upon the stage. Mönkemeyer suggests (35) that for an actor to walk, after his entrance, down one of these side stages, not at once joining the action, would arouse suspense. But a projecting rear stage shut off by walls or side curtains, which would mark off these passages enough to separate them from the rest of the stage, seems impossible in a public theater, where spectators sat at three sides of the stage. Archer’s cogent argument against Brodmeier’s reconstruction of the stage with its projecting space enclosed on three sides (*Quarterly*, 452–53) is equally applicable here. These side stages were therefore probably not particularly distinct from the rest of the stage, but as on any other stage, served sometimes for speeches and action more or less separated from what was going on in the center of the stage.

The important questions of stage construction at present really in dispute concern the number of curtains, the relation of the curtain to the balcony, and the shape of the balcony. Present opinion on these I shall summarize in turn.

Granting the existence of a balcony curtain and of bed curtains, which no one denies, must we admit of more than one stage curtain? The plays speak indiscriminately, it would seem, of the curtain, the curtains, the arras, the traverse, but apparently mean by these various terms often the same thing. There is no absolutely undeniable direction of which I am aware, calling first for one curtain to be drawn and then a second; at least none has been cited by previous writers. The “First Folio” editors, Corbin, Schelling, Skemp,

Chambers, and Wegener at the Globe (14), all content themselves with but one curtain below, and any argument for more rests not upon evidence but upon inference.<sup>1</sup>

For curtains concealing a smaller space than did the stage curtains and placed behind them—inner curtains, we may call them—Albright (58–60) argues on the ground that in the scenes he cites (*Merchant of Venice*, II, 7—the discovery of the caskets—is a fair example) the space revealed is small. Moreover such scenes usually are located in a room and often employ properties. Since either circumstance in Albright's opinion requires the use of the rear stage and thus forbids the drawing of the main curtain for this discovery called for, there must have been a second curtain. But as it is perfectly certain that all room scenes or scenes with properties were *not* performed on the rear stage, and since the main curtain when a small space was to be disclosed need have been drawn open only a short distance—elsewhere Albright himself makes this suggestion—his argument for a second curtain has very little force.<sup>2</sup>

Assuming for the moment that the curtain so often alluded to in the directions hung from the lower edge of the balcony, we must consider the possibility of a curtain further to the front hiding the balcony and dividing the front stage into two parts—a traverse, to use Wegener's phrase. He would place such a curtain on the Blackfriars' stage (18, 115); Baker would do so (83–96) in the theaters possessing a "heavens"; and Brandl (*Jahrbuch*, 1910) sees no other justification for pillars on the stage than as supports for this curtain. Schelling (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 155) shows in his reconstruction a full-length curtain hanging at least a third of the distance down stage, but hiding only the middle of the balcony, which he extends on either side of this curtained space and provides with curtains of its own. Wegener thinks a traverse necessary to mark act endings, and admitting that it is never alluded to in the plays, explains this

<sup>1</sup> Wallace offers no evidence whatever for his generous allowance (48) to the Blackfriars of "curtains of any required number placed at any required distance between the balcony and the front of the stage."

<sup>2</sup> Inner curtains may have existed, but nobody has proved them nor shown their necessity. The rear stage may at times have been draped with arras, which, following the custom of Elizabethan houses, may have hung out a foot perhaps from the wall, and thus allowed opportunity for the concealment of persons, but it is hard to see how this or any other arrangement of inner curtains would provide for discoveries which would not be invisible to a large part of the audience.

by asserting that it was never drawn by an actor in character. Archer (*Tribune*, August 10) very justly calls this "an idle subtlety"; if stage managers found it necessary to mark act endings—a doubtful supposition—there were other possible ways of doing so, a flourish of trumpets for example, or the appearance of the theater servants to rearrange the stage. Baker's argument for the traverse is based on the opinion that scenes acted in the space below the balcony and removed from the audience would be invisible to many of the spectators and inaudible to more. He adds (88), "The use of them [curtains 'down stage'] makes possible a concealed placing of heavy properties, provides a larger stage for important dialogue, increases the movement of the play because one scene could be set while another was playing on the front stage, and was a very simple and obvious means to these important ends." He admits (95) that such a front curtain might not indeed conceal the space behind it from all the audience, and might, because it hid the balcony, cause serious difficulty. The first objection he considers of little moment; the second could, he thinks, be removed, if I rightly understand him, by the use of a lower curtain.

Lawrence,<sup>1</sup> however, urges that since the balcony was certainly used by spectators, any full-length curtain becomes impossible, and it requires little argument to show that a curtain low enough to leave the balcony visible to spectators in the yard or pit would be too low to conceal any appreciable part of the stage from the spectators in the galleries. Archer (*Quarterly*, 452-60) puts the case against the traverse with special force, noting especially the absence in Elizabethan drama of scenes ending in tableaux, which certainly would have arisen had the stage allowed them. A curtain anywhere on a projecting stage is an anomaly. When one remembers that there is not a single direct piece of evidence for this traverse on the public stage in the time of Shakespeare, and notes the usual reasons submitted in proof of it, one can but feel doubtful of its existence. The only important reasons are simply that (1) since most or all properties were arranged on the curtained stage, and (2) since the stage under

<sup>1</sup> In "The Situation of the Lords' Room," *Englische Studien* (1908), 402-12, Lawrence shows that the Lords' room was over the stage in the balcony, that before 1609 this position was abandoned by the gallants for a place upon the stage, or in the twelve-penny room next the stage—that marked *orchestra* by van Buchell in the Swan sketch.

the balcony would from its size and position be unsatisfactory for many of these scenes, some other curtained space must have existed. But since all propertied scenes were not played on a curtained space<sup>1</sup> the whole argument falls to the ground. As to the inadequacy of the rear stage, I can only emphasize what I said five years ago (*Some Principles*, I, 25) and what, so far as I have noted, has not been denied. In supposing that the rear stage was small and dark and that the actor upon it would be inaudible and invisible we are laboring, are we not, under the misleading influence of the Swan picture? A rear stage at the Swan, if such were possible, would have been separated from the audience by the long, narrow front stage, but the stage of the Fortune, to which the Globe was closely allied, was, as we are prone to forget, though indeed 27½ feet deep, 43 feet broad. It was not narrow and deep but wide and comparatively shallow. Its rear stage may have been as much as 30 feet wide and even if it ran back to the outside wall of the frame, as all convenience would have forbidden, could have been but 12½ feet deep. Even in the Roxana and Messallina pictures the curtained space seems at least 12 feet wide and the front stage hardly deeper than that. Such a rear stage was not very obscure. On such a stage, with the natural spreading forward of the action to the front stage, every surely "discovered" scene of the Elizabethan drama could have been effectively performed; no curtained space in front of it is at all necessary or indeed imaginable.

The relation of the curtain to the balcony, once this traverse is out of the way, is not difficult to determine. Child (301), the author of *Elizabethan Stage Theories* (551), Skemp for the usual theater (113), Archer (*The Fortune Theater*), Albright (frontispiece), Wegener for the Fortune and Globe (15), and the editors of the "First Folio" Shakespeare, all agree that the curtain hung from the lower edge of the balcony. Wallace for the Blackfriars (plan, p. 50) and Mönkemeyer (74) conceal the balcony by the curtain, Schelling supposes the middle of the balcony concealed (171), and Baker (84), though supposing the traverse to have hung in front of the balcony,

<sup>1</sup> I, *Honest Whore*, a play given at the Fortune Theater in 1604, shows this in the clearest possible way. At least three "interiors" furnished with properties were, from the directions, surely given on the front stage.

supports the stage curtain from its lower edge. All of course would admit the existence of a special balcony curtain.

Only one consideration points to the main stage curtain as hanging between the balcony and the audience—the scenes in which characters in the balcony watch others discovered below on the curtained stage. Albright, placing every located scene on the rear stage, runs into this difficulty with special frequency, but even if one does not agree with his assumption, one now and then meets this sort of situation. *David and Bethsabe* furnishes a clear example in Act I, 1, where as David sits above, the Prologue, drawing the curtain, reveals Bethsabe to him, bathing at a fountain below. Such scenes, in view of the probable shallowness of the rear stage and the perspective from which the greater part of the audience viewed them, would, I suggested (*Some Principles*, I, 11), be sufficiently real, even when the rear stage was directly below the balcony. Others have not been satisfied with this explanation. Dr. M. L. Spencer has privately suggested to me that perhaps the curtain was hung only a short distance in front of the balcony edge, from a projecting rod or wire, and finds some support for this in the Messallina picture. Such an arrangement would have been seriously in the way, however, in plays where the “walls” were “scaled” or the balcony reached directly from the front stage. Creizenach (430–31) favors rather a projecting rear stage; Corbin (377), Lawrence (*Lords’ Room*, 407), Wegener (114), Albright (66), Archer (*Quarterly*, 471) would place the upper stage observer in one of the boxes above the oblique stage doors. Wegener’s argument is based mainly on the curious scene in *The Devil Is an Ass*, II, 2, where Wittipoll courts Mrs. Fitzdottrel, “acted,” says the Folio, “at two windows as out of two contiguous buildings.” Baker has the same suggestion for a somewhat similar situation in *Two Murders in One* (82). Skemp (122) sees nothing in Wegener’s argument, and suggests a curious and to me impossible arrangement of obliquely placed contiguous windows. I can see no reason why this particular scene could not have been presented in adjacent sections of any balcony like that pictured in the Swan sketch. As for the other scenes—those like *David and Bethsabe*, I, 1—they are so adequately explained by the obliquely placed boxes, that even though these boxes are unprovable,

like the oblique doors which they accompany, and though as Child notes (302) they might make the management of the balcony curtains rather complicated, they may perhaps be accepted as parts of the "typical" stage.

But another arrangement suggested by the Messallina picture and argued for by Skemp and Albright is not so easy to accept. To me, and I imagine to most, the horizontal line crossing the Messallina structure above the curtain represents merely a narrow finishing board placed at an angle to the main wall to protect (for the moment accepting either gentleman's idea that this picture is that of a public stage) the rear stage from rain through the festoons of the curtain. Skemp however sees in it (103) "a platform of considerable breadth which could very well be used as an upper stage"; and Albright says (66) (the italics are mine): "Messallina shows a small square curtain *at the rear of the gallery* which undoubtedly closes a window." Since Albright places most of the "window" scenes of the plays in the obliquely placed boxes over the doors, he has fewer difficulties to meet than Skemp, who, ignorant of this arrangement, as he seems to be of all contributions in English to the subject since Collier's, must explain for himself how he would on his stage arrange such scenes as *Volpone*, III, 2; *Blurt, Master Constable*, IV, 1; *Englishmen for My Money*, IV, 2. In all of these scenes there is direct communication between people in the window "above" and others on the stage below. Since this "shelf" appears only in the one picture, if indeed it appears there, and since it serves no real purpose—that pictorially it could better represent walls than could the windows behind it is an argument of little consequence—it is very unlikely that it formed any practical part of the "typical" theater.

Other questions concerning parts of the stage need not long detain us: Wegener argues (55) for an oval-shaped rear stage at the Blackfriars to agree with the balcony as he conceives it, and to allow for spectators on the stage below, all of which Skemp opposes (117 ff.). Albright cites (74) illustrations of trapdoors in the front and the rear stage and in the balcony; Baker finds hints in *Two Murders in One* for visible stairs running directly from the lower to the upper stage (82); Wegener (83, 96) notes the existence of a window below, as well as the more commonly referred to one above.

His suggestion that the rear stage may have been a platform which could be rolled forward (58) is of course merely conjecture, but had independently occurred to Archer (*Quarterly*, 446, n.). It has also been surmised that the rear stage was elevated (Wegener, 73; Chambers, 360; Child, 301; *Some Principles*, I, 25), but no one has as yet proved or disproved it.

All this discussion, indeed, concerning construction must be vague and undecisive so long as it deals with the "typical" theater. When we have said that some—unspecified—theater had an uncurtained stage, that in some other perhaps the doors and balcony were unhidden by the curtain, etc., etc., we are still not in a position to explain how any specific play was staged. Not until all the plays produced at a given theater have been found to yield a construction consistent and harmonious will our conclusions have much weight. Conjecture must give place to certainty, and inference and assumption to definite examples.

### III

Throughout the preceding discussion it must have been apparent that many reconstructions of the stage depend not so much upon the direct evidence of the plays as upon the point of view from which the plays are approached. Every investigator seems dominated by certain assumptions, sometimes apparently unconscious, and, one suspects, assumptions too which are sometimes ill founded. It is this which increases the importance of a study of the principles, the ideals, and the conventions of the Elizabethan stage.

Recent investigations show two markedly different points of view of the stage of Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> One group of students regards it

<sup>1</sup> Most writers leave the court out of the question, the only treatment of importance besides Reyher's of the masques in *Les masques anglais* being that of Helmholtz-Phelan. Some students discriminate sharply between the procedure at different theaters. Such is the trend of Wegener's whole dissertation; such also is Lawrence's opinion as shown for example in his article on *Title-boards*. At Paul's, he thinks, the multiple staging obtained, as it did at court (161); the public theaters attempted this but "finding the conjunctive properties inconvenient, began piecemeal to substitute inscribed locality boards for the cumbersome 'scenic symbols'" (160). The Globe and the Blackfriars differed somewhat at least (170): "Broadly speaking then there were two fashions, that of the public theater, apparently based upon the conventionalism of the Innyard, and that of the private theaters, where closer and closer approximation seems to have been made as time went on to the methods of the court" (170). Thus Lawrence favors in general the plastic, platform stage rather than the crudely modern idea. So also do Schelling (171 ff., especially 177-78), Child (299-302), and the author of *Elizabethan Stage Theories*. Tolman admits the existence of the simultaneous staging, but inclines toward the modern;

as essentially modern but crude and with many exceptions and incongruities; the other looks at it as essentially other than modern, but with some scenes arranged more or less on the principles of modern staging. The difference is more than accepting or rejecting the principles of alternation; that theory is only one manifestation of the modernizing spirit—the feeling that traverses or front curtains must have existed is another; the opposition to sceneboards a third. The real difference is one of mental attitude, and influences almost every opinion one may hold concerning the Elizabethan stage. Which view is correct can be determined in two ways: the one by examination of the plays, to discover which theory has the more scenes to its credit—a study in almost numerical proportion; the other by a careful consideration of the principles upon which each view is based to determine their validity. The former method I shall perhaps employ in a later paper, since it requires considerable space and since here I am attempting only to summarize and explain what has already been suggested; the second method, the study of principles, we may follow more briefly and with almost as convincing results.

Of the two ways of regarding the stage the one presents it as intent, like our own, upon securing pictorial illusion. According to this theory the located and propertied scenes of the Elizabethan drama were all arranged behind the curtain, were then, as on a modern stage, "discovered," and each played through consistently without change of imagined location. This demands a large curtained space, which in turn requires a traverse. The conception is so far entirely and unmistakably modern, admitting no more than does our own theater of departures from pictorial realism like the

the "First Folio" editors, though supposing the "trees" to have stood permanently on the front stage, are careful to place all interior scenes on the rear stage (*Antony and Cleopatra*, I, 5; III, 11); Skemp declares against alternation (114); so does Archer with telling arguments (458-59); Chambers accepts it but thinks it imperfect (359); Albright is an out-and-out "modernist"; Baker less insistently so. Creizenach, whose treatment of the stage and theater is the most comprehensive in plan since Malone's and Collier's, thinks apparently the alternation staging not worth considering, and is clearly opposed to the modern point of view.

So far discussion, if limited at all as to date, has centered about the years when Shakespeare was writing. Much of it however deals with a supposed "typical" procedure true of plays in 1559 and 1642 alike. This seems to me even more liable to prove misleading than the "typical" playhouse. I shall here limit myself in statements of my own opinion to the plays dating before 1603, not denying, indeed assuming as probable, that changes and development came as the years passed by.



sceneboards or the use of symbolic properties. Since, however, the Elizabethan performance was by hypothesis continuous, two differently set scenes could not occur in succession upon the rear stage. To allow for its rearrangement, therefore, unpropertied and unlocated scenes—the “streets” and “public places” of the editors of yesterday—were specially arranged by dramatists for production on the front uncurtained stage, scenes in principle exactly identical with the modern “stop-gap” or “carpenter” scenes. But since in any play (except a morality dealing with abstractions) made for any kind of stage, a majority of the scenes are by the very story located more or less definitely somewhere, the rear stage by this theory becomes as frequently employed as the front stage—indeed even more frequently—and we have—though the open platform is not denied—essentially a modern picture stage.<sup>1</sup>

Opposed to this theory of an essentially modern stage is another which looks upon the Elizabethan stage as essentially unmodern.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Each supporter of this theory has suggested slight modifications of it, especially as regards the tests for scenes played upon the rear stage. The older alternationists made the use of doors or balcony a sufficient test, but the general adoption of the alcove rear stage in removing many “clashes” has also diminished the number of supposed proofs and has made this usage a mark rather of the front stage. Baker (88) employs a curtain for the concealed placing of heavy properties; Albright (129) stages there all propertied or located scenes, except, it would appear, scenes in a street or before a city (104, plate 12, 120); he also makes much of the fact, which I had previously noted (*Some Principles*, I, 24), that rear stage scenes usually filled the whole stage. Tolman uses the rear stage to expedite the arrangement of somewhat elaborate settings (18), and the “First Folio” editors place all interiors there, and by removing the curtains (by which I think they mean not the stage curtains, which are drawn back, but the hangings) employ it also to picture a house front or a city gate (*Antony and Cleopatra*, I, 5; III, xi; *Coriolanus*, I, 3, 4; *Troilus and Cressida*, IV, 3).

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to suggest a name not misleading for this stage. I have called it a *simultaneous* stage only to find that this implied to certain readers a system of permanently placed properties, identical with that of mediaeval times. *Incongruous* emphasizes the modern attitude, sufficiently difficult to avoid without insisting upon it. *Symbolic* only partly expresses the idea, and *reader's stage*, while properly emphasizing the unlocated nature of the scene, implies to some persons that there was no real acting. Therefore perhaps the *platform* or *plastic stage* is least objectionable. The view of the Elizabethan stage as at least in part mediaeval was first suggested, I believe, by Brander Matthews in *The Development of the Drama*, 1903, who represented the stage, however, as a “mere platform” (225) “with absolutely no scenery of any kind” (198) and who thought of the space behind the curtain simply as a dressing-room. His view thus has only a general relation to the present theory, which, so far as I am concerned, arose from the impossibility of fitting a large number of Elizabethan plays into the strait jacket of alternation, and from noting the methods of the early French theater. The theory was first treated at length in Part II of *Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging*, published by me in June, 1905, but Mr. M. L. Spencer of Northwestern University had at the same time, as I have since learned, a dissertation with much the same conclusions nearly ready for publication, and Mr. John Corbin presented almost the same views, also arrived at quite independently, in the *Atlantic* for March, 1906, “Shakespeare and the Plastic Stage.” That three

From this point of view the Elizabethan playwright and stage manager of Shakespeare's day at least seem to have been most interested in getting their story told, clearly, to be sure, but with regard not so much to picturing the imagined location as to acting the story vigorously and expeditiously. "We may doubt" says Bradley (*Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, 388), "whether except in regard to costume [and, one may interpolate, spectacular effects] they seriously attended to the pictorial effect of the drama at all." It was pure drama, not yet united—shall we say subordinated—to pictorial art. The rear stage, in this view of Elizabethan drama, was employed with comparative infrequency, being used mainly to discover single characters in characteristic poses or actions; to begin a scene with a situation, thus accelerating the development of the plot; or to conceal elaborate or recurring set scenes, thus diminishing the labor of arranging the stage. Some of the properties were placed upon the front stage before the play began, some were brought in when required. Those put in place and left upon the stage were likely to be the larger and more cumbrous ones—the trees, the rocks, the thrones perhaps, or small unobtrusive ones used in successive scenes; those brought in were rather the chairs, beds, banquets, etc. This did not result in a cluttered or crowded stage; examination will show that in the usual play not more than one or two properties stood throughout the play upon the front stage. The properties on the front stage were not there to picture the scene, but rather to suggest it, or, more usually, because necessary to the action. The stage as a whole—of the rear stage I shall speak presently—did not attempt to picture the imagined

students should separately and almost simultaneously have reached the same conclusions, especially conclusions so novel and revolutionary as regards the English stage, is important as showing the inherent probability and truth of the theory. Since then similar opinions have been expressed by Schelling, Lawrence, and Jusserand; by the editors of the "First Folio" Shakespeare, who place "trees" as a permanent property on the front stage; by Tolman, who inclines however to the alternation staging; by Wegener as in force at the Swan and Globe; and by Anna Augusta Helmholtz-Phelan in her interesting and careful article on the staging at court. Creizenach, who approaches the whole subject with the most searching historical investigation and the most adequate knowledge of continental drama, accepted this view without qualification (406-14; 435; 437-38). Corbin (*Sun*) suggests that the woodland scenery in *The Midsummer Night's Dream* may have been set on the front stage while Bottom and his crew at the end of Act I were arranging for their comedy, and may have been removed at the end of Act IV during their scene there. This avoidance of the simultaneous setting, in view of Corbin's general attitude, seems rather unnecessary. Such setting and clearing of the stage during the play is more than incongruous; it would have been inartistic and distracting to the audience even with Kempe as Bottom.

scene—it was simply a platform upon which the story of the play was acted.

Which of these views is correct? Certainly the former is likely to seem the more reasonable and probable, but may not that be due to our experience only of a picture stage? As Corbin pointed out in his *Atlantic* article there is a plastic stage as well, with its own illusions quite as perfect as those of our own stage and perhaps in some ways more effective. "The Laocoön," he aptly remarks, "is as truly illusive as Leonardo's Last Supper." The Greek stage, the mediaeval, the Spanish, the French to the time of Corneille, not to mention those of the Orient, were not picture stages. Only in the last few decades with the introduction of box scenes has a truly picture setting for a large number of the very common scenes been employed even upon the English stage. Indeed Walkley interestingly maintains (16) that the picture stage in England dates from 1843 when "free trade in drama" allowed the erection of specifically dramatic playhouses. Thus the fact that the second theory demands a stage different from our own and apparently less realistic because less pictorial is no argument against but rather for it; it only makes it more difficult to understand.<sup>1</sup>

Both theories are consistent in themselves and have been (in the opinion of their supporters) established from the plays. The second, however, takes the plays practically as they stand with few assumed or added directions; it explains every play without condemning any as incongruous, exceptional, or crude. The first, as its very basis, assumes that the directions are very incomplete: for the great majority of its rear stage scenes there is in the plays not a hint of the use of the curtains. This deficiency in the directions is variously explained: as a result of economy on the part of the printers; as due to the fact that certain scenes were conventionally staged in a

<sup>1</sup> It is rather remarkable, however, that even a modern audience can easily grasp the platform idea. In a recent school production—I give the incident for what it is worth—the following experiment was tried. Beyond announcing on the program that no picture was attempted, and that the stage was to be regarded merely as a platform, nothing was said of the staging, and not over four or five in the audience were acquainted with the various theories of Elizabethan stage management. It was not an academic but an average modern audience. A hedge six feet long and four feet high stood in a room scene for over an hour, and yet as a large number of people said, when asked at the end of the performance, was quite unnoticed until moved forward for a garden scene. Accepting the platform idea the audience felt no incongruity.

certain way, and that the specific directions were therefore unnecessary; as resulting from the presence of the author, who could thus explain to the company how each scene was to be given. It is curious, however, that few plays exist from the point of view of this theory complete in their directions. Certain plays indeed are, as I have already pointed out, more deficient in directions than others. Granted this, the theory which explains most easily the "unedited" prompters' copies, the simple reprintings of the stage manuscripts, would seem the more likely to be true. Significantly it is these very plays on which the second theory is mainly founded, while the "modernists" deal most successfully with those plays in which the precise directions seem to have been edited away. The plays with as detailed directions as we have—Percy's—perfectly agree with the theory of the platform stage, but are so incompatible with the picture stage that its upholders can only deny their validity. If directions must be assumed, should it not be on the basis of the unedited quartos rather than on that of modern imagination?

Quite as striking, however, as this wholesale assumption of directions is the insistence of the "modernists" upon the curtained space, despite the impossible conclusions this forces upon them. Given a divided stage, a front part close to the audience, and a rear farther removed, the former must certainly be most employed. The instinctive desire of the speaker to be near his audience, the advantages of sight and hearing would bring this about, even though the rear stage was otherwise satisfactory for acting purposes. The plays support this idea. Explicit directions for the use of the curtained space are comparatively rare, and the opinion of scholars is equally adverse to it.<sup>1</sup> Since the curtained space beneath the balcony is thus admittedly unsatisfactory, the "modernists," insistent upon as complete pictorial illusion as possible, are forced into some explanation of how all the important scenes, according to their view, come to be set in the curtained space. Baker, for example, devises the traverse to hang farther down the stage, and plunges himself into all the diffi-

<sup>1</sup> Skemp (114): "The use of the inner stage is purely incidental." Wegener (40): "Die Hinterbühne dagegen war, weil vom Dach beschattet, im Verhältnis dunkel, auch bei guten Wetter." Baker (88): "The space under the balcony was a bad place for important scenes." Albright (138): "The action was always carried down as near the audience as possible." It should be noted that some of these opinions exaggerate the disadvantages of the rear stage.

culties which we have seen that occasions. Albright (137) has another solution. Once the properties were shown in the rear stage, arranged after the most orderly of picture stage methods, they were, he says, moved out upon the front stage in the midst of the scene by the actors themselves. That properties were indeed sometimes moved about within the scene anybody will admit, but to make this at all an ordinary procedure is surely unreasonable. What is the use of all this shifting; why have a curtain at all if we must at once begin setting the scene; why not place the properties directly upon the front stage and be done with it? Arrangement between scenes would take less time and less interrupt the play. There must be some extraordinary justification for so unparalleled a custom. That justification is of course found in the belief that the Elizabethans were insistent upon pictorial illusion, and that only by this means could illusion be secured and at the same time opportunities for effective acting.

But we know that the Elizabethans were not insistent upon pictorial illusion. There were upon their stage certain customs<sup>1</sup> quite opposed to it. These I have discussed at length in another place; now I can only refer to them (*Some Principles*, II, 5 ff.). Among these was the unlocated scene.<sup>2</sup> Another is the change of scenes before the eyes of the audience, occurring in two very common ways: one, illustrated in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, 4, 5; "They [Romeo and his friends supposed outside the house of Capulet] march about the stage, and Serving men come forth with their napkins"; when the scene is supposed to have changed to the interior of the house; the other occurring in *Arden of Feversham* (III, 6), when in thirty lines a journey of several miles is supposed to have taken place before us. In citing these instances I at first suggested that the former change might have been indicated by drawing a curtain. Now it seems to me less likely; if a curtain were employed, why in so precise a direction was its use not indicated, and why did the servants *come forth*—they might as easily have been discovered. No such explanation would suffice for the other instance, only one of a large number, which Albright conveniently ignores. The "First Folio" editors cite

<sup>1</sup> Cretzenach (406-14) discusses many of these with copious illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> Archer has an especially effective treatment of these scenes, *Quarterly*, 447.

several similar to this from Shakespeare under the name of *scene shifting* scenes (*Antony and Cleopatra*, 174-75). Sometimes, to continue the unmodern features of the stage, it represented two widely separate places at the same time (the tents in *Richard III*, V, 3); sometimes it bore properties incongruous to each other (*Parasitaster*, IV, i). The use of sceneboards is another custom quite opposed to modern ideas,<sup>1</sup> as is also the admission of symbolic properties, and the "thrusting out" and bringing on of beds, etc.

The existence of these customs is not generally denied and I shall not therefore discuss them at the length they deserve; upon the platform stage they are perfectly explicable; the "modernists" alone must call them exceptions, incongruities. But such exceptions go far toward disproving the rule; it is hard to conceive a picture stage admitting any such discordant elements without completely destroying itself. Could the Elizabethan gentleman who sat on a stool under "Africa" be greatly impressed by the pictorial illusion of the scene in "Asia" being enacted before him; was the groundling, shading his eyes with his hand to keep out the sun during the moonlight courtship in *Romeo and Juliet*, disturbed by the presence of the trees upon the front stage perhaps, during the scene in Juliet's bedroom? How could there be general pictorial illusion on a stage where a throne came creaking down from above in plain sight of the audience, where a bed was "thrust out," two tents miles apart erected side by side, a tree<sup>2</sup> shown in a room scene, or a journey of several miles indicated by passing across the stage? These seem more than exceptions; on a picture stage they are impossible; neither can they be dismissed as "crudities"—they must be explained.

On the supposition of a platform stage, these customs may be justified as natural survivals from the mediaeval multiple staging, but to question this explanation of their origin does not disprove them. Albright alone among students of the subject seems desirous of pressing modern ideas of propriety back even into mediaeval days.

<sup>1</sup> Briefly discussed by me (*Some Principles*, I, 20-21) and fully by Lawrence in an admirable article, *Jahrbuch*, 1909. See also Baker (76-80), who thinks them "by 1600 quite unusual," and Wegener (122-25). Conrad's "Bemerkungen," *Jahrbuch*, 1910, adds little of importance to Lawrence's argument.

<sup>2</sup> Albright's supposition that the tree in *Parasitaster* was off the stage is certainly wrong. The direction plainly says, "Whilst the Act is playing Hercules and Tiberio enter: Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received above by Dulcimet," etc.

To do so he is forced to assume not merely directions but whole stages as well. Even if he were completely successful in his contention, however, it would only slightly affect one's view of the Elizabethan stage. The idea of it as a platform stage rests first of all on these customs already mentioned. Only their explanation could be affected by arguments concerning the staging in field or street, and then but slightly, for the real difficulty arises in the transition period from outdoor to indoor production. One may grant to Albright, if he insists, that in mediaeval days the spectator forgot he was in a church and for the moment imagined himself in Galilee or Nazareth or Jerusalem because there stood before him a symbolic manger or an isolated cross; one may suppose that the player on the Valenciennes stage was scrupulously careful to avoid getting in front of "Hell" when he was supposed to be on the shores of "Galilee," or before "Heaven" when really at the "Temple," for fear of disturbing the clear illusion in the spectator's mind. One may even grant the quite unproved assumption that the circular plan of *The Castle of Perseverance* was the usual method of staging such moralities. All these, while scarcely true, one may for the moment admit. To say nothing of the fact that in every one of these cases there is the essential incongruity of presenting things far apart as close together, and that there seems to have been no attempt to use more than symbolic settings, the real difficulty remains. When plays came to be given in halls, when at court plays were given with various "houses" all upon the stage at once, it is not conceivable that the stage was imaginatively partitioned off into little sections, one for each throughout the play. Such a notion, which some have misunderstood me to imply, is as absurd as to suppose the "chaotic staging," "the confusion of locality" that Albright seems to think I defend. There is nothing chaotic or confused about the tent scene in *Richard III* or the even more striking situation in *The Three English Brothers* where the stage for the moment simultaneously represents Persia, Spain, and England. The chaos and confusion lie simply in the mind of him who insists upon looking at such a scene from the point of view of the modern stage. Instead, should we not frankly admit that the stage as a whole was unlocalized, that it was merely the stage, while the unpictured imagined locality, made clear,

whenever the author saw fit, by textual allusion, by properties, or perhaps by signboards, was now here, now there, without necessarily any change of the stage setting?<sup>1</sup>

As for the other recent studies tending toward a modern point of view, Professor Baker's interesting and stimulating chapter full of

<sup>1</sup> I do not further discuss Albright's *The Shakespearian Stage*. As a summary of opinion from the distinctly modern point of view it is convenient and fairly complete; though in allowing slight pauses even between scenes it surrenders the cardinal principle of alternation and leaves for it little justification; its treatment of the pictures, except for the curious misunderstanding of the Messallina balcony, is the best yet published; its discussion of the development of the Restoration stage is suggestive and valuable, but its main purpose to extend modern ideals of propriety not only into Elizabethan days but into the Middle Ages as well is certainly unsuccessful.

Concerning the staging of the Scripture plays and Albright's theories of them I shall here say nothing; it is, I understand, fully discussed in a doctor's dissertation now in press by M. L. Spencer. As for the moralities which Albright accuses me of neglecting, I carefully read them all, but found in them nothing sufficiently definite to be of value. Albright makes a great show of treating them, and seems to suppose that the abstract "nowhere" in which their scene is laid is due to the necessities of staging. Instead it is quite as much the result of the very nature of their stories. To the only moralities of any bearing at all upon the development of staging, those "with located and propertied action," he devotes exactly one page, discusses exactly one play, *Thersites* (not a morality, to be sure), and even in that neglects to mention the striking example of "dramatic distance" which this play affords. *Thersites'* mother, though plainly upon the stage during his fight with Miles, is supposed to be quite ignorant of it. This Albright does not note. The other plays he cites of this group but does not discuss I shall also leave aside; they each were I think staged in the mediaeval manner but they do not offer sufficiently clear-cut evidence to be of service in convincing students doubtful of it. In dealing with the examples of customs which I cited contrary to modern practice, Albright has one unfailing remedy, which I had indeed suggested as possible in certain instances—to draw the curtain—but fails to explain why in every case the direction to that effect is lacking and to feel the cumulative effect of the instances noted. With all his unsupported use of the curtain he is able to explain only a few instances of change of scene and of "incongruous" properties. These I myself indicated might perhaps so be avoided, but in view of other stage customs such explanation seemed straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. One class of incongruous properties—the small unobtrusive ones—even he admits to the Elizabethan stage. Concerning these other customs—the use of sceneboards and of symbolic settings, the instances of dramatic distance, the shifts of scene which cannot possibly be explained by use of the curtain, he is silent. He indeed produces his impression of consistency by ignoring everything to the contrary. He assumes to deal with the whole Elizabethan drama, but reads only 150 of its 500 plays, and these in modern editions; he does not see the inapplicability, not to say the danger, of arguing from Restoration plays and modern melodramas in an investigation where the very point involved is whether one shall adopt the modern point of view. In his remark that "incongruity never existed as a principle of either pre-Elizabethan or Elizabethan staging" I quite agree with him; I will go farther—it has never existed on any stage. But what one age is undisturbed by another finds out of place, and the platform staging properly regarded is not incongruous at all. The great principle which I would emphasize and which Albright neglects is that we must look at the Elizabethan stage through Elizabethan eyes, and determine what that point of view was, not by what we imagine, but by what the other customs of the stage show to have been true. We must escape from the twentieth-century or even the eighteenth-century point of view. To have convinced so ardent a modernist that "incongruities" existed at all is, I think, an achievement, and when Albright has read more of the "unedited" plays in quarto and folio, undisturbed by the conjectures of modern editors, he can hardly fail to abandon his distinctly modern point of view.



original suggestions, and Dr. Tolman's careful and persuasive discussion of five scenes from Shakespeare,<sup>1</sup> arranged he thinks for the outer stage in order to allow time for the setting of the rear stage—the conclusions of both are an entirely different matter from the hard and fast alternation views prevalent five years ago or the anachronistic ideas of Albright. Perhaps Baker overemphasizes the advantages of the traverse and the disadvantages of the rear stage, and Tolman may not sufficiently allow for other causes than staging which might have led to the introduction of the present form of the scenes he cites. Humorous or emotional relief, time for some actor playing two parts to make up or change his costume, the desire of someone for a better opportunity to display his talents—all of these seem at least plausible reasons. Yet the opinions of both investigators are not incompatible with a view of the Elizabethan stage as essentially unmodern.

I have already indicated briefly how far this unmodern view of the stage has been accepted by recent writers. As a new and almost revolutionary idea of the Elizabethan stage it is perhaps vague and a little difficult clearly to formulate. Yet its main contentions are clear enough—that the Elizabethan stage manager made more use of the front stage, at least in the time of Shakespeare, than he did of the rear, that he staged interior scenes there as well as upon the rear stage, that he was tolerant of properties “incongruous” to the scene in progress, of dramatic distance, and of shifts of scene with actors upon the stage; in short that he cared little for pictorial illusion but aimed rather at economy of time and labor. Thus he did not fail to furnish his plays with all the properties necessary in the action, but perhaps did scarcely more than that. To him the front stage at least was merely a stage, no matter what the story acted there or the properties displayed upon it. As for the connection of the performances at court, at the private and at the public theaters, perhaps Lawrence, Child, and Helmholtz-Phelan are not far off in saying that the court performances were more richly furnished with properties, and that therefore (this is, however, my own conclusion) they were thus patently more “incongruous” than the performances in the theater though no more so in principle.

<sup>1</sup> *Rich.* II, III, iv; *M. of V.*, III, v; *A. and C.*, III, 1; *Cymb.*, II, 1; *Winter's T.*, V, 2. The Law of Re-entry may explain the first, third, and fifth of these.

Concerning the employment of the curtained space, in spite of all the writings of the "alternationists," we are yet very ill informed, and have therefore misunderstood the basis of the alternation of scenes which really did exist and which in attacking the stringent rigidity of the German theories I took pains expressly to admit. I think we shall discover that the stage manager felt no necessity of placing located scenes or even propertied scenes all on the rear stage, but did do so whenever in the particular play that was the easiest and most expeditious way of staging them. Not pictorial illusion but economy of time and labor guided his choice, except that usually the front stage was preferred, other things being equal, because of the greater effectiveness it made possible for the acting. When the rear stage was employed, however, I am ready to believe that it may have been furnished, not only with the properties necessary for the action but also with others to make it really pictorially appropriate. There may even have been painted hangings put up to increase the illusion—the complete separation from the audience, the enclosure on three sides, permitting any amount of arrangement, and the known furnishings of the stage being adequate for the demands of the usual play. Indeed, for interior scenes the Elizabethan enclosed rear stage would have been more realistic than any other and later arrangement of the English stage until the introduction of box settings. (Yet one must note that in the time of Shakespeare we are perfectly sure that not all interiors were staged there.) Perhaps as the years passed this opportunity was taken advantage of and in the rear stage the modern idea of a picture stage arose. All this seems to me, though unproved, conceivable. A critic for whose opinions I have the greatest respect and to whose suggestions I owe much, has in a private communication termed my plan of Elizabethan staging, "a jumble of systems." I am not sure but he is right, and I too. Was not the Elizabethan stage with its enclosed rear stage and its uncurtained front platform indeed a combination of the mediaeval and the modern? Have we not in its study a delicate problem in research—to determine just how far at any given date and in any given theater the one element over-balanced the other? It is indeed so delicate and our sources are so fragmentary that I doubt if we shall ever be able to speak with

definiteness concerning any particular year or even decade. But we should be able to trace some sort of gradual progression, or at least to say with definiteness that there was dominant in a certain period the one element or the other, the plastic or the pictorial.

For the period ending in 1603 it seems certain that it was plastic and unmodern, rather than pictorial. What it was down to 1614 I hope to make clear in a future study. Certainly when so well-informed a critic of the modern stage as Walkley finds the picture stage not coming to its own until the nineteenth century, the presumption is that in the seventeenth it was not particularly prominent.

#### APPENDIX

A few matters less discussed or of less importance may briefly be mentioned here. Opinion is agreed, so far as I have noted, that the performances took place in the afternoon; opened with a prologue at the third sounding of a trumpet; continued for two hours (though one need not, as do some, limit the poetic statements of the prologues to exact minutes and seconds) and closed with an epilogue and perhaps a jig; that female parts were played by boys; and that costumes were rich and expensive though not geographically or historically appropriate. What basis there is for Baker's idea that the prologue was delivered from a balcony box (70) I cannot imagine. A very large number of plays show clearly that the prologue was spoken on the lower stage; for example, *David and Bethsabe* and the *Whore of Babylon*. The evidence is also unknown to me for Schelling's statement (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 153) that in early times a piece of ordnance or a cannon on the stage was shot off to announce the beginning of the performance. To the researches of Malone and Collier on prices of admission, modern studies have added little definite information, but Baker (65-67) has some interesting remarks.

*Properties*.—Only a few years ago Sidney Lee (*English Miscellany* presented to Doctor Furnivall, 248) could speak of the Elizabethan stage as a bare platform, and this belief was indeed general. To show this characterization to be untrue was one purpose of my *Trees on the Stage of Shakespeare*. If the stage employed properties cumbrous as these may naturally have been, others easier to obtain and manage must certainly have been made use of. No recent authors doubt that the stage was sufficiently furnished; even Mr. Archer, who questioned my conclusions (*Under the Greenwood Tree*), admitted that trees and bushes were used on the Elizabethan stage. He was, however, naturally moved to humor and ridicule at the "half-dozen mangy Christmas trees" which he seems to imagine I contemplated. The humor one can understand, but why "half a dozen" and why "mangy"? To us any sort of property tree upon the Elizabethan open

stage can be only ridiculous: but so, too, would be the "descending cloud" or the "bed thrust out"—both common enough. Perhaps we may enjoy imagining *As You Like It* on Shakespeare's stage better without than with property trees, but that is no sign that the Elizabethan audience would or did so enjoy seeing it. We need not suppose "half a dozen" trees; I distinctly specified that under the principle of symbolic setting "two, three, five" could as well suggest a forest as a larger number, though perhaps some manager, bitten with the fever of a "stupendous production," would now and then employ the whole equipment of the playhouse. As for the "mangy," one can indeed imagine such inefficient vegetation, but surely neither the ingenuity of Elizabethan craftsmen nor the poverty of Elizabethan actors necessitated it. I have noted no other argument against the use of "tree" settings except perhaps Mönkemeyer's opinion (82) that directions in prompters' copies show the whole setting of the stage, and that therefore in *The Pilgrim* the stage furnishings for "woods" were merely two chairs and that the music of the forest was suggested by "pot-birds." Yet the only properties necessarily noted in the prompters' copies would be those which had to be shifted; trees, if once put in place, were perhaps not removed during the play.

I have noted no objection but Archer's to my idea that trees were used to suggest solitude and desolation. The objection is briefly—I am forced to quote from memory—that if trees on the stage could suggest solitude and desolation, a solitary scene would suggest the mention of trees, and need not mean that they were present on the stage. This is acute but not convincing; why not references to "raging billows" or "desert sands" or any other appropriate thing rather than to the often inappropriate trees? Since these references are sometimes, it would appear, almost dragged into the text some explanation certainly seems necessary; that explanation it seemed to me my suggestion furnished.

Was there scenery, pictorial decoration, painting in perspective? Schelling (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 153) says yes, even in the public theaters and in the lifetime of Shakespeare; Corbin (*Atlantic*, 375) admits it to the "heavens" and background when the rear stage or balcony were not in use; Baker (96) would drop painted cloths on the balcony and shows the Harvard stage in illustration (280) arranged as the deck of a ship; Child (303-4) denies painted scenery to the public stage but admits it at court; Albright would seem to agree with Corbin; Mrs. Stopes's article, largely upon this subject, adds little to our knowledge, and Stevenson's idea (323) that the public theaters could not afford scenery is certainly erroneous. If Henslowe's company could spend the sums it did upon costumes, it could also have bought the little scenery *necessary* for the usual Elizabethan play. The difficulty in supposing scenery lies not so much in obtaining it as in finding a place for it on the stage.

*Stairs of the auditorium.*—Archer, in the valuable and suggestive plan of the Fortune Theater prepared at his suggestion by Mr. William Godfrey, places stairs to the galleries at either side of the stage as well as at the opposite end of the yard. The Fortune contract, as Archer notes, provides for "stairs—without and within," "contrived" as in the Globe, but the fact that "none of the representations we possess of round or octagonal theaters (show) any sign of an external staircase" causes him to place these stairs "without," outside the galleries to be sure, but within the yard. Since all the exterior representations, however, are made from the south and show apparently no doors for entrance as well as no stairs, the argument is not so weighty as it might at first appear. Perhaps the doors and stairs were all on the north side toward the city; perhaps they were where Archer places them. Child (288) quotes a suggestion that the larger round substructure shown in the familiar 1610 drawing of the Globe "enclosed a passage leading from the entrance door (or doors) to various entrances to the yard."

*Scene division.*—Prölsz (56) says that Shakespeare based his scene divisions not exclusively upon clearance of the stage but rather upon the change of the fancied place of action, and Albright (155), therefore, criticizes my using a clearance of the stage to mark scene division as not in accord with Elizabethan custom. Prölsz himself makes no statement as to general Elizabethan practice, and he is a bold man who would do so in view of the variance in Elizabethan prints, with which, however, Albright admits his unfamiliarity. Jonson in his Folio followed the classical method, and most quartos are undivided into acts and scenes; some, however, like *I, Honest Whore*, use the principle of stage clearance (cf. also the "plot" of *Tamar Cam.*). In this play, scene divisions are not numbered nor indicated until scene 7, a number to be arrived at only by dividing a street scene at a point where the stage is empty (scenes 1 and 2). In view of the large number of scenes in which the fancied place of action changes without the actors leaving the stage, so that if change of place became the criterion a division of scene might fall in the middle of a sentence, it is scarcely necessary to bother much about the particular principle adopted; the Elizabethans apparently did not. Division on the basis of stage clearance, though perhaps exaggerating the number of scenes, is not otherwise misleading. It is not a question of being Elizabethan or non-Elizabethan, but of being consistent and clear.

*The capacity of the Swan Theater* is a vigorously disputed point. DeWitt's statement that it would accommodate 3,000 persons has provoked considerable discussion, Baker (72-75) and Wallace (49-51) denying its probability, Schelling (161) doubting it, Corbin (371-73) and Child (293) accepting it, and Archer suggesting (*The Fortune Theater*) that it is an exaggerated estimate of the capacity with the stage removed. All this is of course important as establishing or throwing doubt upon the authority of DeWitt, but from the point of view of drama is not the important question, not so

much how many persons could be crowded in, as how large was the auditorium and how far the average spectator was from the stage? We know that the Fortune Theater was one of the largest in London and yet in its external measurements it was only 80 feet square. It, with the other Elizabethan theaters, was therefore relatively small (see the suggestive plans drawn to scale of various famous theaters printed in Brander Matthews' *Study of the Drama*, where the Fortune however [60] is given 84 feet), and the dramatic art of the period intended for a performance as intimate as that in our small modern theater—perhaps because of the projecting stage even more intimate.

*Place of orchestra.*—Wegener (151) misunderstands the Swan picture and places the orchestra in the place so marked on the drawing. Even Child (307) does the same thing. Of course, as has several times been pointed out, the word there refers to the more expensive seats in the "gentlemen's rooms." The music was stationed sometimes in the tiring-room, or behind the curtain; sometimes it was placed in the balcony above the stage. On this subject see Lawrence's scholarly article in the *Jahrbuch* for 1908, "Music in the Elizabethan Theater," which, one may note, Child omits from his bibliography.

*Continuity of performance.*—Practically everyone seems agreed that the Elizabethan performance must have been fairly continuous, except that Albright, compelled apparently by the clashes inevitable even with his elastic theory of alternation, allows (129) slight pauses between two differently propertied scenes, besides the more generally admitted act intervals marked by music. Neither must the interpolation of jigs, dances, or fun-making by the clown be forgotten. Act pauses are not however supposed to have been tolerated at the Globe, largely, it seems, from the well-known passage in the Induction to *The Malcontent* (Lawrence, *Music*, 40; Wallace, 10; Tolman, 17). But why should the phrase "To abridge the not received custom of musick in our theatre" especially apply to the act interludes? The Globe used music during the plays—everyone admits that; may the phrase not rather refer to omission of the songs (in any case only dragged in) because at the moment the company lacked an actor to sing them, just as at another time *Twelfth Night* seems to have been carelessly revised to relieve Viola from singing? Or again may not the *Malcontent* reference be to the "not received" musical entertainment which Wallace (117) thinks was customary at the Blackfriars before the play? Whatever the explanation of this passage, Lawrence's reason for the abridgment of the music—the saving of time—cannot be the right one, for it was to fill up this time that the additions to the play were made, in order apparently that the performance might reach the standard length. In any case *The Malcontent*, II, i, "whilst the act is playing," shows that sometimes at the Globe there were musical intermissions, as does also the direction from *Midsummer Night's Dream*, "They sleep all the Act," cited by Corbin and Archer.

*Spectators on the stage.*—Wallace devotes a chapter (xi) to proving that this custom arose at the Blackfriars, stating that the earliest known allusion to it dates from 1598 (130), that it arose at the Blackfriars because of the shape of the stage (48), and that thence it spread to the other theaters and to the continent.<sup>1</sup> There is not space here properly to discuss this topic but certain facts cause one to doubt his conclusions. Wallace bases much of his argument upon the idea that only on a stage like that he imagines for the Blackfriars could spectators have sat without interfering with the view of others. Yet Wegener finds a different but to him equally satisfactory arrangement in his oval-shaped rear stage, and Archer's plan for the Fortune allows, it seems to me, adequate places for gallants where they would not have interfered with the sight of other spectators. Indeed when we remember that if the *Gul's Horne-booke* be true, they did interfere to a great degree, especially with the groundlings, that they probably sat on low stools or stretched themselves upon the rushes, and that they could easily have grouped themselves, in the Fortune for example, around the ends of the 40-foot stage, the whole argument loses its weight.

As for the allusions Wallace cites as clear-cut in his favor, almost every one seems to me to imply exactly the contrary. First of all he denies all force to Percy's *Fairy Pastoral* (written for Paul's at least by 1601) with its "concourse of the People on the Stage." Even if we grant that the play never was performed the remark points to a usual condition which Percy certainly did not make up out of whole cloth. The statement in the Induction to Marston's *What You Will* where one gallant says to another, "Let's place ourselves within the curtains for good faith the stage is so very little, we shall wrong the general eye else very much," loses all point if all gallants were so considerate; it, like the similar passage in *The Malcontent*, was a clever rebuke. This later passage, which, in Wallace's opinion "explicitly denies" the custom at the Globe, to me, as it does to Skemp, tends rather to establish it—otherwise why all this fuss about it? Sly knew he was to be hissed, one may also note. The actors are merely expressing their dislike of the custom; would the company at the Globe have done so had the nuisance only concerned their rivals at the Blackfriars? Wallace does not consider at all the presence on the stage of Cordatus and his friend in *Every Man in His Humour* (Globe, 1599), which would be most inappropriate could they not pose as ordinary spectators. Moreover Wallace's high-handed dismissal of the evidence of the satirists—Middleton and Dekker with their very precise evidence for the custom in the public theaters—seems quite unjustified. The custom could so easily have originated at performances in guildhalls, in schools, or in private houses, where important

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Baskervill's admirable article, "The Custom of Sitting on the Elizabethan Stage," *Modern Philology*, April, 1911, which appeared after the text of this paper was set up, is a complete refutation of Wallace's reasoning.

persons would occupy prominent positions, very probably upon the stage, that to claim it as a mark of the exclusive influence of the Blackfriars seems extremely hazardous.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> B. Neuendorff's *Die englische Volksbühne im Zeitalter Shakespeares* (Berlin, 1910) was not received until this article was in the hands of the printer. Here there is space only for a brief reference—much less than it deserves, for it is notably sane and complete. Its distinctive feature is its threefold classification of the Elizabethan stages as (1) lacking a curtain and a rear stage (the "Red Bull" picture, Neuendorff holding that the hanging at the back is merely a hanging hiding the exit and not a real curtain); (2) lacking a curtain but with the lower stage divided into two parts by pillars (Swan); (3) possessing a curtain and a rear stage (the *Meesallina* picture). The curtainless stage receives unusual emphasis, the word *curtain* or *discovered* often being interpreted as referring to the bed curtain or the hangings around the throne. Proof for the lack of a curtain is found in the frequent directions to bring in certain properties, and these curtainless stages are held to have continued until late in the Elizabethan period. Neuendorff considers Prüß's Law of Re-entry (that no character shall leave the stage and immediately re-enter if the scene is meanwhile supposed to have changed) at some length, and finds it of the greatest influence upon dramatic construction. It accounts for the many scenes beginning or ending with a monologue, and for the insertion of speeches or even scenes otherwise unnecessary. With a double or triple plot the dramatist was less embarrassed by this principle of construction. There were, however, certain exceptions to the law; not whole speeches were necessary to mark the change—a few lines, or even business alone might serve ("alarms," "a retreat sounded"); after dumbshaws or the act interval the law did not apply; nor did it when the person who had just gone out re-entered with a large number. He finds my proof of the use of "trees" open to criticism, but completely dismisses the alternation theory. His most serious criticism of my conclusions seems to be that though the platform stage was in earlier days the prevailing form, it later ceased to be so. As I expressly limited the application of my statements to the years before 1603, and as Neuendorff himself cites plays of late date as examples of the curtainless stage, we are I think on essential matters not much at variance. I regret not to be able to summarize his work in detail.

W. H. Godfrey's article, "An Elizabethan Theatre" (*Architectural Review*, April, 1908), escaped my attention until too late for use in this paper.



## ON THE SOURCES OF THE OLD-ENGLISH *EXODUS*

That the author of the Old-English *Exodus* used as one of his sources Avitus' poem *De transitu Maris Rubri* was first suggested by Groth in 1883.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion was followed up by Mürkens in his *Untersuchungen über das altenglische Exoduslied*, the third section of which consists of a detailed comparison of the English poem with the Vulgate and Avitus. Mürkens sums up as follows his conclusions in regard to the sources used by the author of the *Exodus*:

Dass noch andre quellen als die Vulgata und der Avitus benutzt worden seien, ist mir nicht wahrscheinlich. Wenn an einigen stellen der dichter etwas neues hinzufügt, oder gegebenes weiter ausführt, so erklärt sich dies einfach aus seiner dichterischen natur, die sich nicht sklavisch an die quellen bindet, sowie aus seiner stark ausgeprägten, volkstümlichen eigenart, die er auch als gelehrter geistlicher durchaus nicht verleugnen kann.<sup>2</sup>

Brandl, in his recent history of Old-English literature, accepts without question the opinion that Avitus is an important source of the Old-English poem, and seems to agree with Mürkens in believing that the English poet invented the details which he did not find in the Vulgate or in Avitus. Brandl says of the *Exodus*:

. . . . es behandelt den auszug der Israeliten aus Aegypten teils nach der Bibel, teils nach den lateinischen versen des Avitus *De transitu Maris Rubri* und beruft sich ausdrücklich auf *boceras* (530). . . .<sup>3</sup> Die heimische tradition war stark genug, dem dichter eine vielfach sehr freie und nationalisierende umwandlung der quellen zu ermöglichen.<sup>4</sup>

The latest expression of opinion is that of Professor F. A. Blackburn, who, though he is more guarded than Brandl, does not seriously challenge the current view. He says:

In the *Daniel* the source is followed rather closely and to the exclusion of all outside matter; the *Genesis* also is in general a fair paraphrase of the original, though with some additions from other sources; but the *Exodus*

<sup>1</sup> *Composition und Alter der altenglischen Exodus* (Berlin, 1883), 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* (Bonn, 1899), 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (ed. 2), II, 1028.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1029.

uses its source with great freedom and is indebted to the author's own fancy for the great mass of its details.<sup>1</sup>

And in another place:

There are various forms of expression that suggest other Scripture passages, and Mürkens has cited a number that show a familiarity with Avitus' poem *De transitu Maris Rubri*; most of them are mere words or phrases and not entirely certain, but our poet may be indebted to this source for his conception of the pillar of cloud as a defence from heat as well as a guide.<sup>2</sup>

It is the purpose of the present paper to test the current opinion in regard to the sources of the *Exodus*, especially that form of it which is expressed by Mürkens in the quotation made above. I shall try to show, first, that the *Exodus* contains no real evidence of indebtedness to Avitus; and secondly, that a number of the most striking additions which the poet has made to the scriptural material must be credited, not to his own invention, but to sources independent of the Vulgate and Avitus.<sup>3</sup>

## I

The primary source of the *Exodus* is in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters of Exodus; of these chapters, however, the poet used only about thirty-five verses. To elaborate this small amount of material into a poem of nearly six hundred lines necessitated the making of many additions. These additions are of two kinds, which I shall call respectively inorganic and organic. By inorganic additions I mean the mere elaboration by the poet of the data already contained in his primary source, additions that do not change in any important respect the characters, motives, situations, plot, or spirit of the original, but are rather embellishments, intended to give to the narrative greater clearness or interest. Such additions describe in detail objects that are merely named in the original; describe at length action that is stated in the original in bare outline,

<sup>1</sup> *Exodus and Daniel*, Belles Lettres Series (Boston, 1907), xix. To this edition, which has contributed so greatly to the interpretation of the text of the *Exodus*, I am indebted for constant help received in my study of the poem.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Professor F. N. Robinson of Harvard University for the suggestion that I should attempt this investigation, for much helpful counsel given in the course of it, and for reading my proof sheets. I wish also to thank Professor G. L. Kittredge for reading my paper in manuscript, and Professor E. K. Rand for his kind response to my inquiries.

or merely implied; or describe the emotions experienced by the actors in the events related by the poet. The poet's own comments on the action he relates and the speeches he puts into the mouths of his characters are also inorganic additions, provided these comments and speeches grow naturally out of the original material. The organic additions, on the other hand, are not embellishments, or a mere drawing out of the potentialities of the original material; they augment it in such a way as to make the work as a whole not only longer, clearer, more interesting, or more beautiful than its source, but essentially different. As obvious examples of these two methods of poetic elaboration we may take *Genesis A* and *Exodus*. The additions which the former makes to its scriptural source are usually of the inorganic kind. But the latter, though making numerous inorganic additions, is notable for the large number of organic additions that it makes to the scriptural material.

In examining the problem of the indebtedness of the *Exodus* to Avitus our first question must be, what could the Old-English poet have got from the Latin poet which he did not find in Scripture or could not easily have developed out of what he did find in Scripture; or, in other words, how many of the English poet's organic additions can be explained on the hypothesis that he borrowed from the Latin poet? For the consideration of this question we must have before us these organic additions, and I shall therefore list them below in the order in which they occur in the text.<sup>1</sup>

1. The poet says that the idols of Egypt fell down when Israel went out of Egypt:

druron deofolgyld.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The distinction between organic and inorganic additions is a relative, not an absolute, one, for some parts of a narrative are more organic than others. The test is simple. The organic portions of a narrative are those which we should include in making an abstract or outline of the narrative; the inorganic portions are those we should omit from our outline. In its practical application, however, this test is not absolute, for an abstract is not an absolute thing; it may be more or less detailed, and certain parts of the narrative would be included in a somewhat detailed abstract but omitted from a less detailed one. But the distinction between the organic and inorganic parts of a story, if not absolute, is perfectly real, and in the great majority of cases is easy of application.

<sup>2</sup> L. 47; all references to Old-English poetical texts are according to the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*, both as to line-numbering and text. In a few cases, however, I have adopted a different word-division or punctuation, or substituted the manuscript reading for the emendation in the Grein-Wülker text. I have also expanded "I" as "and," and use no italics.

2. The poet represents the Israelites as journeying through a hostile country, whereas the Vulgate expressly says that they made a detour to avoid traveling through a hostile land.<sup>1</sup>

Oferfor he mid þy folce fæstena worn,  
land and leodweard laðra manna,  
enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad,  
oð þæt hie on Guðmyrce gearwe bæron.<sup>2</sup>

3. The Ethiopians are represented as a people hostile to the Hebrews and an object of fear to them:

Nearwe genyddon on norðwegas,  
wiston him be suðan Sigelwara land,  
forbærned burhhleoðu, brune leode  
hatum heofoncolum.<sup>3</sup>

4. The pillar of cloud is said to be a protection against heat, as well as a guide:

þær halig god  
wið færbryne folc gescylde,  
bælce oferbrædde byrnendne heofon,  
halgan nette hatwendne lyft.<sup>4</sup>

5. The pillar of cloud, the Israelites, and the path of their journey are described by means of a system of nautical imagery, the pillar being called a sail, the Israelites seamen, and their road a *flodweg*:

hæfde witig god  
sunnan siðfæt segle ofertolden,  
swa þa mæstrapas men ne cuðon  
ne ða seglrode geseon meahton  
eorðbuende ealle cræfte,  
hu afæstnod wæs feldhusa mæst.<sup>5</sup>

fyrð eall geseah,  
hu þær hlifedon halige seglas,  
lyftwundor leoht.<sup>6</sup>

Segl siðe weold, sæmen æfter  
foron flodwege.<sup>7</sup>

See also ll. 331-33.

<sup>1</sup> "Igitur cum emisisset Pharaō populum, non eos duxit Deus per viam terrae Philistinim quae vicina est: reputans ne forte poeniteret eum, si uidisset aduersum se bella consurgere, et reverteretur in Aegyptum. Sed circumdixit per viam deserti, quae est iuxta mare rubrum": Exod. 13:17-18. All references to the Vulgate are made, for the Old Testament, according to the edition of Heyse and Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1873); for the New Testament according to the edition of Loch.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 56-59. <sup>3</sup> Ll. 68-71. <sup>4</sup> Ll. 71-74. <sup>5</sup> Ll. 80-85. <sup>6</sup> Ll. 88-90. <sup>7</sup> Ll. 105-6.

6. The pillar of cloud and of fire is regarded by the poet as two, not one:

Him beforan foran fyr and wolcen  
in beorhtrodor, beamas twegen,  
þara æghwæðer efngedælde  
heahþegnunga haliges gastes.<sup>1</sup>

7. The pillar is represented as not only a guide and a shelter, but also as an object of fear, as the weapon of God:

Hæfde foregenga fyrene loccas,  
blace beamas, bellegsan hweop  
in þam hereþreate, hatan lige,  
þæt he on westenne werod forbærnde,  
nymðe hie modhwate Moyses hyrde.<sup>2</sup>

8. The organization of the Egyptian army is described as follows:

Hæfde him alesen leoda dugeðe  
tiredigra twa þusendo,  
þæt wæron cyningas and cneowmagas,  
on þæt eade riht æðelum deore;  
forðon anra gehwile ut alædde  
wæpnedcynnes wigan æghwilcne,  
þara þe he on ðam fyrste findan mihte.<sup>3</sup>

9. The Hebrew army was divided into 12 *feðan*, each *feða* consisting of 50 *cista* of 1,000 men each, ll. 223–32.

10. The wall of the waters stood for the space of a day:

Sæweall astah,  
uplang gestod wið Israhelum  
andægne fyrst.<sup>4</sup>

11. When the Israelites entered the sea, the tribe of Judah went first, followed next by the tribe of Reuben, and then by that of Simeon, ll. 310–53.

12. There was fighting where Judah went:

þara wæs on ore,  
heard handplega, hægstæld modige  
wæpna wælslihtes, wigend unforhte,  
bilswaðu blodige, beadumægnes ræs,  
grimhelma gegrind, þær Judas for.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 93–96.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 120–24.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 183–89.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 302–4.

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 326–30.

13. Solomon built the Temple on the hill upon which Abraham sacrificed Isaac:

þær eft se snottra sunu Dauides,  
wuldorfæst cyning witgan larum  
getimbrede tempel gode.<sup>1</sup>

14. The poet says (if the usual interpretation of the lines is the correct one) that after the destruction of the Egyptians Moses gave the Law to the Israelites on the seashore:

þanon Israhelum ece rædas  
on merehwearfe Moyses sægde,  
heahþungen wer halige spræce,  
deop ærende: dægweorc nemnað.  
Swa gyt werðeode on gewritum findað  
doma gehwilene, þara ðe him drihten bebead  
on þam siðfate soðum wordum.<sup>2</sup>

15. The Israelites got treasures from the sea:

heddon herereafes (hæft wæs onsæled),  
ongunnon sælafe segnum dælan,  
on yðlafe, ealde madmas,  
reaf and randas.<sup>3</sup>

These fifteen points constitute the most striking peculiarities of the poem; Mürkens believes that two of them, numbers (4) and (8), are derived from Avitus.

That Avitus represented the pillar as a protection against the heat of the sun is unquestionable. He says:

Ecce novum dictu, caelo servata sereno  
Fridiga ferventi iussa est opponere nubes  
Se radio densumque parat tenuissima tegmen.  
Sic circumiectis, tellus quis ardet eoa,  
Aestibus ignorat genuinum turba calorem,  
Vesperis ut credas leni respergere flatu  
Blanda vel upentes diffundere frigora ventos.<sup>4</sup>

But Professor J. W. Bright has pointed out that this notion is also expressed in Ps. 104:39, "Expandit nubem in protectionem eorum, et ignem ut luceret eis per noctem."<sup>5</sup> Upon this Professor Blackburn

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 389-91.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 515-21.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 583-86.

<sup>4</sup> *Aviti Opera, Poematum*, v, 430-36; ed. Peiper. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*

<sup>5</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVII, 424. Professor Bright cites also Isa. 4:5, "Et tabernaculum erit in umbraculum diei ab aestu."

comments as follows: "The protection given by the cloud is mentioned elsewhere in the Scriptures, e.g., Num. 14:14 [et nubes tua protegat illos], but in none of the passages is it clear that the writer has in mind a shelter from heat; the connection suggests rather a defence against foes."<sup>1</sup> If these two passages be ambiguous, the same cannot be said of Wisd. 19:7: "Nam nubes castra eorum obumbrabat," which is part of a discourse upon God's mercies to Israel in the exodus. Nor is Ps. 104:39 really ambiguous when examined in the light of patristic commentary. The very ancient Codex Amiatinus has, instead of the reading given above for Ps. 104:39: "Expandit nubem in tentorium, et ignem ut luceret nocte."<sup>2</sup> This reading, though only a gloss that has displaced the true text, contains the interpretation sanctioned by the author of the Vulgate version. For St. Jerome's comment on Ps. 104:39 is: "Nubem et ignem, Spiritum sanctum dicit: qui nos et ab aestu diei defendit, et in nocturnis tenebris illuminat."<sup>3</sup> Cassiodorus,<sup>4</sup> St. Bruno,<sup>5</sup> Haymo Halberstatensis,<sup>6</sup> and Peter Lombard<sup>7</sup> also say that the "protectio" was shelter against the sun. This being the accepted interpretation of the passage, it is not strange that Avitus and the author of the *Exodus* represented the pillar as they did. St. Gregory of Nyssa in his *De Vita Moysis* had done the same, saying: τοιοῦτον τὸ θαῦμα ἦν, ὥς καὶ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος θερμῶς ἐπιλαμπούσης, διατείχισμα πρὸς τὸν λαὸν εἶναι, σκιάζουσάν τε τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ λεπτῇ δρόσῳ το φλογῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπονοτίζουσιν.<sup>8</sup> The same conception of the pillar is found later in the chronicle *Flores Historiarum*,<sup>9</sup> and in John Myrc's *Festiall*.<sup>10</sup> It seems clear,

<sup>1</sup> Blackburn, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Heyse and Tischendorf, 614.

<sup>3</sup> *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter referred to as "Migne" simply), xxvi, 1139.

<sup>4</sup> "Nubes data est, ut solis temperaret ardorem," *Expositio in Psalterium*, Migne, lxx, 751.

<sup>5</sup> "Ipse est igitur, qui nos a calore et cunctis tribulationibus protegit," *Expositio in Psalmos*, Migne, cixv, 1103.

<sup>6</sup> "Expandit nubem . . . qua protegeret eos contra solis aestum . . .," *Explanatio in Psalmos*, Migne, cxvi, 556.

<sup>7</sup> "Expandit nubem in protectionem eorum [Cassiod.], ut protegeret eos contra ardorem solis," *Comm. in Psalmos*, Migne, cxci, 956.

<sup>8</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xlv, 309.

<sup>9</sup> " . . . et eadem per diem nubes habens speciem, ne fessos lassitudo conficeret, ab aestus injuria defendebat," *Rolls Series*, ed. Luard, I, 13.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Erbe, EETS, 101.

then, in view of these facts, that the circumstance that both poets describe the pillar as a shelter as well as a guide is no evidence whatever that one borrowed from the other. The author of the *Exodus* could have derived his conception from the Psalter, from Wisdom, from commentaries on the Scriptures, or from oral teaching, quite as easily as from Avitus. Both poets had access, so far as we know, to the same sources of information, and their agreement in this particular proves nothing as to the indebtedness of one to the other.

Upon *Exodus* 184 (see above, number 8) Mürkens comments as follows:

Es müsste geradezu auffällig sein, dass der dichter die zahl der Egypter im verhältnis zu den 600,000 Israeliten so klein annimmt, wenn er nicht einen diesbezüglichen hinweis auf die geringe anzahl derselben . . . gekannt hätte.<sup>1</sup>

But does the English represent the Egyptian army as a small one? Ll. 183-89 say that the Egyptian king had selected of the strength of his people two thousand famous men, who were kings and kinsmen, and that each of these led forth every male warrior that he could find in the time allowed him. Or, as Rau expresses it, "Pharao ist mit 2,000 edeln ausgezogen, von denen jeder einzelne soviel kriegler aufgeboden hatte, als die kurze frist eben erlaubte."<sup>2</sup> Mürkens' interpretation of the text leaves out of account lines 187-89, and is seen to be wrong when we read the passage as a whole. But if the English poet had represented the Egyptian army as a small one I do not think he could have got the idea from Avitus. As evidence of the fact that Avitus describes the army as a small one Mürkens cites the following:

Nunc ad diluvium pleno succensa furore  
Sponte sua current periturae milia gentis.<sup>3</sup>

Substitit ad modicum restrictis motibus agmen.<sup>4</sup>

The first of these passages is quite inconclusive as evidence of the number of Egyptians who perished, for "milia" is as consistent with a very large army as with a relatively small one. And the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Germanische Altertümer in der ags. Exodus* (Leipzig, 1889), Diss., p. 33; cf. also A. R. Skemp, in *Mod. Philol.*, IV, 452-53.

<sup>3</sup> Avitus, v, 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 616.



second passage merely says that the army halted for a little while. Mürkens construes the line "ad modicum agmen." But there can be no doubt that "ad modicum" is a phrase meaning "a little." It is not good classical Latin but is fairly common in the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in Avitus' poem that is inconsistent with the idea that Pharaoh's army was a large one.<sup>2</sup> In fact, two places distinctly suggest that it was a large force. In ll. 391-93 the poet apostrophizes the Hebrew army in these words:

Sed non haec acies acie salvabere ferri.  
Quamlibet innumeris peditum stipere catervis,  
Vnus pugnabit cunctis pro milibus auctor.

The "innumerae catervae" would naturally be the Egyptian host. The poet's description of the departure of the Egyptians is still more strongly indicative of a great army:

Progreditur collecta manus: rex ipse frementes  
Curru cogit equos, telis tamen undique saeptus  
Delituit, densam reddunt hastilia silvam.  
Concutitur pulsata rotis et pondere tellus,  
Angustavit humum latam stipata iuventus  
Conclussitque vias. quidquid virtutis habere  
Aegyptus potuit, totum mors proxima ducit.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that the Old-English poet could not have taken from the Latin poet the idea that the Egyptian army was small in comparison with the Hebrew army, because both describe Pharaoh's host as very great. It need scarcely be pointed out that their agreement in this particular is due to the fact that they used a common source. The Vulgate distinctly implies a large force in the statement "Iunxit

<sup>1</sup> Examples are: from the Vulgate, "vapor est ad modicum parens, et deinceps exterminabitur," Jas. 4:15; "Nam corporalis exercitatio ad modicum utilis est," I Tim. 4:8; from other writers, "si uicti ad modicum sumus," Priscillianus, *Tract.*, iv, ed. Schepes, *Corpus Script. Ecc. Lat. Vind.*, XVIII, 60; "melius est temporalia ad modicum sufferre supplicia quam aeterna pendere et subire tormenta," Victor Vitensis, *Passio*, sec. 8, ed. Halm, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 60. For other references see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, I, 516. For "modicum" alone in the sense of "a little," cf. "Filloli, adhuc modicum vobiscum sum," John 13:33, etc. For a use of "ad" like that in the phrase "ad modicum," cf. "jussit foras ad breue homines fieri," Acts 5:34. See also Goelzer, *Le Latin de Saint-Avit* (P 1909), p. 608, "ad modicum, i.e. paulum," referring to this line.

<sup>2</sup> Mürkens, p. 72, also cites in this connection "plebs inclyta," as of l. 436, which in Peiper's ed. would be l. 438. L. 638 contains these words, but l. 438 does not. I am unable to see what bearing l. 638, "Vicerat aequoream pedibus plebs inclita vallem," has upon the point Mürkens is discussing.

<sup>3</sup> Avitus, v, 519-25.

ergo currum, et omnem populum suum assumpsit secum."<sup>1</sup> The texts therefore furnish no evidence whatever that the English poet borrowed in this particular from Avitus.

The two cases we have just considered are the only ones in which Mürkens found evidence that the author of the *Exodus* was indebted to Avitus for the organic additions that he made to his scriptural source. It has been shown that this evidence proves nothing. The other evidence cited by Mürkens consists of verbal parallels, that is, resemblances between the inorganic additions made by the two poets to their original material. These parallels are as follows:

- (a) Dæg wæs mære  
ofer middangeard, þa seo mengeo for,  
swa þæs fæsten dreah fela missera,  
ealdwerige Egypta folc,  
þæs þe hie wideferð wyrnan þohton  
Moyses magum, gif hie metod lete,  
onlangne lust leofes siðes.<sup>2</sup>  
  
Procedit tandem populus moxque agmine iuncto  
Diram linquit humum tenebrisque ac luctibus orbam.<sup>3</sup>
- (b) wederwolcen.<sup>4</sup>  
. . . . cum promunt nubila nimbos.<sup>5</sup>
- (c) byrnende beam.<sup>6</sup>  
flammea . . . . columna.<sup>7</sup>
- (d) Swa þær eorþ werod ecan læddon.<sup>8</sup>  
Effertur nigri dux agminis. . . .<sup>9</sup>
- (e) hæfdon hie gemynted to þam mægenheapum  
to þam ærdæge Israhela cynn  
billum abreotan on hyra broðorgyld.<sup>10</sup>  
. . . .  
feond wæs anmod,  
werud wæs wigblac, oð þæt wlanca forsceaf  
mihtig engel, se ða menigeo beheold,  
þæt þær gelaðe mid him leng ne mihton  
geseon tosomne: sið wæs gedæled.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 14:6.<sup>2</sup> Avitus, v, 439.<sup>3</sup> Avitus, v, 641.<sup>4</sup> Exod., 47-53.<sup>5</sup> Exod., 111.<sup>10</sup> Exod., 197-99.<sup>6</sup> Avitus, v, 366-67.<sup>7</sup> Avitus, 425.<sup>11</sup> Exod., 203-7.<sup>8</sup> Exod., 75.<sup>9</sup> Exod., v, 194.

Non tamen infensas patitur committere partes  
 Sole sub occiduo vicinus proelia vesp̄.  
 Distulit in lucem vallatus bella tyrannus,  
 Et fors ardentes nondum conpesceret iras  
 Nec servare furor potuisset foedera nocti  
 Auroramque velit motis praecedere signis,  
 Flammea ni retro subsistens forte columna  
 Obiectu medio gentes discerneret ambas.<sup>1</sup>

- (f)                flod blod gewod.<sup>2</sup>  
 Concolor et rubro miscetur sanguine pontus.<sup>3</sup>
- (g) Heah ofer hæleðum holmweall astah,  
 merestream modig: mægen wæs on cwealme  
 fæste gefeterod, forðganges nep  
 searwum asæled.<sup>4</sup>  
 Ergo exaltatis pendens sustollitur undis  
 mox mergenda phalanx: lympharum monte levata  
 Pondere telorum premitur. . . . .<sup>5</sup>
- (h) Swa gyt werðeode on gewritum findaþ  
 doma gehwilcne, þara ðe him drihten bebead  
 on þam siðfate soðum wordum.<sup>6</sup>  
 Inclitus egregium sollemni carmine ductor  
 Describit factum, toto quod psallitur orbe.<sup>7</sup>

In considering these parallels we must recognize the principle that any two poems whatever that describe the crossing of the Red Sea will contain verbal parallels, even though neither author knew the work of the other. In developing poetically the scriptural material that served both poets as their primary source, Avitus and the *Exodus* poet, assuming that the latter did not know the work of the former, could scarcely fail to describe the same object or the same event now and then in a similar way. I have already shown that if Avitus' poem be a source of the *Exodus*, it is at any rate not a structural source. In the absence of structural resemblances not found in the common source of the two poems, we must subject to a rigid criticism descriptive parallels that are offered as evidence that the English poet was indebted to his predecessor. To prove this

<sup>1</sup> v, 532-39.<sup>2</sup> Ll. 467-70.<sup>3</sup> Ll. 519-21.<sup>4</sup> L. 462.<sup>5</sup> v, 683-85.<sup>6</sup> v, 704-5.<sup>7</sup> v, 693.

the parallels must be fairly numerous and of such a character that they cannot be easily explained on any other hypothesis than that the later poet borrowed from the earlier one.

Of these parallels we may dismiss at once (b), (c), and (d). As to (b) there is no parallel at all. In the *Exodus* "wederwolcen" is used as an epithet for the pillar; in Avitus "nubila" is not used of the pillar but of clouds of a different sort altogether, which the poet contrasts with the pillar, for he says:

Nec tamen hanc nubem taetro suffusa colore  
Forma dabat nec concreto sic horrida vultu,  
Vt terrent, validos cum promunt nubila nimbos.<sup>1</sup>

In (c) "byrnende beam" and "flammea columna" are mere synonyms of the Vulgate "columna ignis."<sup>2</sup> In (d) Avitus and the English poet agree merely in saying that the Egyptians were of a dark complexion; if they had agreed in calling them fair the parallel would be striking, but the agreement we have in the texts is a commonplace.

In (a) I can see no resemblance between the two passages except in the fact that both say that the Israelites were leaving Egypt, and imply that Egypt was a good place to leave. The *Exodus* passage is obscure, and probably corrupt, but it is difficult to see how under any interpretation we may give to the passage, it can have been borrowed from Avitus. But (e) is a better parallel. The *Exodus* agrees with Avitus (see above) in representing the attack of the Egyptians as deferred until dawn. This detail is not stated in the scriptural account, though something of the kind is implied in the fact that the Egyptians and the Israelites passed the night encamped near each other by the Red Sea, which we know from Exod. 14:19-20:

Tollensque se Angelus Dei, qui praecedebat castra Israel, abiit post eos: et cum eo pariter columna nubis, priora dimittens, post tergum stetit, inter castra Aegyptiorum et castra Israel: et erat nubes tenebrosa, et illuminans noctem, ita ut ad se invicem toto noctis tempore accedere non valerent.

That the Egyptians caught up with the Hebrews about sunset, found them already encamped, and deferred attack until morning is a very obvious explanation of the fact that the two armies lay in camp near each other through the night, and it is an explanation that

<sup>1</sup> v. 437-39.

<sup>2</sup> Exod., 13:21.

would easily suggest itself to a poet who was visualizing the incidents and weaving them into an artistic narrative.<sup>1</sup> There is no greater probability in the hypothesis that the English poet borrowed this detail from Avitus than in the hypothesis that he invented it independently. The other resemblances included under (e) are of little weight. Surely the author of *Exodus* did not need to have from Avitus the suggestion that the Egyptians were courageous (*feond wæs anmod*). Nor is there any indication that Avitus' account of the parting of the two armies suggested anything to the Old-English poet. On the contrary, a comparison of both passages with the passage cited just above from the Vulgate shows that the *Exodus* follows that account more closely than Avitus does, which would not be the case if the *Exodus* were following Avitus. The angel is not mentioned by Avitus, and the phrase "mid him" is, as Professor Blackburn notes,<sup>2</sup> a translation of the Latin "in vicem." Parallel (e), then, cannot, either in its details or as a unit, be regarded as supporting the opinion that Avitus is a source of our poem.

In parallel (g) the first two and a half lines of the English passage express an idea similar to that contained in the first line and a half of the Latin. But when we compare the two passages with the corresponding passage in the Vulgate,

Cumque extendisset Moyses manum contra mare, reversum est primo diluculo ad priorem locum: fugientibusque Aegyptiis occurrerunt aquae, et involvit eos Dominus in mediis fluctibus. Reversaeque sunt aquae, et operuerunt currus et equites cuncti exercitus Pharaonis, qui sequentes ingressi fuerant mare,<sup>3</sup>

we see that neither poet has made any real addition to the picture presented to us in the scriptural narrative. So far the parallel contains no evidence of borrowing. And in the latter parts of the two passages there is no similarity if in the English we retain the reading of the manuscript. Mürkens, however, emends "forðganges nep" to "forðgange neh," on the basis of the Latin "mox mergenda."<sup>4</sup> Now if we knew that the author of the *Exodus* was imitating Avitus in this place it would be legitimate to emend the Old-English, if the

<sup>1</sup> In Josephus also the Egyptians postpone battle until morning: 'Εν ὧς τε γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῆς διώξεως εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν μάχην ὑπερβάλλεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον; *Antiq. Jud.*, lib. 2, cap. 16; *Opera*, ed. Dindorfius, P 1845, I, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Blackburn, 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Exod.*, 14:27-28.

<sup>4</sup> Mürkens, 76.

manuscript reading were clearly corrupt, with the aid of the Latin. But we have found no evidence that the poet was imitating Avitus either here or elsewhere, and such an emendation therefore begs the very question in regard to which the passage is offered as evidence. And judged on its merits, apart from the Latin, Mürkens' emendation is not convincing, for it assumes that the scribe made two errors in the half-line, whereas we cannot be certain that he made any error; "nep" may after all be a good Old-English word having some such meaning as "lacking," "deprived of."<sup>1</sup> Parallel (g) therefore cannot be regarded as lending any probability to the opinion that the author of *Exodus* copied Avitus.

In parallel (h) Avitus says that after the destruction of the Egyptians Moses uttered a hymn which was still sung during the lifetime of the poet. The Old-English passage, ll. 515 ff., is full of difficulties, but "ece rædas" must mean either the Decalogue (the usual interpretation), or the song of Moses, "Cantemus Domino," recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus.<sup>2</sup> In Avitus, on the

<sup>1</sup> Blackburn, 58.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is a very difficult one, whichever interpretation we accept. The difficulties involved in taking "ece rædas," and "deop ærende" to mean the Decalogue are: (1) That a writer who knew the Bible as well as this poet did (for the passages he used, besides those noted herein, see Mürkens, 68-77) would not be likely to make such a blunder as that of saying that the Decalogue was given to Moses at the Red Sea instead of at Mount Sinai. (2) If "ece rædas" is the Decalogue, so is "doma gehwilde" of l. 520, and the lines (522-25):

Gif onlucan wile lifes wealstod,  
beorht in breostum banhuses weard,  
ginfaesten god gastes cægon,  
run bið gerecenod, ræd forð gæð,

are also to be understood as referring to the Decalogue. These lines appear to mean: "If the interpreter of life [i.e., the soul], the bright keeper of the body in man's breast, has the will to unlock with the keys of the Spirit ample benefits, the mystery will be interpreted, counsel will go forth." This is very difficult to apply to the Ten Commandments, for they are peculiarly ill-suited material for allegorical interpretation. If, however, "ece rædas" and "deop ærende" are the "Cantemus Domino," and "dægweorc nemnað" means (as it very well may; cf. *Exod.* 506, *Guth.* 64): "they [i.e., "rædas"] recount, or celebrate, the day's work," ll. 522 ff. offer no such difficulty as we meet with in applying them to the Decalogue. The events of the Exodus, and the "Cantemus Domino" which celebrates them, are a favorite subject for allegorical interpretation. See, for example, 1 Cor. 10:1-2, and St. Augustine's commentary on the "Cantemus Domino" (Migne, xxxix, 1634-38), making the crossing of the Red Sea a type of baptism; St. Augustine makes of the Israelites, Moses, and the Egyptians types respectively of the Christian, Christ, and the Devil and his angels. (3) If "ece rædas" of l. 515 is the Decalogue, we have difficulty with the passage 548 ff., beginning:

Swa reordode ræda gemyndig  
manna mildost,

which seems clearly to refer back to ll. 515 ff.; for it is impossible to take what immediately precedes l. 548 as the speech of Moses. We must therefore take "Swa reordode" as resumptive, and "ræda" as equivalent to "rædas" of l. 515. If we grant this, it is

other hand, the "solemne carmen" unquestionably means the "Cantemus Domino." Now if the utterance of Moses to which the *Exodus* poet refers is the Decalogue, the two passages exhibit not a parallel, but a very striking divergence. Also, it must be observed that Avitus tells us upon what occasion the song of Moses was used in the church in his day, namely, at baptism,<sup>1</sup> for he says:

toto quod psallitur orbe,  
Cum purgata sacris deletur culpa fluentis  
Emittitque novam parientis lymphæ lavacri  
Prolem post veteres, quos edidit Eva, reatus.<sup>2</sup>

The English poet says nothing like this; ll. 519–21, as shown in my note above, are altogether different from what Avitus says in ll. 704–5. Nothing, therefore, can be made out of this parallel as evidence that the author of the *Exodus* copied Avitus. If both poets said that Moses announced the Decalogue on the shore of the Red Sea, or if both said that the "Cantemus Domino" was used at baptism, we might make something of it. As it is, it proves nothing.

Finally, parallel (f) shows that the two poets agree in representing the sea as stained with blood, for which there is no authority in the Vulgate. In Avitus the idea appears in one place only:

Ast alli, lassata diu dum brachia iactant,  
Incurrunt enses iaculisque natantibus hærent,  
Concolor et rubro miscetur sanguine pontus.<sup>3</sup>

clear that the reference is not to the Decalogue, for ll. 553–63 are the speech of Moses introduced by "Swa reordode," and this speech bears no resemblance to the Decalogue. It does, however, resemble the "Cantemus Domino," as may be seen by comparing with it Exod. 15:3, 13, 17.

Lines 519–21 are by no means inconsistent with "ece rædas" as referring to the "Cantemus Domino." They may be translated: "So still the nations find in writings the judgments which the Lord committed to him in that journey, with true words." For "domas" in the sense of "judicia" (not precepts) see *Vespasian Psalter*, *Metrical Psalter*, and *Cambridge Psalter* (*Bib. æg. Prosa*, VII), Ps. 118:7, 13, 30, 39, 43, 52, 62, etc. Or we may translate: "So still the nations find in writings the interpretations of those things which the Lord committed to him," etc. For "dom" in this sense of "meaning, interpretation" compare Dan. 143–44:

Ge sweltað deaðe, nymbe ic dom wite  
soðan swefnes, þæs min sefa myndgað.

<sup>1</sup> The "Cantemus Domino" is not a part of the Roman baptismal office, and I have found no case of its use among the baptismal offices collected in the *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*, ed. Assemanus, P. and Leipzig, tom. 2, 1902, though a part of the canticle is used as a Responsorium at the end of an "Ordo Batismi Solennis," p. 107. But the testimony of Avitus seems unequivocal, and it is corroborated by Walfridus Strabus: "et fideles de lavacro ascendentes, extinctis peccatis, hymnum decantant dicentes: Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim, etc.," *Glossa Ordinaria*, Migne, cxlxi, 226.

<sup>2</sup> Avitus, v, 705–8.

<sup>3</sup> v, 691–93.

In the *Exodus*, on the other hand, the blood-stained sea is not a casual detail, but dominates the whole description of the destruction of the Egyptians. It is used as follows:

Wæron beorhhliðu blode bestemed,  
holm heolfre spaw.<sup>1</sup>

flod blod gewod.<sup>2</sup>

ealle him brimu blodige þuhton,  
þurh þa heora beadosearo wægon.<sup>3</sup>

The air even is said to be mixed with blood:

Wæs seo hæwene lyft heolfre geblanden.<sup>4</sup>

Now, as Professor Robinson has pointed out to me, the *Beowulf* furnishes very close parallels to the lines just quoted, not only in the language used, but also in the emphasis which the poet gives to this detail of the description. In the *Beowulf* occur the following:

Flod blode weoll (folc to sægon)  
hatan heolfre.<sup>5</sup>

þa ðe mid Hroðgare on holm wliton,  
þæt wæs yðgeblond eal gemenged,  
brim blode fah.<sup>6</sup>

holm heolfre weoll.<sup>7</sup>

The resemblance of the *Exodus* lines to those of the *Beowulf*, especially *Exodus* 449 and *Beowulf* 2138, is striking, whereas the *Exodus* and Avitus' poem have in common the mere fact of blood in the water. If we knew that the author of *Exodus* was acquainted with the Latin poem, and did not know that he was acquainted with the *Beowulf*, we should not be safe in asserting that he was imitating the *Beowulf* in this particular, even though the resemblance to the English epic is greater than to Avitus. But the situation is just the reverse of that. We have found no evidence for asserting that Avitus was known to our poet, but we know that the *Beowulf* was, for *Exodus*, 58—

enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad

is quoted from *Beowulf*, 1410.<sup>8</sup> The probabilities are all in favor of the opinion that the author of the *Exodus* in these descriptions of

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 448-49.

<sup>2</sup> L. 572.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1422-23.

<sup>4</sup> L. 2138.

<sup>5</sup> L. 462.

<sup>6</sup> L. 476.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 1592-94.

<sup>8</sup> This line is but a single point of the evidence for the statement that the author of *Exodus* knew the *Beowulf*. For the full evidence, which places the matter beyond dispute, see the collections of Sarrasin, *Beowulf Studien*, 158-59, and Kall, *Anglia*, 12, 22.



the blood-stained water was imitating the *Beowulf*, and to offer them as evidence for the opinion that he was imitating Avitus is, in the absence of other unambiguous evidence to support this opinion, a mere begging of the question under debate.

Our examination of the text of the *Exodus* and of Avitus, *De transitu Maris Rubri*, has shown that the two poems contain no common structural additions to the material contained in *Exodus*, chaps. 13-15, the two which Mürkens alleged being in one case the use by both poets of a conception of the pillar of cloud which was widely current in their day and in the other case an agreement founded upon a misinterpretation of both the Old-English and the Latin text. The descriptive parallels upon which, in the absence of structural parallels, the whole case for Avitus as a source must rest, have been shown to be of no value as evidence. Of these descriptive parallels it has been shown that (b) is not a parallel at all; that in (a), (c), and (g) the substance of both the Latin and the Old-English is in the Vulgate; that (d) is the merest commonplace; that in (e) the detail common to the two poems is almost implicit in the Vulgate source, that it could have easily suggested itself independently to both writers, and that it is contained in the very widely known *Antiquities* of Josephus; that in (f) the Old-English poet is with much greater probability imitating the *Beowulf* than Avitus; and that in (h) there is a divergence instead of a parallel between the two passages. Of all these parallels only (g), (e), and (f) are of any weight at all, and in the case of each of these I have shown a superior probability for the opinion that the *Exodus* poet was indebted to sources other than Avitus, or to his own imagination, as against the opinion that he used Avitus as a source. In no case that we have considered have we found it more probable that the author of the *Exodus* used Avitus than that he used some other source; in no case have we found the probabilities even equal for the two views. The evidence of the Avitus parallels to *Exodus* then has no cumulative value; taken as a unit it weighs no more than the sum of its individual items—which is nothing.

It would not be difficult to show that the differences between these two poems are more remarkable than the resemblances; that the *De transitu Maris Rubri* is notable for the fact that large parts of the

narrative are given from the point of view of the Egyptians, whereas in the *Exodus* the narrative point of view is that of the Hebrew army, or of the poet himself; that Avitus portrays the situation of the Egyptians and Pharaoh with considerable sympathy, whereas to the Old-English poet they are always God's enemies; that Avitus represents the Hebrews as leaving Egypt before dawn, in the moonlight, but that the Old-English poet represents them as leaving by daylight;<sup>1</sup> that in Avitus the pillar first appeared in the evening as a pillar of fire, and that according to the English poet it first appeared as a column of cloud;<sup>2</sup> that in the Latin poem the pillar seems to appear at the first encampment of the Israelites, whereas in the English poem it appears at the third encampment, at Etham.<sup>3</sup> but such an examination would require more space than can be given to it here. The burden of proof is upon those who assert that Avitus is the source of the Old-English poem, and I believe that this burden has not been lifted.

## II

We must now consider the question: if the author of the *Exodus* did not use Avitus as a source, what sources did he use? As to his immediate source or sources I can give no information; the particular documents that the poet made use of, outside of the Vulgate, are unknown to me. The most that I can do is to show that for two-thirds of the organic additions which he made to the scriptural narrative as given in *Exodus* there existed in various forms literary material which the *Exodus* poet probably used. After accounting for these additions, there is a residuum of additions for which no parallels have been found in other literature, and which we may therefore, at least tentatively, credit to the imagination of the poet.

For five of his additions, passages of Scripture outside of *Exodus* are a probable ultimate source; these are numbers (4), (6), (7), (9), and (13). The scriptural basis of (4) we have already discussed. In this case, and in others, however, we have no means of knowing whether the poet derived his conception of the pillar from his own

<sup>1</sup> Avitus, v. 377; *Exod.*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Avitus, v. 401 ff.; *Exod.*, 71 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Avitus, v. 401 ff.; *Exod.*, 63 ff.; that the pillar appeared first at Etham is suggested by *Exod.* 13:20-21; compare St. Ambrose, *De XLII mansionibus filiorum Israel*, Migne, xvii, 15.

study of Scripture, or from commentaries or historical works. We can only say that the poet did not invent the detail, and that its ultimate source is the Bible. The poet's thirteenth organic addition makes the hill on which Abraham sacrificed Isaac the same as that on which Solomon later built the temple. This idea is unquestionably based on a combination of Gen. 22:2 with II Chron. 3:1, which (in the Authorized Version) are:

. . . . Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.

Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah. . . . .

In the Vulgate these verses appear in such a form that no connection is apparent between them:

. . . . Tolle filium tuum unigenitum, quem diligis, Isaac, et vade in terram visionis: atque ibi offeres eum in holocaustum super unum montium quem monstravero tibi.

Et coepit Salomon aedificare domum Domini in Ierusalem in monte Moria. . . . .

In spite of this fact the identification of the two places was well known to ecclesiastical writers. St. Jerome says, in regard to Gen. 22:2:

Aiunt ergo Hebraei hunc montem esse in quo postea templum conditum est in area Ornae Jebusaei, sicut et in Paralipomenis scriptum est: Et coeperunt aedificare templum in mense secundo, in secunda die mensis, in monte Moria.<sup>1</sup>

St. Augustine refers to St. Jerome upon this point as follows:

Hieronymus presbyter scripsit, se certissime a senioribus Judaeorum cognovisse, quod ibi immolatus sit Isaac.<sup>2</sup>

Bede also was acquainted with the fact:

Dicunt Hebraei esse hunc montem in quo postea templum conditum est, hoc est in monte Moria, in quo est aurea urna Jebusaei.<sup>3</sup>

The Hebrew tradition to which all these writers refer is in Josephus,<sup>4</sup> and is given by Baring-Gould and Ginzberg in their collection of

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones in Genesim*, Migne, *xxiii*, 969-70.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Migne, *xxiii*, 969.

<sup>3</sup> In *Pentateuchum Comm. Gen.*, Migne, *xci*, 244.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Jud.*, lib. I, cap. *xiii*; p. 26, Vol. I.

Jewish legends.<sup>1</sup> It was undoubtedly known to the writer of the Old-English *Exodus*.

In his description of the pillar of fire and cloud as two pillars, "beamas twegen" (the sixth addition), the poet was following a not uncommon interpretation of Exod. 13:22, which says:

Nunquam defuit columna nubis per diem, nec columna ignis per noctem, coram populo.

For Bede also speaks of two columns:

Duae quoque columnae duas Ecclesias figurant, id est Veteris et Novi Testamenti.<sup>2</sup>

St. Bruno has the same idea of the duality of the pillar:

Altera enim eos a solis ardore, altera vero a tenebris defendebat.<sup>3</sup>

And according to a Jewish tradition the pillar of fire appeared in the evening before the pillar of cloud had disappeared, so that they were never without a guide.<sup>4</sup> There are early Christian authorities also for the idea that the pillar was one. Walfredus Strabus, for example, says, "in die per nubem columna monstrata est, et in nocte per ignem."<sup>5</sup> The author of the *Exodus* then was merely following one of two current opinions about the pillar of cloud and of fire.

The poet's ninth addition consists in his statement that the Israelites were divided into companies of a thousand men each.<sup>6</sup> This, I think, may rest upon Exod. 18:21-22:

Provide autem de omni plebe viros potentes, et timentes Deum, in quibus sit veritas, et qui oderint avaritiam, et constitue ex eis tribunos, et centuriones, et quinquagenarios, et decanos qui iudicent populum omni tempore.

The word corresponding to the Vulgate "tribunos" is in the Septuagint "χιλιάρχους." In Aelfric's translation of this passage "tribunos" is correctly rendered as "þusendmen."<sup>7</sup> If the author of the

<sup>1</sup> *Legends of Old Testament Characters* (L 1871), I, 218; *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1909), I, 285.

<sup>2</sup> In *Pentateuchum Comm.*, Migne, xci, 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Expositio in Exodum*, Migne, cxiiv, 263-64.

<sup>4</sup> *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, X, 39 (ref. to Shab. 33b).

<sup>5</sup> *Glossa Ordinaria*, Migne, cxlii, 223.

<sup>6</sup> The total number of the army is given in Exod. 12:37 as 600,000 men; the division of the whole into 12 "feðan" is based upon the 12 tribes; therefore the only innovation is in the statement that each "cist" had 1,000 men. Rau, *op. cit.*, 33, thinks this is "angelsächsische Zuthat," but offers no evidence to support his statement.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, I, 145.

*Exodus* understood the word in that sense it may well have suggested to him the idea of representing the Israelites as organized in companies of a thousand at the time of the exodus.

Addition (7) is one of the most striking in the poem, representing the pillar of fire as liable to destroy the Hebrews unless a certain condition should be complied with.<sup>1</sup> It seems unlikely that the poet should have inserted this detail without some kind of authority. It is more probable that it is founded ultimately upon the "ignis Domini" of Lev. 10:2 and Num. 11:1:

Egressusque ignis a Domino, devoravit eos, et mortui sunt coram Domino.

Interea ortum est murmur populi, quasi dolentium pro labore, contra Dominum. Quod cum audisset Dominus, iratus est. Et accensus in eos ignis Domini devoravit extremam castrorum partem.

In these places the "ignis Domini" performs the office which in our poem the pillar of fire threatened to do. Now in Exod. 14:24 there is a statement that might easily be interpreted as meaning that the pillar of fire and of cloud was God's weapon against the Egyptians:

et ecce respiciens Dominus super castra Aegyptiorum per columnam ignis et nubis, interfecit exercitum eorum.

This is translated in the Douay version as follows:

And behold the Lord looking upon the Egyptian army through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, slew their host.

But it would not be a bad blunder, if one were reading an unpunctuated text, to translate it as:

And behold the Lord looking upon the Egyptian army slew their host by means of the pillar of fire and the cloud.

Num. 14:14, 15 might also have furnished a suggestion. I believe that these passages are the basis of the poet's conception of the pillar of fire as the weapon of God, but whether he derived it directly from Scripture, or got it at second-hand from a non-scriptural source, is altogether uncertain.

For three of the remaining organic additions Holthausen has already pointed out parallels.<sup>2</sup> For (1), "druron deofolgyld," he

<sup>1</sup> The exact nature of this condition is uncertain, for l. 124 may be interpreted in three or four different ways. But there is no uncertainty as to the meaning of ll. 120-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Archiv*, CXV, 162-63.

has parallels in Bede and Peter Comestor.<sup>1</sup> The same tradition is found in a slightly different form in Walfridus Strabus of the ninth century:

Ferunt Hebraei quia omnia idola Egypti confracta sunt nocte illa et templa, vel motu terrae, vel fluminis Nili inundatione.<sup>2</sup>

For (11), the order in which the tribes enter the sea, he cites Peter Comestor:

Et advocans Moyses singulas tribus secundum ordinem nativitatibus suae hortabatur eos ut ipsum praeuntem sequerentur. Cumque timuissent intrare Reuben, Simeon, et Levi, Judas primus agressus est iter post eum, unde et ibi meruit regnum.<sup>3</sup>

Comestor of course is at least three centuries later than the *Exodus*, and I have been unable to find any earlier parallel. But the order of the tribes as they marched into the sea is found in the fifteenth-century *Mystere de Viel Testament* in a form different from that in which it appears in Comestor,<sup>4</sup> and probably, therefore, not derived from him. Now there is no likelihood that either Comestor or the author of the *Viel Testament* invented the story. And it is quite certain that neither of them got it from the Old-English *Exodus*. It seems therefore that the existence of this story in three versions, of the eighth or ninth, the twelfth, and the fifteenth centuries, all independent of each other, is good evidence that the story goes back to a date earlier than the earliest recorded version, and that all three versions go back ultimately to a common original. Holthausen's parallel, then, may be accepted as indicating, in conjunction with the

<sup>1</sup> He also cites Eusebius for this, but the full context of the bit he quotes shows that the parallel is not a valid one, for the temples fell before, not during, the exodus: τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπὶ ἀφρονουμένου, τὸν Μωϋσὸν χάλαζαν τε καὶ σεισμούς διὰ νυκτὸς ἀποτελέσαι . . . Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τότε τὰς μὲν δικίας πάσας, τῶν τε ναῶν τοὺς πλείστους. Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, xxi, 733; *Praep. Evang.*, ix, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Glossa Ordinaria, Migne, cxlii, 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Scholastica*, Exodus, cap. 31; Migne, cxviii, 1158.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. J. de Rothschild, *S.A.T.F.*, ll. 24280 ff. According to Comestor twelve paths were opened through the sea, according to the *V.T.* only one. The legend of the twelve paths is very common (see Walfridus Strabus, Migne, cxlii, 225; Rabanus Maurus, Migne, cviii, 66; Rupertus Tuitiensis, Migne, clxvii, 642; Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, II, 102); but I have found it only in Comestor combined with the statement that the tribe of Judah entered the water first. Comestor's form of the legend looks therefore like a telescoping of two different stories, that of the twelve paths and that of Judah going first into the water, for the latter story distinctly suggests that all the Hebrews were following a single path, and is in so far inconsistent with the idea that the tribes had individual paths. The telescoping of course may have been done either by Comestor or his source, but it is clear that Comestor cannot have invented either of the stories thus combined.

other evidence, that the author of the Old-English *Exodus* did not invent addition (11). Holthausen also gives good parallels from Josephus, Eusebius, and Comestor for addition (15), the statement that the Israelites got treasure from the sea.

Addition (3), which speaks of the Ethiopians as a people hostile to the Israelites, is based, I believe, on a very old legend which tells how, in Moses' youth, the Ethiopians made war against Egypt and were defeated by an army under the command of Moses. The following passage from Josephus gives as much of the story as need be presented here:

The Ethiopians, who are neighbors of the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, and plundered and carried off the goods of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, marched against them to revenge the insult, but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner and got home safe. And the Ethiopians followed after them in hot pursuit, and thinking that it would be soft not to subdue all Egypt, they ravaged the country far and wide, and when they had tasted its sweets never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at their first approach to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis and the sea, not one of the cities being able to hold out against them. The Egyptians in this strait betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had counselled them to call in the Hebrew to their aid, the king commanded his daughter to produce Moses, that he might be their general. And when she had made the king swear he would do Moses no harm, she delivered him to the king, supposing his assistance would be of great advantage, and reproaching the priests, who, having before urged the Egyptians to kill him as an enemy, were not ashamed now to own their want of his help. So Moses, at the entreaty of Thermuthis [the king's daughter] and the king, cheerfully undertook the business.<sup>1</sup>

This story is in the *Chronicon Paschale*,<sup>2</sup> Eusebius,<sup>3</sup> and later writers, and seems to explain satisfactorily the rather puzzling lines of *Exodus*, 68-71.

Addition (8) tells us that the Egyptian army was composed of 2,000 bands under the command of as many "cyningas." This detail is difficult to deal with, for we do not know how many men were contained in each of these 2,000 bands, and cannot compare directly the size of Pharaoh's army as given in the *Exodus* with the

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book II, chap. x; *Works*, Bohn Library, I, 163.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, xcii, 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Praep. Evang.*, lib. 9, cap. 27; Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, xxi, 729.

figures given in the legendary accounts. According to Josephus and Comestor<sup>1</sup> it was composed of 600 chariots, 50,000 horsemen, and 200,000 foot. According to Jewish legend it numbered 600 chariots, 5,000,000 horsemen, and 2,000,000 foot.<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that the numbers of infantry and cavalry as given by Josephus and by the Jewish legend are simple multiples of each other; both probably go back to a common original. I think that it is also worth notice that in the Old-English poem the number of "cyningas" is a simple multiple of the number of foot-soldiers in the other two accounts. It seems therefore something more than a possibility that this figure too may go back ultimately to the same original. If the bands that composed Pharaoh's army were conceived of by the poet as of the same size as those that composed the Hebrew army, 1,000 men each, the total force would correspond exactly to the number of foot-soldiers in the legend given by Baring-Gould.

If my interpretation of ll. 515 ff. (above, pp. 14, 15) be accepted, these lines mean, not that Moses gave the Law on the shore of the Red Sea, but that he gave forth there the canticle, "Cantemus Domino," and this passage, which stands as addition (14) in the list at the beginning of this paper, is not an organic addition at all. If it does mean that Moses announced the Law at the Red Sea the addition is very difficult to account for. Professor Blackburn has suggested<sup>3</sup> that it may be due to Deut. 1:1:

*Haec sunt verba, quae locutus est Moyses ad omnem Israel trans Iordanem in solitudine campestri, contra mare rubrum. . . .*

But that this should have remained in the poet's mind and that the wonderful narrative of the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of Exodus should be forgotten, seems to me very improbable.

For the remaining organic additions that the poet has made to his original material, numbers (2), (5), (10), and (12), I have found no parallels of such a kind as to indicate the existence of literary material which might have been known to the poet and have furnished the basis of the additions. This of course is not a proof that these additions were invented by the poet. It is evidence tending to such

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Jud.*, lib. 2, cap. 15; *ed. cit.*, I, 75; *Hist. Schol.*, *Exod.*, cap. 31, Migne, cxcviii, 1157.

<sup>2</sup> Baring-Gould, II, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Blackburn, 61.



a presumption, however, and the presumption can be tested by inquiring whether these additions are of the sort that, judging from the literary qualities of Old-English poetry in general and of the *Exodus* in particular, the Old-English poet would have been likely to invent. Applying this test, it is evident that addition (2), representing the Israelites as marching through a hostile country, and addition (12), hinting at battle between Israelites and Egyptians, are thoroughly congenial to the warlike character of Old-English poetry and to the emphasis that is given to warlike details in the religious as well as in the secular epics. Addition (5), the nautical imagery used to describe the pillar of cloud and the Israelites, is thoroughly in keeping with the fondness for the sea which appears in a good deal of Old-English poetry, and which is especially conspicuous in a part of the *Exodus* that must be largely original with the poet, ll. 446-514.<sup>1</sup> We may with some assurance, therefore, regard these three additions as original. As to addition (10), which says that the sea-wall stood for a day, it is not of the sort that we should expect the poet to invent, and I should not be surprised to find something similar turn up in legend. There is nothing in the Vulgate to suggest it.

The present paper, I think, throws some light upon the problem of the ultimate sources of the material that composes the Old-English *Exodus*, but the problem of its immediate source is still unsolved. In the case of ten of the organic additions to the primary source we have found good evidence for believing that the poet used literary material, and that the additions were not invented by him. But in no case is there any evidence that he found this material in the exact places cited in this paper. We have found not a source or sources, but analogues and possible sources. In regard to the immediate source used by the poet there are two problems. The first is, did he find these additions already assembled in one narrative or account, or did he gather them from various places and organize them for himself? The answer to this question would throw much light upon the poet and his method of work. The second problem is, if the poet found the material already organized, was it in the form of a condensed, matter-of-fact prose narrative, or in the form of

<sup>1</sup> The situation described in these lines is fully contained in the Vulgate, as I pointed out above, p. 13. But the emphasis and the zest are the poet's own. The Vulgate Ps. 76:15 ff. may have been vaguely suggestive.

an artistic narrative in verse? The answer to this question also would tell us much. To these two questions I do not presume to give an answer. It is to be hoped that an answer will some day, however, be given, and that we shall find the author's immediate source if he found the material already organized. The *Exodus* is of a high degree of literary merit, and a knowledge of its actual source would enable us to see how much of its merit is due to the originality of its author and how much he owed to a predecessor. And if it should be discovered that he followed a single source with some closeness our knowledge of that source might enable us to clear up a number of the obscurities and textual difficulties in which the poem abounds.

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## CHRÉTIEN'S "YVAIN"

### I

The articles in *Modern Philology*, III, 267 ff., VI, 331 ff., VII, 145 ff., on the source of Chrétien's *Yvain*, may be taken to indicate a general trend of opinion, outside of Germany at least,<sup>1</sup> toward the view that Chrétien borrowed the entire *scenario* of his *Yvain* from a Celtic fairy-mistress story. To this view Professor Nitze, who must be judged by his second article, "The Fountain Defended,"<sup>2</sup> and not by his first, "A New Source of the Yvain,"<sup>3</sup> now gives entire adherence. The title of his first article, as well as a good deal of the text, was so worded as to seem incompatible with the theory of one coherent source for Chrétien's romance. But the careful reader of his second article, "The Fountain Defended," will perceive that Mr. Nitze now concerns himself only with the ultimate origin of the theme, and scarcely touches the question of the immediate source employed by Chrétien.

That this immediate source is to be sought in a coherent Celtic fairy-mistress story was urged by the present writer, in 1903 and 1905,<sup>4</sup> and for the first time definite proof was given by adducing Irish parallels found in MSS older than the time of Chrétien.

A brief restatement of this view with reference to Mr. Nitze's ideas seems demanded, especially since the writer believes that he

<sup>1</sup> Compare McKerrow, *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, VII, 100-102 (1904); Huet, *Moyen Age* (1904), 65-66; Jeanroy, *Revue Critique*, LXII, 431-32 (1906); Ehrismann, *P. and B. Beiträge*, XXX, 14-54 (1905); Windisch, *Táin Bó, Irische Texte, extraband*, pp. xc, xxxiii-xxxv (1905). For the opposing views of Foerster and Golther see below, p. 16, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 267.

<sup>4</sup> In my "Iwain," [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, VIII; and "Knight of the Lion," *P.M.L.A.*, XX, 673 ff. The suggestion that the source of the *Yvain* was a Celtic fairy story is, of course, not new. In the "Iwain" I noted (pp. 19 ff.) that this explanation was offered by Osterwald in 1853, by Macbain in 1884, by Alfred Nutt in 1887, by G. Paris in 1888, by Muret in 1890, and by Ahlström and Phillipot in 1896. (Reference to Phillipot's article was made on p. 134 of the "Iwain"; by inadvertence mention of it was omitted in my history of the theory.) But although this theory had long commended itself to men of insight, until I brought forward the Irish *Serglige Conculaind*, *Tochmarc Emere* (in LU, a MS of 1106 or earlier), and *Echtra Lóegaire* (in LL, a MS of 1150); and proved by detailed analysis that these stories, more ancient than the *Yvain* (written about 1173, G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1902, p. 304), belong to the same type with it, and make use of the same story-formula, there were few facts on the side of the fairy-mistress hypothesis which could compel the attention of a resolute antagonist.

is now in position to explain several points which hitherto were not clear, and which add to the interest and importance of the hypothesis.

Mr. Nitze holds that the cult of "the priest who slew the slayer and shall himself be slain," which is known to have existed at Aricia, must once have prevailed all over western Europe—in Ireland and Wales as well as in Gaul. He does not mean that the germ idea of the *Yvain* is derived from the particular cult of the Italic Diana, but only that it springs by many removes from some similar cult located in Celtic lands. The papers by the present writer took up the theme at a far later time, when<sup>1</sup> the bare notion of a "priest who slew the slayer" may be supposed to have enriched itself in the fertile fancy of the Celts with the story of the journey of a mortal to fairyland, and the details of a combat there in which the mortal fought on the side of one fairy chieftain against another. These papers expressly disclaimed any attempt to trace the ultimate origin of the theme, or to determine how far its details were absolutely of Celtic invention. The present writer contented himself with urging that the whole story before reaching Chrétien had passed through the crucible of Celtic fancy, and that Chrétien's proximate source was something closely allied to certain Irish heroic sagas. In brief, the argument centered itself about two Irish sagas: the *Serglige Conculaind* and the *Tochmarc Emere*, in a MS of 1106 or earlier. These stories have one and the same hero, Cuchulinn, and it is not difficult to imagine them as told consecutively, thus giving the story of successive visits of Cuchulinn to the Other World. If from this consecutive tale a *scenario* be made, substituting for Cuchulinn the name Yvain, for Liban, Lunete, and for Fand, Laudine, a plot is obtained closely resembling the *scenario* of Chrétien's romance. And the convincing point is, not merely a similarity of action extending almost throughout, but the fact that inspection of the Irish sagas explains the interrelation of characters and incidents, which in Chrétien appear disconnected, not to say meaningless.

The Irish stories belong, not to the earliest stage of Celtic fairy story, in which the Otherworld people were perhaps altogether peace-

<sup>1</sup> Even if Mr. Nitze is right in tracing the theme back to a cult like that at Aricia.

ful, but to a middle stage of development, in which combat was an element of fairy life. In this latter stage one fairy chieftain was oppressed by another, and induced a mortal hero to come to his assistance.

The present paper takes a step in advance of what has been said before, by seeking to explain all the details of the main portion of the *Yvain* on the basis of such an original feud motive.<sup>1</sup> Looking at the *Yvain* from this new standpoint, one can see that in the earlier fairy story used by Chrétien, the Hospitable Host, to whose party doubtless were attached both Lunete and Laudine, was oppressed by a tyrannical fairy foe, Esclados the Red, who had got Laudine into his power. Lunete went to Arthur's court in the interests of the Hospitable Host to persuade some mortal into undertaking the adventure of the Fountain Perilous. Her real object was to involve the mortal in combat with the hostile Esclados. From this standpoint one can understand why the Hospitable Host welcomed in so superb a manner the successive mortal adventurers Calogrenant and Yvain; why his castle (a rationalization of a fairy abode) was inhabited by a maiden of unearthly beauty, and why he took such pleasure in pointing out the road to the Fountain Perilous. The reason for the interest taken by the waiting maid Lunete in Yvain's rescue is also clear, as well as the strikingly independent part played by her toward her mistress Laudine. She was acting in behalf of the Hospitable Host,<sup>2</sup> between whom and Esclados there must in the earlier story have been a deadly feud.

In Chrétien's romance mysterious personages, the Hospitable Host, the Monster Herdsman, the Red Esclados, defile before us like lantern slides thrown upon a screen. No thread of connection

<sup>1</sup> The feud motive was implied in my "Iwain," pp. 46-56, "The Combat Motive," (1903), but has been more explicitly stated by A. B. Cook, *Folk-Lore*, XVII, 148-50 (1906), and by me, *P.M.L.A.*, XXV, 45, footnote 1 (1910). The Celtic tales *Serglige Conculaind*, *Echtra Léogaire*, "Pwyll and Arawn," etc., make its importance for the *Yvain* certain.

<sup>2</sup> In the oldest form of Celtic fairy story (as in the *Echtra Condla*) the *fée* was perhaps absolutely supreme. We may conjecture that in the most primitive form of the *Yvain* story the Hospitable Host and Red Esclados were creatures of the *fée* Laudine, conjured up at her command to lure the hero on, and to test his courage (cf. in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Bk. VII, caps. 22, 23, the knight conjured up by Lynet). Hence Laudine felt no resentment at the death of Esclados. But in a middle stage of development, as in the *Serg. Conculaind*, fairy kings appear, to whom, of course, the *fées* owe allegiance. The Celtic original of the *Yvain* must have reached this stage.

binds them together. But in the original *Märchen* such thread of connection must have appeared. This explanatory motive clearly was a deadly feud, which in the earlier fairy story existed between the party of the Hospitable Host and that of the Red Esclados. The Hospitable Host and the Monster Herdsman were different guises of the same fairy prince,<sup>1</sup> whose object was to lure Yvain into battle with the Red Champion.

Yvain, after slaying Esclados and winning the hand of the *fée*, showed the perversity usual to mortals visiting fairyland by wishing to return to earth. Laudine gave him permission to be absent for one year, at the same time threatening him that if he overstayed the time, her love would turn to hate.

Perhaps in the original story the limit of a year was fixed by the necessity of an annual combat with Esclados for the control of the *fée* and her domains, just as we are told that Gwynn and Gwythyr in "Kulhwch and Olwen"<sup>2</sup> fight on the first of May every year for possession of Kreiddylat. This supposition is, however, by no means necessary. So much only is clear, that when Yvain overstayed his time, Laudine passed into the power of a "seneschal" who was hostile to Lunete and evidently, therefore, of the party of Esclados.

As is usual with mortals who have forfeited the love of a *fée*, like Cuchulinn, for instance, in the *Serglige Conculaind*,<sup>3</sup> Yvain became insane. He was cured by a magic remedy and entertained by a hospitable lady. On his return journey to the Fountain Perilous, Yvain was aided by a lion, an incident which finds a parallel in Cuchulinn's journey to the Other World, in the *Tochmarc Emere*, on the back of "a terrible beast like a lion."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Welsh version of the *Yvain*, the so-called "Lady of the Fountain," preserves a trace of this original identity by calling the Hospitable Host "the Yellow Man," and the Monster Herdsman "the Black Man" (Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 15). In another Welsh story of the same type contained in "Kulhwch and Olwen," a tale, by the way, which is generally admitted to be uninfluenced by French Arthurian romance, the Host and the Herdsman occur united in one person (Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 228-30). Kustennin, who guards "a vast flock of sheep which was boundless and without an end," and who entertains the mortal adventurers. He is at enmity with his brother, Yspaddaden Pen Kawr (Y. "Giant Head"), tells them how to enter the latter's castle; and it is his son, Goreu, that finally (p. 283) helps them slay the giant. Yspaddaden corresponds of course to Esclados, who is described as of giant size (*Yvain*, vs. 522).

The appearance at crucial points of a magician who assumes different disguises in order to lure the hero onward is a common motive of Celtic story-telling. See my "Iwain," pp. 100 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 224, 270.

<sup>3</sup> See "Iwain" p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> See "Knight of the Lion," pp. 688 ff.

The character called the "seneschal," into whose power Laudine and Lunete have passed, may in the original *Märchen* have been Esclados restored to life after the manner of fairies, or he may have been a fairy chieftain of the party of Esclados, and hostile to the Hospitable Host. That Laudine has passed into the power of this "seneschal" is shown by her failure to resist his plan to burn Lunete at the stake, a curious incident not hitherto satisfactorily explained.<sup>1</sup> No haughty heiress of the feudal age would dream of such a vengeance. Still less would any "seneschal" of any age or people, however savage, propose for so slight a fault to burn at the stake his mistress' waiting-maid. The only accusation against her was that she had acted as a go-between in arranging a match between her mistress and Yvain, and the latter had subsequently proved faithless to the extent of failing to return on a set day.

From the standpoint of an original fairy feud the inexplicably savage proposal to burn Lunete can be understood with ease. Celtic fairies were invulnerable except to charmed weapons or to fire, and fire was a common means of vengeance in fairy strife.<sup>2</sup> It was in accordance with fairy habits, therefore, for the party of Esclados, represented by the "seneschal," when it came into power, to wish to burn Lunete, who had certainly aided the party of the Hospitable

<sup>1</sup> Foerster remarks (*Yvain*, 1906, p. ix) that he can find no example of burning as a punishment for felony, but only for witchcraft and sorcery.

<sup>2</sup> The point has not been made before but examples abound. Interesting because of its age, and because it introduces Manannán, the famous fairy king who figures in the *Serpligs Conculaind* and other tales of its type, is the statement contained in some verses in the *Tochmarc Etaine*. These verses, which tell of a fairy vengeance executed by fire, are preserved both in LU, a MS of 1106, and in LL, a MS of 1150.

Fuamnach, the wife of Mider, was jealous of Etain, and put her out of the way. In return she was burnt by Manannán (*Zt. f. cell. Phil.*, V, 525; *Rev. Celt.*, XXVII, 337).

The fairy pigs of Angus (transformed men) could be destroyed only by fire, *Ossianic Society*, VI, 133-53. Modern examples are the use of fire to get rid of changelings (Campbell, *Pop. Tales of West Highlands*, II, 57, 78; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, p. 40, etc.); to expel fairies (Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, I, 309; Campbell, *op. cit.*, I, lili), and the use of fire in a feud between a [fairy] king and a giant (*Waifs and Strays*, II, 91-93). Compare the Thornton *Syr Percyselle*, where the hero slew the Red Knight, an uncanny foe, and burnt his body on a fire. Later Syr Percyselle encountered the witch mother of the Red Knight, who declared that she could have restored her son to life had Percyselle not burnt him, whereupon the hero burnt her; and "Balín and Balan" of the *Huth Merlin*, where Balín was at enmity with a fairy folk kindred to the Lady of the Lake. He slew her with a magic sword and gave as his reason "vous estes cele qui arastes de venin mon frere" (*Merlin*, I, 219).

The fiery vengeance of the fairies might with less difficulty be kept in Celtic tales because punishment by fire was decreed by Celtic law for some offenses. See Ehrismann, *P. and B. Beitrage*, XXX, 44, quoting from Caesar, *De Bello Gall.* I, 4 and 53; and cf. *Félire Oengusso*, ed. Stokes, p. 98.

Host. It was natural also when Yvain unexpectedly returned, and by overthrowing the seneschal restored the party of the Hospitable Host to ascendancy, that the "seneschal and his two brothers" should, as in the romance (vss. 4570-75), actually be given to the flames.

After Yvain has vanquished the "seneschal," manifestly no reason exists why he should not be reunited to Laudine. The second part of the *Yvain* is a kind of repetition of Yvain's first journey to fairyland. After Yvain was recovered of his madness, he was entertained at a Hospitable Castle, was helped by a Grateful Beast, and came finally to the Fountain Perilous. Here he should, as before, after disposing of a terrible antagonist, win the hand of the *fée* Laudine, and the romance should end with this second success. This is what happens in the Welsh "Lady of the Fountain," which in this respect at least appears to be more primitive than Chrétien's romance.<sup>1</sup> The Welsh writer may have been influenced by Chrétien, but he clearly had at his disposal older stories about Owain (Yvain). It appears to have been his intention to give, or at least to refer to, all of them, for after winding up his main narrative with the marriage of Owain to the *fée* in the manner alluded to, and telling us that she "was his wife as long as she lived," he attaches another story, that of the Castle of Ill Adventure, and concludes with a reference to Owain's ravens. The Castle of Ill Adventure is marked as of different origin from the other episodes of this part of the romance by containing no reference to the helpful lion. It is, as has been pointed out,<sup>2</sup> in origin, an independent version of Yvain's journey to the Other World. After this the Welsh writer adds briefly, "[Owain] returned to his vassals, that is to the three hundred swords of the tribe of Kynvarch and the troop of the ravens. Wherever he went with them he was victor." That this refers to still another story about Owain is indicated by numerous allusions to Owain's ravens in early Welsh literature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "Knight of the Lion," pp. 681 ff., where I give evidence to show that the Welsh is based on a source more primitive than Chrétien. Since the present article has been in type, a Rostock dissertation has come to me (Dr. R. Edens, *Erec-Geraint*, 1910), which maintains for *Erec*, as against Foerster, a view like mine for the *Yvain*. It is interesting to observe that Edens, using no other evidence than that obtained by comparing the Welsh and the French, concludes (p. 145) that Chrétien's source for *Erec* was a detailed story containing nearly all the incidents.

<sup>2</sup> "Iwain," pp. 136-38. Cf. footnote 2 on p. 8, below.

<sup>3</sup> See Skene, *Four Books*, I, 364, 366; II, 455, and the "Dream of Rhonabwy."



Chrétien does not mention the ravens, but he uses the story of the Castle of Ill Adventure, intercalating it, along with the episode of the Daughters of the Black Thorn, after the slaying of the "seneschal," and before Yvain's reunion with Laudine; thus obscuring the causal connection between these incidents, and confusing the original thread of the story. Except for this slight distortion and addition near the end, in which the Welsh version has kept the primitive order, Chrétien's *Yvain* follows episode by episode and almost detail by detail the normal plot of a Celtic fairy-mistress story as illustrated by the *Serlige Conculaind* and the *Tochmarc Emere*.

It is evident that a rather close relationship exists between these Irish sagas and the source of Chrétien's *Yvain*. The nature of this relationship is an obscure problem, an exact solution of which is not demanded by the present investigation. The dates of the Irish MSS are enough to show that the plot of Chrétien's *Yvain* was current before his time among the Celts, and must therefore, in all human probability, have been derived by him from them.

To suppose<sup>1</sup> that the Irish heroic sagas may have been transmitted at an early period to the Brythonic Celts, and have been by them popularized and folk-lorized into the stories that lie at the basis of the Arthurian romances—to be specific, that the *Serlige Conculaind* may actually have given rise to the *Märchen* that was the source of the *Yvain*—would be almost certainly wrong. Such a development would be quite contrary to the usual behavior of folk material.

The most probable solution still seems to be that advanced by the writer in his papers already referred to. This view lays stress on the community of myth, folk-lore, and religion, which it seems certain existed in very ancient times between the Brythonic Celts of Wales, and the Goidelic Celts of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> From this popular material, which was of the same texture and contained the same situations, motives, and beliefs, there grew up during the early Middle Ages, on opposite sides of the Irish channel, perhaps with

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that Ehrismann's remarks on this particular point are rather hazardous. See his important article, "Märchen in höfischen Epos," in *P. and B. Beiträge*, XXX, 15-54.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence for this point has been very recently collected by Dr. T. P. Cross, *Revue Celtique*, XXXI, 421-29 (1910).

no great amount of borrowing, stories and sagas in which although the proper names were different, similar plots and similar story formulae appeared. Chrétien's original was a Brythonic *Märchen* or popular tale. In the Irish sagas we get a literary presentation of Goidelic *Märchen* and folk-lore. The *Serglige Conculaind* and the *Tochmarc Emere* are therefore two removes from Chrétien, and it is not surprising that the resemblances to the partly rationalized *Yvain* are somewhat obscured, although apparent enough when a careful study is made.

It is certain that stories of the type of the *Serglige Conculaind* existed in Welsh before the time of Chrétien. Such a story is the episode of "Pwyll and Arawn," which forms a part of one of the four genuine *Mabinogion*,<sup>1</sup> and is therefore of undoubted antiquity. It contains the main situation of two fairy chieftains at war,<sup>2</sup> one of whom persuades a mortal to come to his assistance and conquer his foe. That it bears less similarity of detail to the *Yvain* than the Irish sagas may well be due to its brevity, and to the fact that it is a thoroughly literary version freely altered to suit literary purposes.

## II

The main point in Mr. Nitze's articles upon the *Yvain*<sup>3</sup> is the insistence which he has placed upon the ultimate source of the

<sup>1</sup> Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 27-37.

<sup>2</sup> In "Kulhwch and Olwen," which is generally admitted to be uninfluenced by French Arthurian Romance, is another episode of this nature (Loth, *ibid.*, I, 228 ff.). Custennin is both a Herdsman (shepherd) and a Hospitable Host, who is at enmity with his brother Yspaddaden Giant Head. He entertains mortal adventurers, who, after slaying Yspaddaden, win the daughter of the latter as wife for one of their number.

Episodes illustrating the formula of the *Yvain* appear in later Irish MSS. According to the *Loinges Mac n-Duill n-Dermait* (ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, II, 1, 173-209, from a fourteenth-century MS), Cuchullinn was entertained in the Other World by a giant named Coirpre Cundall (= Hosp. Host), and at the latter's solicitation fought and slew another giant Eocho Glas ("E. the Gray" = Esclados the Red). Eocho was at war with Coirpre and had in captivity many prisoners (cf. the "Castle of Ill Adventure," *Yvain*, vss. 5107-5809).

In the *Acallamh na Senórach* (O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 222-30, from fifteenth-century MSS), a fairy damsel came in the likeness of a swift fawn (= the Fairy Messenger and the Guiding Beast), and, by inducing Finn and six comrades to pursue, led them to a mysterious land. Here they were overtaken by a heavy snowstorm (= the storm at the Fountain Perilous), but took refuge in a *síd*, or fairy fort, where they were entertained by fairy men and maidens (= Hosp. Host). The next day Finn and his men fought in behalf of their entertainers, who it seems had summoned them for that purpose, against the Tuatha Dé Danaan. The latter were led by Bodhb Derg ("B. the Red" = Esclados the Red). They were defeated by Finn and his men and many of them were slain.

<sup>3</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, III, 267 ff.; VII, 145 ff.

theme of the *Serlige Conculaind*, the *Echtra Lóegaire*, and the *Yvain*, which he would trace back to the ritual of a widely distributed agrarian cult—a cult resembling that of the Arician Diana. Mr. Nitze was the first to connect the Arician myth with the *Yvain*, although Miss Paton<sup>1</sup> had suggested in general terms a relationship between the Diana story and the Arthurian romances. Mr. Nitze's view implies that a great portion of the vast Arthurian complex has its roots in the ceremonies of agrarian cults. Some things make this hypothesis look more attractive today than formerly,<sup>2</sup> but so far-reaching a conclusion demands induction from a great number of observed facts. And one cannot be blamed for feeling that the facts have not yet been marshaled in such a way as to dispose of many well-founded doubts. Before Mr. Nitze's view that the *Yvain* is connected with the Arician myth can have any standing it is obviously necessary for him, or for someone else, to show that the Arician cult was really, as he supposes, widely distributed in western Europe. In the opinion of the present writer this has not yet been done.

The particular points, moreover, upon which Mr. Nitze relies to prove a connection between the story of Chrétien's *Yvain* and the cult of the Arician Diana admit of other interpretation. These points are: "resemblances in proper names (Lunete and Laudine equate [la] Diana, and the Dameisele Sauvage equates Silvanus or Silvana)"<sup>3</sup> and "similarities of striking detail."<sup>4</sup>

The derivation of Laudine from "la Diana," although some connection may turn out to be right, is for the present hazardous.<sup>5</sup> One might admit that the name Laudine may have been influenced by "la Diana," and Lunete by "Luna," without at all agreeing to any basis for the *Yvain* in a cult. Proper names are often the least permanent portions of a plot and become changed in remarkable

<sup>1</sup> "Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance," *Radcliffe College Monographs*, no. XIII, 275 ff. (1903).

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Nitze's interesting comments, *M.L.N.* (1910), p. 251, and his article on the "Fisher King," *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV (1909), especially pp. 394-98, 410-18.

<sup>3</sup> *Med. Phil.*, III, 275; VII, 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 273; VII, 160.

<sup>5</sup> This Mr. Nitze realizes, VII, 161. His equation (*ibid.*, VII, 152) of "Imâne von der Beäfontâne" (*Parzival*, CXXV, 15) with the "Imons" of E. W. B. Nicholson's translation of a tablet found in a well near Poitiers may be left till Celtic scholars have passed judgment upon that translation.

ways. After other pagan deities had been forgotten the memory of Diana lingered long in western Europe, and her name (Hecate, Trivia) may have become loosely attached to uncanny female creatures such as in an earlier form of the story Laudine and Lunete assuredly were.

The derivation of Dameisele Sauvage from Silvanus is the most hazardous of all. If perilous hypotheses like this are in order why not suggest that in the original story the Dameisele Sauvage was Lunete, as in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Book VII, "Lynet that was called the damoyssel savage"? The epithet "savage" might then refer, not to her living in the woods, but to her ill-natured conduct at Arthur's court, told in Malory,<sup>1</sup> and referred to by Chrétien (vss. 1005-8). She had been dissatisfied with the hero first allotted to her adventure, just as in the *Serlige Conculaind* Liban was dissatisfied with Loeg whom Cuchulinn sent first to visit fairyland.<sup>2</sup> Chrétien, possibly through some misunderstanding, represents the "Dameisele Sauvage" as a different person from Lunete,<sup>3</sup> but it is tolerably clear that she was originally a fairy messenger, like Liban, and like those elsewhere mentioned in the *Yvain*.<sup>4</sup>

The "similarities of striking detail" are three: Arthur's arrival at the Fountain Perilous on St. John's Day (Midsummer Day), Yvain's coming to the Fountain at noontide, and the proposed burning of Lunete. These incidents, however, may only prove that the Yvain story, whatever be its origin, has been completely assimilated to the Arthurian complex, and that its connection with Arthur is early, and thoroughly carried out. The entire Arthurian complex bristles with incidents of this sort, and it is difficult to show that any particular Arthurian story originated in a cult, except by showing that the major part of the whole complex is of cult origin. But even if these three "details" belong to the original theme of the *Yvain* they may prove little.

<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to me absurd to hold that the late and confused story in Malory may retain primitive incidents lost in the *Yvain*, e.g., the Isle of "Awylyon," and Lynet's conjuring up a knight to fight Gareth.

<sup>2</sup> Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 210, §14, "Appraind ocus bith-appraind, nach hé Cuchulaind fil it richt indossa, or Liban," "Shame and a perpetual shame that Cuchulinn has not come in your place," said Liban."

<sup>3</sup> *Yvain*, vss. 1619-21.

<sup>4</sup> Vss. 2705, 4832. On the fairy messenger see G. Paris, *Romania*, X, 476 f.

King Arthur's whole existence in the romances is bound up with the celebration of great yearly feasts, and when Christmas and Pentecost fail, St. John's Day is the next important occasion. It is hard, therefore, to find special significance in his arrival at the Fountain on this day. The *Yvain* begins with Arthur's feast at Pentecost, and his visit to the Fountain Perilous is quite naturally set for the next succeeding important festival.<sup>1</sup> In the same way in the *Perlesvaus* when Arthur finds it impossible to assemble his courtiers for Pentecost he postpones his feast to the next great anniversary, to wit, St. John's Day.<sup>2</sup>

Calogrenant's arrival at the Fountain at noontide could perhaps imply a connection with the midday demon, and with Diana.<sup>3</sup> But the notion that the calm brilliance of noonday was a favorite time for fairy manifestation is too widespread to make the reference clear. Need it imply anything more than that the Fountain was felt to be an uncanny spot, favorable for the manifestations of fairies which are apt to occur at noontide?<sup>4</sup> Surely not all references to the midday superstition imply association with the goddess of the Arician grove. The mysterious Garlon of Malory's second book rides invisible and hurls his deadly lance only at noontide. Nobody would therefore regard him as an emissary of Diana.<sup>5</sup>

The third "similarity of striking detail" is the proposed burning of Lunete at the stake. Mr. Nitze writes that on Midsummer's Day "it was often the practice to burn in effigy the protectress of the woods and fields. . . . If we once admit that Lunete in reality represents an original tree-spirit this incident [the threatened burning of Lunete at the stake] of the tale is at least intelligible as a literary survival of a folk-custom misunderstood."<sup>6</sup> But it is not easy to imagine that a burning in effigy could get transformed into

<sup>1</sup> If Arthur's words be taken literally, vss. 665-66:

Qu'il iroit veoir la fontaine  
Ja alnz ne passeroit quinzaine.

It is clear that Pentecost that year must have fallen as late as June 10. In any case the interval between Pentecost and St. John's Day (June 24) would be short.

<sup>2</sup> *Perlesvaus*, ed. Potvin, *Perceval*, I, 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, III, 274.

<sup>4</sup> For fairy manifestations in Welsh story occurring at noontide, see Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 38, 40, 41.

<sup>5</sup> See, besides Malory, Bk. II, the Huth *Merlin*, which represents the French source of this book, ed. Paris et Ulrich, *Anciens textes*, I, 275; II, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, III, 275; cf. VII, 160.

the punishment of a real individual in a story. Moreover we should still have unexplained the retaliatory burning of the "seneschal" and his two brothers, which strikes us almost as harshly as the proposed burning of Lunete. The whole transaction is thoroughly explained and cleared up from the standpoint of an original fairy feud.<sup>1</sup>

### III

A few words are in order about the parallel between the *Yvain* and *In Gilla Decair*, an Irish tale which exists in no MS older than the eighteenth century, although it may be traced back to 1630.<sup>2</sup> This parallel is in no way necessary to the argument connecting the *Yvain* with the *Serglige Conculaind*, the *Echtra Lóegaire*, and the *Tochmarc Emere*, but it furnishes interesting corroborative illustration and testimony. Its validity is supported by evidence not taken account of by Mr. Nitze in his remark: "[The relationship] is a matter of opinion incapable of proof in one direction or the other . . . it is impossible to take an eighteenth-century MS as our sole testimony."<sup>3</sup>

In the first place nobody has yet shown a knowledge of Chrétien's *Yvain* in Ireland even as late as the eighteenth century,<sup>4</sup> nor has anybody brought forward an instance in which an Irish *scéalu-idhe* has borrowed an episode from an Arthurian romance, or imitated the details of such a romance. The name "Arthur" occurs sporadically, but a mention of "King Arthur" or of other characters bearing Arthurian names is a characteristic of the latest periods of Irish story-telling only. Two comparatively modern stories, called "Irish Arthurian romances," have recently been published: *The Crop Eared Dog* and *The Story of Eagle Boy*,<sup>5</sup> in both of which the names King Arthur and Galahad appear. The reader, however,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See my "Iwain," pp. 103-19. As I mention there (p. 116, footnote), this parallel is by no means new, it having been discussed by Macbain, Nutt, Rhys, and Lot. It is amusing after this to find a writer in *Mod. Phil.*, VI, 340, bringing it forward without mention of any predecessor.

<sup>3</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 156 (1909).

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Nitze will admit that he was in error in his assertion (*loc. cit.*), "there is an eighteenth-century Irish *Yvain*, the *Echtra Ridire na Leoman*, in Trinity College, Dublin." Foerster in his second edition of the *Yvain* (1902) had said (p. II, footnote): "der irische Text [*Echtra Ridire*, etc.] mit unserem Löwenritter nichts zu schaffen hat" (repeated in his third edition, 1906, p. lvii, footnote).

<sup>5</sup> *Irish Texts Society*, Vol. X.

who examines these stories with an expectation of finding other borrowings from the Arthurian romances besides these proper names will be disappointed. In plot, in incident, and in details of description, they follow unmistakably the traditional ways of Irish story-telling. The general conservatism of the Irish *scéaluidhe* with respect to his fund of native tales seems to have persisted well into the eighteenth century.

The reason for this conservatism of the Irish *scéaluidhe* with respect to his native tales lies in the extraordinary conditions under which these tales were handed down. These conditions deserve consideration because they explain why Irishmen, though acquainted with Greek, Latin, and other literatures, have for the most part kept their native tales uncontaminated by foreign influences.

In mediaeval Ireland seven ranks of *fili* or professional storyteller were recognized,<sup>1</sup> and the practitioner was advanced from rank to rank according as his knowledge extended. Twelve years was the least time in which a man could complete the course. In the first year the candidate's memory was tested by the learning of 20 prose tales. In the next year he learned grammar and 10 more tales. In the third he learned 10 more; in the fourth 10 more and 20 poems; in the fifth 10; and in the sixth 10, and 48 poems. He was now an *anradh*, a title corresponding somewhat to our Master of Arts, and was allowed to practice his profession. In the next three years he had to learn 105 more tales. The last three years he learned 175 tales, or a total of 350 (approximately one for each day in the year), which he must be prepared to recite accurately at the call of his audience. If he passed an examination by his peers at the end of this time the degree of *ollamh* was conferred upon him by the king. An *ollamh* carried a musical branch of gold. He was entitled to wear white garments and a mantle made of birds' feathers, white from the girdle down and upward green-blue, made from the necks and crests of drakes; a very old species of honorary clothing. He had a right to entertainment and reward, and even as an *anradh* had a train of 12 persons and rode on horseback. He was free from all taxation, and if he was slain the fine exacted was the same as for a bishop or a king.

<sup>1</sup> See York Powell, *Folk-Lore*, XV, 14-16 (1904).

Public banquets were given in Ireland in honor of the *ollamain* as late as 1451. Remnants of the organization went on into the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was a well-organized oral university for the memorizing and the transmission of vast masses of prose and verse.

Nor does this seem to be an optimistic account after the manner of some modern college registers of what the system might accomplish under exceptional conditions. Matter-of-fact records of the exploits of particular *ollamain* exist. A tenth-century text tells that in the year 624, Forgoll, the *fili* of King Mongan of Ulster, recited a different story every evening from November 1 to May 1.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the foundations of this bardic system go back to the conditions described by Caesar as existing among the Druids in Gaul.<sup>2</sup>

Men who had undergone such a long course of discipline were of course jealously attached to their traditional fund of story-plots, and inhospitable toward foreign influences. Given these extraordinary conditions it does not seem improbable that a story like *In Gilla Decair* might have been transmitted for centuries in oral tradition without much change.

The *Gilla Decair* story in the form in which it has come down to us has had comic touches added, and is hardly more than a burlesque of an old heroic tale. It clearly was not written down till the good traditions of Irish story-telling were passing away. There seems no reason to doubt however that it has its roots in those conditions of mediaeval Irish story-telling which have been described.

With these facts in mind: the absence of any evidence to show a knowledge of the *Yvain* in Ireland, the conservatism of the Irish *scéalauidhe* or professional story-teller, and the elaborate system that existed for the oral transmission of traditional stories, it becomes obvious that the supposed weight of *a priori* evidence against the validity of the *Gilla Decair* parallel is considerably reduced.

In an earlier paper the present writer has compared in detail *In Gilla Decair* and the *Yvain*<sup>3</sup> and has shown that in the Fountain

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, in Hinneberg, *Kultur der Gegenwart, Romanischen Lit. u. Sp.*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gall.* vi, 14. "Druides . . . itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus publicis privatisque rationibus, graecis litteris utantur."

<sup>3</sup> "Iwain," pp. 103-19.



episode one of three things must be true: either *In Gilla Decair* has borrowed from the *Yvain*; or the *Yvain* from *In Gilla Decair*; or both go back to a common source. A conclusion there arrived at in favor of the last hypothesis is altogether the most probable.

*In Gilla Decair* seems not to be borrowed from the *Yvain*, for it contains features more primitive than any in Chrétien. In the *Gilla Decair*, for example, the hero enters the Other World by diving into the Fountain. This mode of entrance is mentioned in the ancient Irish *Echtra Lóegaire*, and *Fled Bricrend*;<sup>1</sup> and that the idea is archaic is indicated by an Irish name for fairyland, *Tír fá Thuinn*, "Land beneath the Waves."<sup>2</sup> Moreover the occurrence of the idea in the *Wolfdietrich*, in an episode which has other tantalizing resemblances to the *Yvain*, is most naturally explained by supposing that the original of Chrétien's *Yvain* had the incident, and that Chrétien omitted it—the *Wolfdietrich* here following Chrétien's original.<sup>3</sup>

The strongest evidence, however, for the independence of *In Gilla Decair*, is that whereas *In Gilla Decair* is a story of the type of the *Yvain*, relating the journey of a mortal to fairyland, and his combat there in favor of one fairy chief against another, it is entirely different from the *Yvain* except in the fountain episode. As a whole it cannot possibly be derived from the *Yvain*. We should therefore have to suppose that *In Gilla Decair* borrows this single incident from the *Yvain*. But the case is not what it might be if we could suppose that the Irish narrator of *In Gilla Decair* understood the real nature of the *Yvain*, and felt it to be an account of a journey to fairyland to take part in a fairy feud. Surely we cannot assume that he had the insight to understand this! We must, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> See "Iwain," pp. 41, 55.

<sup>2</sup> The challenge of *In Gilla Decair* by drinking from a cup appears more primitive than the pouring water on a stone of the *Yvain*. Primitive forms of the fairy challenge are Cuchullinn's throwing a withe taken from a pillar stone into the water (in a MS of 1100), and the breaking of a twig or flower in a fairy wood. See "Knight of the Lion," p. 878, and cf. the "Ballad of Tam Lín." Cuchullinn's challenge, by the way, is an answer to Mr. Nietzsche's remark (*Mod. Phil.*, VIII, 148) that ancient Celtic parallels to "the defense of the fountain by a living being" do not exist. Cuchullinn compelled a fairy folk to fight in defense of their mound situated by a stream of water.

<sup>3</sup> *Wolfdietrich B*, ed. Amelung and Jänicke, stanzas 796 ff. The episode in *W.* seems not to have been borrowed from the *Yvain*, because several features, e.g., "ein waltmann" that shows the way, stanza 661, and a lion and serpent combat, stanzas 730 ff., are in a more primitive form than in the latter.

suppose that he fortuitously borrowed the fountain episode from Chrétien, and fitted it into the closely linked series of events in his own narrative, interweaving it with all the threads of his own different story, still keeping the onward march of his own plot, which likewise, by mere chance, told of a fairy feud in which a mortal interfered, and at the same time that he changed some features of the Fountain episode to a more primitive form than in Chrétien. It is far easier to suppose that *In Gilla Decair* resembles the *Yvain* in the Fountain episode because both stories go back to Celtic popular tales of the same type, which shared a conventional description of the Otherworld Fountain.

#### IV

In saying that Chrétien had for the source of his *Yvain* a coherent fairy-mistress story of a type well known in Celtic literature, it is not said that Chrétien's *Yvain*, as it stands, is a fairy story, that Laudine is a *fée*, or that her palace is a fairy abode. The statement has just been made that no Celtic story-teller would have been likely to understand the underlying theme of the finished *Yvain*. Chrétien has rationalized everything, so far as this was possible without extensive changes in the plot. Most probably he had no clear conception of the meaning which the fairy material that he used bore to its first hearers. Certainly he has obscured the original meaning<sup>1</sup> of this material almost entirely, and was intent only on

<sup>1</sup> This obscuration is so nearly complete that it is a mere truism to say, as Foerster keeps doing, that in the *Yvain*, Laudine "ist keine Fée," and the Fountain Perilous is "not in the Other World" (*Yvain*, 3d ed. [1906], p. xlvii). These statements in no way meet my argument that Laudine was originally a *fée*, but was wholly or almost wholly rationalized by Chrétien, and that the marvelous landscape is a rationalization of that of fairyland.

The successive alterations which Professor Foerster has made in his views still leave them at variance with mine in two main points. He rejects the thought of any coherent source, believing, quite wrongly as I think, that to demonstrate Chrétien's artistic power it is necessary to show that he compiled his plot from episodes of diverse origin; and he admits the presence of little or no Celtic material. His comparison of the *Lancelot*, however, shows that he is no longer able to deny original coherence of plot in at least a portion of Chrétien's romance. See Foerster's introductions to his various editions of the works of Chrétien, especially that to the *Karrenritter*, to which he attaches much importance, and the views of Golther, *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXVIII, rev. sec. 36; XXXVI, rev. sec. 212; *Studien z. vgl. Lit.*, IV, 481-84.

Professor Foerster ought not to blame me for not referring in my "Iwain" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII) to editions containing alterations in his views that reached me after the completion of that study. The "Iwain" has a prefatory note explaining that it was finished and put in type in 1900. Publication was unavoidably delayed till

working out a story of strange adventure, that should depict some of the very newest and latest ideals of twelfth-century society. Probably, as Foerster thinks,<sup>1</sup> Chrétien began by wishing to write a romance which might be the obverse of his *Erec*. Whereas Erec forsook arms for love, Chrétien now wished to tell of a hero who sacrificed love for arms. The plot of a Celtic Otherworld journey story, in which the hero for a slight disobedience lost the love of a *fée*, struck his fancy. He was allured by the arrogant and remorseless character of the Celtic *fée*, which with slight alterations gave him an opportunity to depict a haughty feudal heiress, such a figure as had for some time been a striking feature of twelfth-century society; and he was interested to try to understand and represent the state of mind of such an heiress who could marry the man that had slain her husband. In his eagerness to make the figures of an old fairy tale inculcate lessons of chivalric conduct, he obliterated the original thread of the story,<sup>2</sup> and reduced it to a succession of almost purposeless adventures. For this, of course, Chrétien may not be altogether to blame. Perhaps the story reached him in a form so confused and rationalized that he had small chance to understand it.

1903, when I could only attach this preface to explain that the study contained no references to articles more recent than 1900 (for example, to Foerster's *Yvain*, 2d ed., 1902).

Just as I have never said that Laudine is a *fée*, but that she is a rationalization of a *fée*, I have not declared that Chrétien's lion is a guiding beast, but only that it is a partial rationalization of a guiding beast under the influence of crusaders' tales. Professor O. M. Johnston has written a whole article (*Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXI, 157-66) to prove this obvious point, that Chrétien's lion is not a guiding beast, and thinks that by so doing he has disposed of my contention ("Knight of the Lion," *P.M.L.A.*, 688 ff.), which was that Chrétien has partly rationalized a Celtic guiding beast, under the influence of oriental tales, into the purely decorative, thankful, and helpful lion of the romance.

The recent unfavorable comment on the Celtic Otherworld theme by R. H. Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, Chicago, 1911, p. 125, note, seems less convincing because he appears to have no familiarity with ancient Celtic literature.

<sup>1</sup> *Yvain* (1906), pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Nitze agrees with me, as opposed to Professor Foerster, that in Laudine we have a rationalized *fée*; and to Mr. Nitze is due (*Mod. Phil.*, VII, 146, 161) the interesting suggestion that Chrétien's attitude toward the old folk-tale was very much that of a mediaeval schoolman. Chrétien was so intent on psychologizing about conduct, and on expounding the dogmas of chivalry, that he neglected the original coherence of his plot. Of course he tried to introduce a somewhat formal coherence of his own, e.g., he put the combat of Yvain and Gauvain, which is the supreme test of Yvain's chivalry, at the end, instead of at Arthur's visit to the Fountain where it occurs in the Welsh "Lady of the Fountain." See my "Knight of the Lion," p. 681.

In saying (*Mod. Phil.*, III, 280) that Chrétien made the fairy story, "in true mediaeval style the vehicle of ideas it was never meant to convey," Mr. Nitze was using "mediaeval" as equivalent to "scholastic." His views on this point, therefore, do not differ essentially from mine as expressed above.

Doubtless a modern writer would not show so little sympathy in his treatment of an old folk-tale. No scholastic method would blind him to the beauty of an old plot. He would rationalize an old fairy story in a more conscious way, and would feel considerably less satisfaction than a mediaeval *trouvère* in admitting that he followed a source. And yet it is hard to mark off Chrétien's procedure as essentially different from that which might be adopted today.

While writing these pages the writer's eye happened to fall upon Professor Calvin Thomas' comment upon Grillparzer. About the year 1822 Grillparzer chose the story of Jason and Medea as the theme of his nineteenth-century drama, "*Das goldene Vliess*." Mr. Thomas writes:<sup>1</sup> "Grillparzer's problem was to translate an ancient saga into the terms of modern feeling. What kind of a woman could that Medea have been who had murdered her own children? How could her character, her sufferings, the circumstances of her life be so portrayed as to win and hold sympathy, and make her final frenzy appear tragic, and not merely horrible?" These words describe fairly well, *mutatis mutandis*, the way in which Chrétien acted toward the material of his *Yvain*.

In what has been said there is no necessary limitation of Chrétien's genius.<sup>2</sup> Great poets do not go about inventing plots. They choose the plots which give them the situations they need. It is no detracting from Tennyson's artistic power to say that in his *Idylls of the King* he has made the Arthurian tales the vehicle of ideas they were never meant to convey. Would our opinion of Shakespeare's genius in *As You Like It* be heightened, if we supposed that he invented the plot, or compiled it from various sources, instead of drawing his entire *scenario* from Lodge's *Rosalynde*? Nor is it necessarily a defect in an artist's work that he has not wholly understood the nature of older popular material which he has used. Shakespeare did not fully grasp the mythological antecedents of Lear and Cordelia whom he found in Holinshed and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *History of German Lit.*, p. 370 (1909).

<sup>2</sup> To Golther's emphatic words in defense of Chrétien as an artist (*Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXVI, rev. sec. 212) I have no objection.

Chrétien behaved like any artist, mediaeval or modern, who uses older themes. He looked about for situations that would enable him to pursue his analysis of character, and give scope for his satiric and romantic comments on life. Doubtless he chose a Celtic tale partly because these tales were already in vogue, and because many of his readers were pleased with the marvelous elements which such a tale, even when rationalized so far as possible, was sure to retain.

## V

None of the points that have been taken up are absolutely necessary to Mr. Nitze's hypothesis, and the comments that have been made do not prove the incorrectness of his general view. They merely show how difficult, if not impossible, a task he has undertaken in endeavoring to go behind the *Serglige Conculaind* and the *Tochmarc Emere* in quest of the ultimate source of the theme.

In comparison the aims of the present writer have been simple enough. He has contended, and was pioneer in contending, that the existence of the ancient Irish sagas, the *Serglige Conculaind*, the *Echtra Lóegaire*, the *Tochmarc Emere*, proves that Chrétien must have used in his *Yvain* a coherent story of the fairy-mistress type. He has never denied the presence of neo-classic elements in the romance, for example that the lion has been influenced by crusaders' tales brought from the Orient.<sup>1</sup> He admits that Chrétien has slightly altered the conclusion of the story, and has inserted two incidents which did not belong in his source.<sup>2</sup> He has taken care not to make any assertions about the ultimate origin of the story, or of any part of it, but has said only that the entire plot took shape in the crucible of Celtic fancy before it came to Chrétien.<sup>3</sup>

This reserve employed by the present writer in setting forth his conclusion may have been mistaken by some to imply lack of confidence in the results attained. In view of the hazardous hypotheses about the *Yvain* which since that time have been set forward,<sup>4</sup> it seems in order to say that the hypothesis according to which

<sup>1</sup> "Knight of the Lion," p. 676.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 7 above.

<sup>3</sup> "Iwain," pp. 145-47; "Knight of the Lion," pp. 705-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Settegast, *Antike Quellen im altfranz. Merowingerzyklus* (Leipzig, 1907).

Chrétien took the entire *scenario* of the *Yvain*, not merely the bare plot, but almost every incident in its proper order, almost every character with its proper function, from a coherent popular tale of the type of the *Serlige Conculaind* and the *Tochmarc Emere*, ought to be regarded as established until someone points out in another literature a *scenario* as close to the *Yvain*, and older than the Irish stories.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

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## CHATEAUBRIAND EN AMÉRIQUE

### QUELQUES NOUVELLES SOURCES DES *NATCHEZ* ET DU *VOYAGE*

L'objet de cette étude n'est point de critiquer et encore moins de refaire le travail de M. Bédier.<sup>1</sup> Pour tous ceux qui veulent étudier les sources de Chateaubriand, il reste le guide et le modèle le plus sûr. On verra cependant que j'ai été amené, assez souvent, à une opinion de détail différente de la sienne; d'autres fois, j'ai pu ramasser derrière lui quelques glanes qu'il avait négligées: enfin en quelques occasions, je crois avoir trouvé des sources jusqu'ici inconnues des ouvrages de Chateaubriand sur l'Amérique. Ma tâche était facile et ne demandait qu'un peu de patience, d'autant que j'avais à ma disposition la John Carter Brown Library de Brown University. Cette abondance de documents a cependant, en bien des cas, compliqué le problème. M. Bédier avait trouvé trois sources incontestables du *Voyage* et des *Natchez*: Charlevoix, Bartram, et Carver; à ces trois noms M. Dick a pu ajouter ceux de Beltrami et de Mackenzie. Chateaubriand a lu en réalité bien d'autres voyageurs, peut-être moins, peut-être plus que nous ne pensons, si, ce qui est possible, il a eu recours à un dictionnaire de voyages ou à une encyclopédie américaine que nous ne connaissons pas. Loin d'apporter plus de lumière sur ce sujet déjà tant étudié, je voudrais m'attacher à faire voir que la question des emprunts de Chateaubriand est beaucoup plus complexe qu'on ne se l'était imaginé. Chateaubriand a copié certains auteurs, le fait est indéniable; mais comme ces auteurs, dénués de tout scrupule, n'avaient fait en bien des cas que copier leurs devanciers, il nous est impossible de dire de façon certaine qui Chateaubriand a imité. Pour faire un relevé scientifique des sources probables de Chateaubriand, il nous faudrait tout d'abord avoir une histoire critique des récits de

<sup>1</sup> J. Bédier, *Études critiques* (Paris 1903). Pour les travaux postérieurs on peut consulter: E. Dick, *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII, 228-45; Emma Kate Armstrong, *Modern Language Publications*, XXII, 345, 370; Madison Stathers, *Chateaubriand et l'Amérique* (Grenoble 1905). Pour ceux qui voudraient connaître l'état de la question avant 1900, je renverrai à l'excellent résumé que M. Bédier en donne dans son livre.

voyage au XVII et au XVIII siècle, ouvrage qui n'existe pas encore et qui demanderait de longues années de travail et des connaissances spéciales. Même en cas de rencontres flagrantes de mots, chez Chateaubriand et chez l'auteur prétendu plagié, il reste encore à établir que ce dernier était original: Beltrami et Charlevoix ont une source commune, le Père Lafitau, que Chateaubriand connaissait et qu'il a cité à plusieurs reprises; de façon plus générale presque tous les voyageurs du XVIII siècle se sont servi de Lafitau, qui lui-même ne se faisait pas faute d'user de ses prédécesseurs; quand nous signalerons un emprunt de Chateaubriand il sera donc bien entendu que nous affirmons que Chateaubriand à cet endroit n'est pas original, sans pour cela prétendre avoir découvert la source originelle. Malgré tout, à la liste dressée par M. Bédier et M. Dick il semble que l'on ait le droit d'ajouter les quelques ouvrages suivants.

1. *Mœurs des sauvages Américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*. Par le P. Lafitau de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris 1724. 2 vols.

L'ouvrage comprend 14 chapitres: "De l'origine des peuples de l'Amérique"; "Idée et caractère des sauvages en général"; "De la religion"; "Du gouvernement politique"; "Des mariages et de l'éducation"; "Occupations des hommes dans le village"; "Occupations des femmes"; "De la guerre"; "Des ambassades et du commerce"; "De la chasse et de la pêche"; "Des jeux"; "Maladies et médecins"; "Mort, sépulture et deuil"; "De la langue."

Lafitau le premier, à ma connaissance, a établi un faux parallélisme entre les sauvages et les anciens: théorie qui devait avoir une telle influence sur le XVIII siècle et sur Chateaubriand lui-même; ses sauvages trop souvent semblent être des "hommes tels qu'ils sont sortis des mains de la nature" —et non les vrais barbares décrits par La Hontan. Chez lui les rappels de la civilisation grecque et romaine et surtout des héros d'Homère sont constants; après lui on reprendra bien souvent ces comparaisons qui donnent une couleur si particulière aux Natchez.

2. *Les Aventures du Sieur Le Beau avocat au Parlement ou voyage curieux et nouveau parmi les sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. Amsterdam 1738. 2 vols.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pour Le Beau je renverrai à l'article que j'ai publié dans *Modern Language Notes*, XXV, 137. Mes doutes sur l'existence réelle de Le Beau se sont confirmés; il n'est pas chez lui un détail qui ne se retrouve chez Lafitau; c'est une compilation romanesque et non les impressions directes de quelqu'un qui a vu.



3. *Prévost d'Exile*. Histoire générale des voyages. Paris 1746-70, vols. 14 et 15.

Bien que Chateaubriand semble, en bien des cas, avoir lu les voyageurs eux-mêmes, la compilation de l'abbé Prévost, assez raisonnée et méthodique, a dû être pour lui un aide mémoire précieux. Enfin Chateaubriand directement ou indirectement a connu plusieurs autres ouvrages de moindre importance, nous les signalerons, au fur et à mesure, dans le courant de cette étude. Comme il n'existe pas à proprement parler d'édition de Chateaubriand j'indiquerai pour *Le Voyage* le chapitre et sous-titre, et pour *Les Natchez* et *Atala* l'édition des romans de Chateaubriand en un volume publié par Hachette.

#### ATALA

L'idée première d'*Atala* a été fournie à Chateaubriand par Le Beau, qui, dans sa relation fantaisiste, raconte comment une jeune sauvagesse s'éprit de lui et lui sauva la vie. Cette donnée au reste n'était pas nouvelle, on la retrouverait chez presque tous les voyageurs du XVII et du XVIII siècle. Je rappellerai, pour mémoire, que dans des circonstances analogues, le fameux Capitaine Smith fut sauvé par Pocahontas, la fille d'un roi Indien.<sup>1</sup> Dès le début du roman de Chateaubriand M. Bédier (p. 264) a relevé des emprunts à Bartram dans la description du Meschacébé, Chateaubriand me semble s'être aussi servi de Carver<sup>2</sup> comme le montrera le rapprochement suivant:

#### ATALA, Prologue

Les deux rives du Meschacébé présentent le tableau le plus extraordinaire. Sur le bord occidental, des savanes se déroulent à perte de vue; leurs flots de verdure semblent monter dans l'azur du ciel où ils s'évanouissent. On voit dans ces prairies sans bornes errer des troupeaux de trois et quatre mille buffles sauvages. . . . Telle est la scène sur le bord occidental: mais elle change sur le bord opposé et forme avec la première un admirable contraste. Suspendus sur le cours des eaux, groupés sur les rochers et sur les montagnes, dispersés dans les

#### CARVER (p. 31)

Ce fleuve a de chaque côté une foule de montagnes tout le long de son cours: et ces montagnes tantôt s'approchent, tantôt s'éloignent considérablement. Le terrain entre ces montagnes est en général couvert d'herbes avec quelques bouquets de bois dispersés çà et là, près desquels on voit des troupeaux de cerfs et d'élans qui paissent tranquillement dans ces vastes solitudes. En plusieurs endroits on aperçoit des pyramides de rochers qui ressemblent à de vieilles tours en ruines, dans d'autres on voit des précipices effrayants, et ce qu'il

<sup>1</sup> *General History of Virginia*, by Captain Smith, 1624 (fourth book).

<sup>2</sup> *Voyages dans les parties intérieures de l'Amérique Septentrionale pendant les années 1766, 1767, 1768*. Traduction, Paris 1784.

[ATALA]

vallées, des arbres de toutes les formes, de toutes les couleurs, de tous les parfums, se mêlent, croissent ensemble, montent dans les airs à des hauteurs qui fatiguent les regards. Les vignes sauvages, les bignonias, les coloquintes, s'entrelacent au pied de ces arbres, escaladent leurs rameaux, grimpent à l'extrémité des branches. . . .

[CARVER]

y a de plus remarquable, c'est que tandis qu'un côté présente cet aspect, le côté opposé est couvert de la plus belle verdure jusqu'à son sommet. On jouit là d'une vue dont la beauté et l'étendue surpassent tout ce que l'imagination peut se figurer. Qu'on se représente des plaines verdoyantes, des prairies couvertes de fruits, des fies nombreuses, le tout rempli d'une variété d'arbres fruitiers, comme des noyers, des érables à sucre, des vignes chargées de riches grappes et des pruniers succombant sous le poids de leurs fruits: qu'on se figure ce riche spectacle rehaussé par la perspective d'un superbe fleuve roulant majestueusement son cours aussi loin que la vue peut s'étendre.

Ce tableau fameux se composerait donc, en réalité, de deux passages juxtaposés et fortement remaniés. Il serait piquant d'en rapprocher un paysage de Bossu, qui lui aussi a dépeint ces contrées comme une sorte d'Eden. Je n'en citerai que quelques lignes qui feront voir que les voyageurs du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle s'accordent pour décrire la basse vallée du Mississippi sous le même aspect enchanteur.<sup>1</sup>

Là ce sont des allées semées d'un gazon frais qui forment des berceaux de vignes sauvages ou de lianes impénétrables aux rayons du soleil. Ici ce sont des bouquets d'arbres fruitiers plantés çà et là par la nature sur le penchant des collines qui offrent une perspective mille fois plus gracieuse que les compartiments les plus symétrisés. Dans quelques bocages délicieux coulent de petits ruisseaux sortis d'une même source, et qui après avoir fait mille détours se réunissent pour se jeter dans la rivière. . . . Cette vaste plaine ressemble à un verger qui produit en abondance toutes sortes de fruits dont plusieurs sont inconnus en Europe. Les eaux de la rivière, claires et limpides dans la belle saison, invitent à se rafraîchir sur ses bords couverts d'une infinité de taureaux sauvages, de cerfs, de chevreuils, d'ours et d'autres animaux.

Si donc il y a quelque différence entre l'aspect réel des lieux, et le tableau tracé par Chateaubriand, il est peut-être injuste d'en

<sup>1</sup> *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale par M. Bossu* (Amsterdam 1778), p. 108.

faire retomber toute la faute sur Chateaubriand seul, d'autres avant lui avaient été victimes de la même illusion poétique.

On fait argument contre Chateaubriand du fait que des voyageurs qui vers 1830 ont suivi le même trajet que lui, ont noté une différence radicale entre les descriptions d'*Atala* et les rives du grand fleuve américain telles qu'elles étaient à cette date:<sup>1</sup> on en a conclu un peu trop vite que tout était fantaisie chez lui, il ne faudrait pas oublier que de 1790 à 1830 toute cette région avait subi une profonde transformation. L'extension considérable prise par la culture du coton, surtout sur les rives du fleuve, la destruction systématique du gros gibier suffisent pour rendre compte de cette contradiction plus apparente que fondée.

### *Le Festin des Ames*

#### ATALA

(Episode des Chasseurs, p. 27)

Une circonstance vint retarder mon supplice: la Fête des Morts ou le Festin des Ames approchait. Il est d'usage de ne faire mourir aucun captif pendant les jours consacrés à cette cérémonie. Cependant les nations de plus de 300 lieues à la ronde arrivaient en foule pour célébrer le Festin des Ames. On avait bâti une longue hutte sur un site écarté. Au jour marqué chaque cabane exhuma les restes de ses pères de leur tombeau particulier et l'on suspendit les squelettes, par ordre et par familles aux murs de la salle commune des âmes. Les vents (une tempête s'était élevée), les forêts, les cataractes mugissaient au dehors, tandis que les vieillards concluaient des traités de paix et d'alliance sur les os de leurs pères.

On célèbre les jeux funèbres, la course, la balle, les osselets. Deux vierges cherchent à s'arracher une baguette de saule. Les boutons de

#### LAFITAU, II, p. 447

La Fête générale des morts est de toutes les actions qui intéressent les sauvages la plus éclatante et la plus solennelle; ils lui donnent le nom de Festin des âmes. . . .

Chaque village est alors en mouvement, au premier beau jour tous se transportent au cimetière et tirent en présence des parents les mêmes corps qu'ils avaient eu autre fois le soin de mettre dans la sépulture: tandis que ceux dont les morts sont ensevelis au loin en quelque lieu du pays que ce soit vont les chercher sans plaindre leur peine (p. 448). On prépare cependant au milieu d'une grande place dont on est convenu dans le Conseil une fosse, . . . on environne cette fosse d'un échafaud ou amphithéâtre de 10 toises de profondeur et de dix ou douze pieds de haut autour de laquelle règnent quantité d'échelles pour y monter. Là-dessus s'élèvent un grand nombre de perches dressées d'espace en espace lesquelles soutien-

<sup>1</sup> M. Bédier cite à ce propos un article de M. Baldensperger sur Michel Ney qui remonta vers 1827 la vallée du Mississippi (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1883, t. I, p. 582).

[ATALA]

leurs seins viennent se toucher, leurs  
mains voltigent sur la baguette. . . .

[LAFITAU]

nent de longues traverses destinées  
à porter tous ces paquets d'ossements  
qu'on doit mettre en étalage à la vue  
du public.

Chaque village, chaque tribu sous  
ses chefs, à l'issue de la cérémonie, se  
met en chemin, en ordre de procession,  
observant de faire garder un certain  
rang de bienséance aux morts (452-  
53).

Un des chefs qui préside à la céré-  
monie jette de dessus la tombe au  
milieu de la troupe de jeunes gens,  
ou met lui-même entre les mains d'un  
des plus vigoureux, un bâton de la  
longueur d'un pied que tous les autres  
s'efforcent de lui arracher et que celui  
qui en est le maître tâche de défendre  
le mieux qu'il peut. Il en jette un  
semblable parmi la troupe de jeunes  
femmes et de jeunes filles, lesquelles  
ne font pas de moindres efforts pour  
le ravir ou pour le conserver; après  
ce combat qui dure assez longtemps  
et qui fait un spectacle agréable, mais  
sérieux, on donne le prix. . . .  
(II, 417-18.)

M. Bédier rapproche de la description du Festin des Ames donnée  
par Chateaubriand un passage de Charlevoix, d'ailleurs imité de  
Lafitau, qui ne contient pas le tableau de la lutte gracieuse entre  
les jeunes filles. A titre de simple conjecture, il rappelle à ce propos  
un rite du mariage indiqué par Carver, et qui lui paraît avoir pu  
servir à Chateaubriand. Il semble plus probable que Chateau-  
briand a puisé directement dans Lafitau: il est à noter d'ailleurs  
que Lafitau parle de cette danse funèbre comme d'un rite des funé-  
railles particulières et non du Festin des Ames. Les deux jeunes  
filles qui luttent entre elles, poitrine contre poitrine, se distinguent  
parfaitement dans la gravure quelque peu naïve que l'on trouve dans  
Lafitau (II, p. 416). Une reproduction de la cabane des morts se  
trouve dans le même auteur à la page 456. Chateaubriand en a  
fait son profit. Je rappellerai pour mémoire, que Lafitau indique

honnêtement qu'il s'est servi pour ce chapitre du Père Brébeuf (*Relation de la Nouvelle France pour l'année 1634*), et des mémoires manuscrits du Sieur Nicolas Perrot.

## ATALA

(Les Chasseurs, 29)

Cependant on m'avait étendu sur le dos. Des cordes partant de mon cou, de mes pieds, de mes bras allaient s'attacher à des piquets enfoncés en terre. Des guerriers étaient couchés sur ces cordes et je ne pouvais faire un mouvement sans qu'ils en fussent avertis. . . .

## LE BEAU, II, 225

Ils s'avisèrent de me lier par les mains et par les pieds entre quatre piquets, de sorte que j'étais attaché contre terre en forme de croix de Saint André. Telle est la manière dont ces barbares gardent ordinairement leurs prisonniers. L'un d'eux n'étant pas encore content de cette horrible gêne me mit par surcroît une corde au col, qu'il s'attacha ensuite au bras, afin qu'au cas que je vinsse à faire quelque mouvement cette corde pût le réveiller.

Rapprochement qui sans être certain, paraît infiniment plus probable que celui indiqué par M. Bédier. D'après lui Chateaubriand se serait souvenu ici d'un passage où Charlevoix raconte l'évasion d'une femme algonquine: "elle était couchée à l'ordinaire dans une cabane, attachée par les pieds et par les mains avec des cordes à autant de piquets et environnée de sauvages qui s'étaient couchés sur les cordes" (Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, t. I, p. 277). Il est seulement juste d'ajouter qu'ici Le Beau copie effrontément Lafitau (II, p. 262), se bornant à donner une forme personnelle à une simple constatation du Père Jésuite: Chateaubriand a pu se souvenir de l'un comme de l'autre sans que rien nous permette d'affirmer quelle est la source primitive. Pour surcroît d'embarras, Charlevoix lui-même reproduit ailleurs (*Journal historique*, p. 240) ce passage de Lafitau.

*Les pont naturel* (ATALA: Les Laboureurs, p. 46)

Nous arrivâmes à l'entrée d'une vallée où je vis un ouvrage merveilleux: c'était un pont naturel semblable à celui de Virginie dont tu as peut-être entendu parler.

Ce pont de Virginie a été décrit très en détail par Chastellux.<sup>1</sup> On trouve, dans la traduction anglaise de ses voyages, un long mémoire

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale dans les années 1780, 1781 et 1782*. Traduction anglaise, Londres 1787, pages 388 ff. et seq.

consacré à ce phénomène naturel; trois gravures y sont annexées, elles représentent fidèlement le bocage dont parle Chateaubriand, on y aperçoit le clair ruisseau, les bouquets de sapins, et les collines qui bornent le vallon. Chateaubriand s'est inspiré plus des gravures que du texte; il a pu aussi consulter sur ce sujet la relation d'Isaac Weld<sup>1</sup> qui parut à Londres en 1799.

*La Chanson de Mort*

ATALA, Epilogue, p. 71

CARVER, 308-9

J'aperçus une femme assise sous un arbre et tenant un enfant mort sur ses genoux. Je m'approchai doucement de la jeune mère et je l'entendis que disait:

"Si tu étais resté parmi nous, cher enfant, comme tu eus bandé l'arc avec grâce! Ton bras eut dompté l'ours en fureur et sur le sommet de la montagne tes pas auraient défié le chevreuil à la course. Blanche hermine du rocher, si jeune être allé dans le pays des âmes! Comment feras-tu pour y vivre? Ton père n'y est point pour t'y nourrir de sa chasse. Tu auras froid, et aucun esprit ne te donnera des peaux pour te couvrir. Oui, il faut que je me hâte de t'aller rejoindre, pour te chanter des chansons et te présenter mon sein."

Pendant que j'habitais avec eux un mari et une femme dont la cabane était voisine de la mienne, perdirent un enfant de quatre ans. Ils furent si affligés de la mort de cet enfant chéri que le père en mourut; la mère se consola en songeant que le père bon chasseur pourvoirait à la nourriture de son fils au pays des esprits. La conduite subséquente de cette bonne indienne me confirma dans mon opinion et me convainquit que, malgré la suspension apparente de sa douleur, elle ne laissait pas d'éprouver les effets de ce regret d'être séparée de ses proches que la nature a imprimé dans la cœur humain; car j'observai qu'elle allait tous les soirs au pied de l'arbre sur les branches duquel étaient exposés les restes des personnes chéries et qu'après avoir coupé une boucle de ses cheveux qu'elle jetait à terre elle déplorait ses malheurs. Une récapitulation des actions que son fils aurait faites s'il eut vécu était le sujet le plus fréquent de ses plaintes funébres. . . .

"Si tu avais continué de vivre parmi nous, disait-elle, cher enfant, combien un arc aurait été bien placé entre tes mains, et combien tes flèches auraient été funestes aux ennemis de notre Nation! Tu aurais souvent bu leur sang, et mangé leur chair, et un grand nombre d'esclaves aurait récompensé

<sup>1</sup> *Travels through the states of North America and Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796, 1797.* 4th ed., London 1800, p. 162.

[ATALA]

[CARVER]

tes travaux; avec tes bras nerveux tu aurais saisi le buffle blessé, ou combattu l'ours furieux. Tes pieds légers t'auraient fait atteindre l'élan ou rendu l'égal du daim à la course, sur le sommet des montagnes; que de belles actions tu aurais exécutées, si tu avais resté avec nous jusqu'à ce que l'âge t'eût donné des forces et que ton père t'eût instruit dans tout ce qui rend un Nadoessis accompli."

Ce gracieux épisode popularisé tant de fois par la gravure, et qui a fait verser tant de larmes à nos arrière-grand'mères, est donc, on le voit, tout entier dû à Carver. Chateaubriand y a introduit à peine quelques légers changements.<sup>1</sup> Je serais même tenté de voir quelques souvenirs de Carver<sup>2</sup> et d'Isaac Weld<sup>3</sup> dans la fameuse description des chutes du Niagara: si Carver n'a décrit que le saut Saint-Antoine sur le Mississippi, Isaac Weld par contre a laissé l'étude la plus complète et la plus documentée que je connaisse sur le Niagara. Si maintenant on faisait le compte des emprunts relevés par M. Bédier, de ceux que nous avons signalés à propos de *Le Beau* et des passages que nous venons de citer, on verrait que la part d'observation directe est singulièrement réduite dans *Atala*, nous verrons plus tard à en tirer une conclusion.

## GÉNIE DU CHRISTIANISME

M. Bédier a indiqué la source de la plupart des passages relatifs à l'Amérique dans *Le Génie*; j'ajouterai à peine ici quelques renseignements complémentaires.

*Migration des quadrupèdes*

GÉNIE, I, V, cap. 9

Tandis que cette puissante famille des quadrupèdes (les bisons de la Louisiane et du Nouveau-Mexique) traverse à grand bruit les fleuves et

REGNARD: VOYAGE EN LAPONIE

(*Histoire Générale des Voyages*,  
XV, 322)

Non seulement on ne trouve pas toujours la même quantité de ces

<sup>1</sup> V. Hugo s'en est inspiré dans une œuvre de jeunesse, *La Canadienne* suspendant au palmier le corps de son enfant. *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie* (I, 207, ed. Hetzel).

<sup>2</sup> Carver, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Isaac Weld, *Travels*, p. 373. Chez Weld aussi se trouve une poétique et belle description du Lac Champlain (p. 216), source possible du passage sur les Grands Lacs dans le *Voyage*.

## [GÉNIE]

les forêts, une flotte paisible, sur un lac solitaire vogue en silence à la faveur des zéphyrs et à la clarté des étoiles. De petits écureuils noirs, après avoir dépouillé les noyers du voisinage, se sont résolus à chercher fortune et à s'embarquer pour une autre forêt. Aussitôt, élevant leurs queues et déployant au vent cette voile de soie, la race hardie tente fièrement l'inconstance des ondes, pirates imprudents que l'amour des richesses transporte. La tempête se lève, la flotte va périr. . . .

## [REGNARD: VOYAGE EN LAPONIE]

animaux, mais ils changent souvent de pays. Lorsqu'ils veulent passer d'une contrée dans une autre et qu'ils ont quelque rivière ou quelque lac à traverser, ils prennent une écorce de bouleau ou de pin, qu'ils tirent jusqu'à la rive et sur laquelle ils se mettent pour s'abandonner au cours de l'eau et du vent, leurs queues élevées en forme de voile. Si le vent devient assez fort pour enfler un peu les vagues, il renverse quelquefois le navire et le pilote; le naufrage qui est parfois de 3 à 400 voiles enrichit toujours quelque Lapon.

Cette fois Chateaubriand par amour de l'antithèse n'a pas hésité à réunir les bisons du Sud de l'Amérique aux écureuils Lapon; il s'est bien gardé du reste de reproduire le trait final de Regnard. C'est également à Regnard qu'il a emprunté la plupart de ses matériaux pour le livre VIII des *Natchez* où l'action est transportée chez les Esquimaux.

*Reptiles*

GÉNIE, I, V, cap. 10

Le serpent à sonnettes le dispute au crocodile en affection maternelle: ce reptile qui donne aux hommes des leçons de générosité, leur en donne aussi de tendresse. Quand sa famille est poursuivie, il la reçoit dans sa gueule: peu content des lieux où il la pourrait cacher, il la fait rentrer en lui, ne trouvant point pour des enfants d'asile plus sûr que le sein d'une mère.

Bossu, p. 82

A peine les petits sont-ils éclos que des oiseaux de proie attentifs à saisir cet instant pour s'en régaler ne manquent pas de les enlever. Le crocodile pour sauver ceux qui restent les prend dans sa gueule et va les vomir à l'eau. Voici, monsieur, un fait digne d'admiration et que peut-être bien des gens en Europe qui n'ont point voyagé en Amérique auront peine à croire.

Chateaubriand aurait attribué au serpent à sonnettes un trait d'amour maternel dont Bossu fait honneur au crocodile, légère différence qui n'étonnera pas, pour peu qu'on soit au courant des procédés de l'auteur du *Génie*. Quant à la description des ruines du Scioto dont on n'a pu jusqu'ici retrouver l'origine certaine,<sup>1</sup> j'inclinerai à croire que Chateaubriand aurait simplement transporté

<sup>1</sup> Bédler, *Génie du Christianisme*, p. 284. I, partie IV, 2.



sur le Scioto les ruines que Carver avait reconnues près du Lac Pépin.<sup>1</sup> Les deux descriptions se ressemblent singulièrement, ce serait encore un exemple de ces transpositions hardies dont Chateaubriand ne s'embarrassait guère.

## LES NATCHEZ

"Un jeune homme qui entasse pêle-mêle ses idées, ses inventions, ses études, ses lectures doit produire le chaos" dit Chateaubriand dans la préface. Il a mis en effet dans les *Natchez*, beaucoup de ses lectures, on pourrait presque dire toutes ses lectures. Une analyse systématique des *Natchez* ne nous apprendrait rien de nouveau sur les procédés de composition de Chateaubriand: tous les détails de mœurs ont été empruntés par lui aux relations de voyage; presque tous ont été ensuite reproduits dans le *Voyage en Amérique*. Je citerai seulement trois passages pour montrer comment Chateaubriand s'est servi de Lafitau.

*Les amitiés masculines*

## LES NATCHEZ, 156

Il est une coutume parmi ces peuples de la nature, coutume que l'on trouvait autrefois chez les Hellènes; tout guerrier se choisit un ami. Le nœud ainsi formé est indissoluble; il résiste au malheur et à la prospérité. Chaque homme devient double et vit de deux âmes, si l'un des amis s'éteint l'autre ne tarde pas à disparaître.

Nous n'aurons plus qu'une natte pour le jour, une peau d'ours pour la nuit (dit Outougamiz à René): dans les batailles je serai à ton côté. . . . Après ce pacte les deux amis échangent les manitous de l'amitié. . . .

## LAFITAU, I, 609

Le Père Garnier m'a dit avoir appris d'un sauvage au sujet de ces amitiés qu'ils avaient souvent fait cette remarque que lorsqu'on brûlait un esclave on pouvait regarder comme un présage assuré que celui que l'esclave nommait dans sa chanson de mort serait bientôt pris lui-même et aurait le même sort. . . . Ces amitiés s'achètent par des présents que l'ami fait à celui qu'il veut avoir pour ami: elles s'entretiennent par des marques mutuelles de bienveillance; ils deviennent compagnons de guerre et de fortune, ils ont droit de nourriture et d'entretien dans la cabane l'un de l'autre.

Au reste ces amitiés renouvelées des Grecs ont frappé les premiers voyageurs: il n'est peut-être pas un missionnaire qui n'en parle. Le Beau comme toujours a copié Lafitau sur ce point mais le rapprochement avec les Hellènes me fait adopter Lafitau comme source probable. Le Père Jésuite consacre en effet de nombreuses pages à l'étude de cette particularité de la civilisation grecque.

<sup>1</sup> Carver, p. 32.

*La récolte de la folle avoine*

LES NATCHEZ, p. 325

On arrive au lieu désigné: c'était une baie ou la folle avoine croissait en abondance. Ce blé, que la Providence a semé en Amérique pour le besoin des sauvages, prend racine dans les eaux: son grain est de la nature du riz: il donne une nourriture douce et bienfaisante.

Des cordes de bouleau furent distribuées aux moissonneurs: avec ces cordes ils saisissaient les tiges de la folle avoine, qu'ils liaient en gerbe; puis, inclinant cette gerbe sur le bord de la pirogue, ils la frappaient avec un fléau: le grain mûr tombait dans le fond du canot.

LAFITAU, II, 97

C'est une plante marécageuse qui approche assez de l'avoine mais qui est mieux nourrie. Les sauvages vont la chercher dans leurs canots au temps de sa maturité. Ils ne font que secouer les épyas, lesquels s'égrainent facilement, de sorte que leurs canots sont bientôt remplis et leurs provisions bientôt faites, sans qu'ils soient obligés de labourer ni de semer.

Selon son habitude presque constante, Chateaubriand a voulu illustrer "sa citation," il y a ajouté le tableau de Mila nageant dans le sillage du canot et l'hymne à la lune chanté par le grand prêtre.

*La conspiration*

Je n'ai pas retrouvé chez Charlevoix un détail intéressant de la conspiration des Natchez: on se souvient que Mila fait éclater avant le temps et avorter le complot en dérobant les baguettes cachées dans le temple du Soleil (*Natchez*, 466); mais ce fait est rapporté par Don Ulloa, qui l'attribue à une femme Natchez touchée de commisération pour les blancs.<sup>1</sup>

*Les Funérailles de Chactas*

LES NATCHEZ, 2d partie, p. 494

Les parents allument un grand feu; on purifie la hutte avec de l'eau lustrale: on revêt le corps du sachem d'une superbe tunique et d'un manteau qui n'avait jamais été porté. Dans la chevelure blanche du vieillard on place une couronne de plumes cramoisies. Céluta et Outougamiz furent

LAFITAU, II, 388

Après que le malade a rendu le dernier soupir, on donne les premiers soins au cadavre pour le préparer à la sépulture . . . ceux donc qui doivent être employés à un si triste ministère étant avertis au moment de la mort, lavent le corps, le graissent de leurs huiles, lui peignent le visage

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires philosophiques, historiques, physiques concernant la découverte de l'Amérique.* Par Don Ulloa, lieutenant général des armées du roi d'Espagne. Traduction, Paris 1787. 2 vols. II, p. 25.

## [LES NATCHES]

chargés de peindre les traits du décédé. . . . Cela étant fait, des matrones donnèrent au vieillard l'attitude que l'enfant a dans le sein de sa mère: ce qui voulait dire que la mort nous rend à la terre notre première mère et qu'elle nous enfante en même temps à une autre vie.

Alors on enleva les écorces de cette cabane, du côté qui touchait au cortège et l'on aperçut Chactas assis sur un lit de parade.

## [LAFITAU]

et la tête. . . . Ils habillent ensuite le cadavre de pied en cap, l'arment de ses colliers et de ses différents atours; et après l'avoir mis dans la situation où il doit être dans le tombeau et l'avoir enveloppé d'une belle robe de fourrure toute neuve l'élèvent sur une estrade. Non seulement ils rendent le corps à la terre la mère commune de tous les hommes; mais ils l'y placent dans la même situation où est un embryon dans le sein maternel.

## II, 407

Ils m'ont confirmé que le corps mort du défunt ne sort point par la porte ordinaire de la cabane, ains on lève l'écorce de l'endroit où l'homme est mort pour faire passer son cadavre.

II, 402 (citation de la *Relation pour la Nouvelle France pour l'an 1634*, ch. 4., p. 85).

Quand le cortège est arrivé au lieu choisi pour la sépulture, les assistants chantent une sorte d'hymne funèbre dialogué, dans lequel l'un des sachems parle au nom de Chactas. Un exemple de ces "nénies" comme les appelle Lafitau nous est donné par Le Beau: "présentement semblable à la fumée d'une pipe de tabac, il va s'évanouir de nous, il ne voit rien, il ne sent rien, il ne nous connaît plus, parce qu'il n'est plus rien," chante le maître de cérémonies, devant le mort (II, 308). Serait-ce une transposition poétique de cette lamentation que fait entendre le grand prêtre au tombeau de Chactas: "Est-ce un fantôme que j'aperçois ou n'est-ce rien? C'est un fantôme, moitié sorti d'une tombe fermée, il s'élève de la pierre sépulcrale comme une vapeur. Ses yeux sont le vide, sa bouche est sans langue et sans lèvres: il est muet et pourtant il parle. . . ." Chateaubriand trouvant trop peu noble la comparaison avec "la fumée d'une pipe de tabac" l'aurait transformée en une "vapeur," en bon disciple de Delille qu'il est trop souvent dans les Natchez.

La gravure de la page 417 de Lafitau qui représente un enterrement chez les sauvages, avec le mort dans sa posture rituelle a pu

aussi donner quelques indications à Chateaubriand. Le baron de Lahontan donne les mêmes détails à propos de la sépulture et rapporte une chanson de mort analogue (II, 167); son texte cependant est un peu plus loin de celui de Chateaubriand.

#### VOYAGE

C'est surtout pour le *Voyage* que Chateaubriand a dû mettre à profit la compilation de l'abbé Prévost, il ne servirait de rien de multiplier les renvois, il suffit d'ouvrir l'*Histoire Générale des Voyages* pour y trouver à chaque page la confirmation de ce fait. Au reste il est assez difficile d'établir de qui Chateaubriand s'est servi ici. On peut donc conserver sous les réserves que j'ai déjà indiquées les références données par M. Bédier et par M. Dick, d'autant que Charlevoix est plus complet que Prévost, et que les rapprochements verbaux avec lui sont peut-être plus fréquents. Je signalerai simplement quelques traits dont M. Bédier n'a pas signalé l'origine.

#### Bison

M. Bédier a retrouvé le premier paragraphe de ce chapitre dans Charlevoix: la source des autres lui est restée inconnue. Je rapprocherai un passage de Hennepin de la description du *Voyage*.

#### VOYAGE

Le reste de son corps est couvert d'une laine noire que les Indiennes filent pour en faire des sacs à blé et des couvertures. . . . La viande du bison, coupée en tranches larges et minces, séchée au soleil ou à la fumée, est très savoureuse; elle se conserve plusieurs années.

Le bison et le sauvage, placés sur le même sol, sont le taureau et l'homme dans l'état de nature: ils ont l'air de n'attendre tous les deux qu'un sillon, l'un pour devenir domestique, l'autre pour se civiliser.

#### HENNEPIN, 123

Les femmes sauvages filent au fuseau la laine de ces bœufs dont elles font des sacs, pour porter les viandes boucanées et quelquefois séchées au soleil que ces femmes conservent souvent pendant 3 ou 4 mois de l'année, et quoiqu'elles n'aient point de sel, elles font si bien que la chair ne contracte aucune corruption, quatre mois après qu'elles ont ainsi accommodé cette viande. . . . Les veaux suivent les chasseurs quand la mère est tuée et lèchent la main des enfants . . . on pourrait facilement rendre ces animaux domestiques et s'en servir pour labourer la terre.

#### Mariage

Les rites du mariage ont pour source première Lafitau I, 594. Charlevoix l'a simplement copié, là comme pour l'éducation des enfants.

*Moissons*

## VOYAGE

## LAFITAU, II, 78

Lorsque les derniers froids étaient passés les femmes séminoles, chicas-soises, natchez s'armaient d'une crosse de noyer, mettaient sur leurs têtes des corbeilles à compartiments, remplies de semailles de maïs, de graine de melon d'eau, de fèves et de tournesols. . . . A l'une des extrémités des champs les femmes se rangeaient en ligne et commençaient à remuer la terre avec leur crosse en marchant à reculons. Tandis qu'elles rafraîchissaient ainsi l'ancien labourage, sans former de sillon, d'autres Indiennes les suivaient, ensemençant l'espace préparé par leurs compagnes. Les fèves et le grain de maïs étaient jetés ensemble sur le guéret, les quenouilles du maïs étant destinées à servir de tuteurs ou de rames au légume grimpant.

Des jeunes filles s'occupaient à faire des couches d'une terre noire et lavée; elles répandaient sur ces couches des graines de courge et de tournesol: on allumait autour de ces lits de terre des feux de bois vert pour hâter la germination au moyen de la fumée.

Il leur suffit d'un morceau de bois recourbé de trois doigts qui leur sert à sarcler la terre et à la remuer légèrement. Les champs qu'on doit ensemer ne se rangent point par guérets et par sillons selon la méthode d'Europe; mais par petites mottes rondes de trois pieds de diamètre. . . . Toutes les femmes du village s'unissent ensemble pour le gros travail. . . . La maîtresse du champ dans lequel on travaille distribue à chacune des travaillantes le grain de semence qu'elles reçoivent dans de petites mannes ou corbeilles. . . . Outre le maïs elles sèment des fèves ou petites fèves, des citrouilles, d'une espèce différente de France, des melons d'eau et de grands tournesols. Elles sèment les fèves à côté des grains de leur blé d'Inde, dont la canne ou la tige leur sert d'appui comme l'orme à la vigne. Elles font des champs particuliers pour leurs citrouilles ou leurs melons, mais avant elles préparent une terre noire et légère dans laquelle elles les font germer entre deux écorces, dans leurs cabanes au-dessus de leurs foyers.

Chateaubriand s'est servi, comme en plusieurs autres endroits, non seulement du texte de Lafitau, mais encore de la gravure naïve qui accompagne le texte du bon Père, et nous montre les Indiennes au travail.

*Fêtes*

La "fête du petit blé" qui a lieu "lorsque le maïs commence à changer de couleur" est mentionnée par Perrin du Lac,<sup>1</sup> ainsi que la "fête du feu nouveau," il n'en donne cependant qu'un compte rendu très sommaire. On a peine à croire que les Indiens aient jamais eu des cérémonies d'une telle ampleur, aussi n'est-ce pas ici aux sources habituelles de Chateaubriand qu'il faut avoir recours.

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Paris an XII), p. 79.

Dans l'ouvrage de Joseph Acosta, voyageur espagnol de la fin du XVI siècle, on trouve une description très détaillée de la fête du soleil chez les Mexicains; fête si belle, dit le vieux voyageur, qu'on ne peut la comparer qu'à la Fête du Saint Sacrement; c'est tout à fait l'idée éveillée par le passage de Chateaubriand et ce simple rapprochement suffit à montrer combien les détails en sont peu vraisemblables.<sup>1</sup>

### *Danses*

La danse des braves dont M. Bédier n'a pu retrouver l'origine est prise à Lafitau (II, 189, 190, 191); il serait trop long de citer ici les deux passages. Je rapporterai simplement les traits que Chateaubriand a reproduits. "Les guerriers viennent tout armés à cette assemblée. . . . Le chef lève ensuite le chant et commence la danse de l'Anthourant en frappant à l'un des poteaux de la cabane avec son casse tête . . . . quelques-uns s'excrimant de leurs armes font aussi mine de frapper quelques-uns des assistants." Le chiché—Koué dont parle Chateaubriand est décrit par Lafitau: c'est une écaille de tortue dans laquelle on a introduit des cailloux et que l'on a ensuite recouverte d'une peau (II, 215). Chateaubriand me semble aussi s'être inspiré de Lafitau pour la danse décrite au chapitre de la Guerre avant le départ des guerriers.

### *Médecine*

Le passage sur les impostures des jongleurs est pris à Charlevoix 381-82, dit M. Bédier: le texte coloré et un peu plus fantaisiste de Le Beau, II, 373, me semble plus près de la relation de Chateaubriand: les mêmes détails se retrouvent chez Lafitau, II, 380. Le Beau, comme souvent, n'a pas pu résister au plaisir d'ajouter une polissonnerie au texte primitif de Lafitau.

### *Chasses*

Le stratagème des chasseurs qui se couvrent de peaux de bêtes pour approcher plus facilement les bisons, se retrouve chez Bossu.<sup>2</sup> Le fait est d'autant plus notable que Bossu place cet épisode de son voyage dans le pays des Natchez.

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire naturelle et morale des Indes, tant orientales qu'occidentales*. Composée en Castillan par Joseph Acosta, traduite en français par Robert de Regnault Causols. Paris 1597, pages 261 ff. Le passage relatif à cette fête a été reproduit par l'abbé Prévost, *Histoire générale des voyages*, XII, 546.

<sup>2</sup> Bossu, page 91.

*Guerre*

*Les hiéroglyphes.*—La source indiquée par M. Bédier est Charlevoix "très arrangé": mais Chateaubriand a pu consulter chez Lahontan<sup>1</sup> un tableau qui renferme les principaux hiéroglyphes des sauvages: c'est là que Chateaubriand a pris toutes les figures dont il donne la signification sauf deux; celles-ci, la feuille rongée par le papillon, et la tête du guerrier se voient dans un tableau analogue donné par Lafitau.<sup>2</sup> Chateaubriand a-t-il eu à sa disposition une troisième gravure combinant les deux premières, ou a-t-il opéré lui-même cette "contamination," nous ne savons.

*Gouvernement*

## VOYAGE EN AMÉRIQUE

Presque toujours on a confondu l'état de nature avec l'état sauvage: de cette méprise, il est arrivé qu'on s'est figuré que les sauvages n'avaient point de gouvernement.

Des nations aussi simples ne devraient rien avoir à débattre en politique; cependant il est vrai qu'aucun peuple civilisé ne traite de plus de choses à la fois. C'est une ambassade à une tribu pour la féliciter de ses victoires, un pacte d'alliance à conclure ou à renouveler, une explication à donner sur la violation d'un territoire, une députation à faire partir pour la mort d'un chef.

## LAFITAU, II, 456

On n'a pas fait une moindre injustice aux sauvages de l'Amérique en les faisant passer pour des Barbares sans lois et sans police.

## II, 485

Les hommes étant partout les mêmes et naissant avec les mêmes qualités bonnes ou mauvaises, les affaires qui se traitent dans le conseil des sauvages sont aussi à peu près de même nature que celles qui occupent en Europe notre jurisprudence et notre politique. Il y en a de purement civiles et de police, de criminelles et d'autres qui sont proprement des affaires d'Etat, comme de faire la guerre ou la paix, d'envoyer des ambassadeurs, ou en recevoir, de contracter de nouvelles alliances ou affermir les anciennes.

Toutes les considérations générales de ce chapitre ont pu être inspirées par Lafitau: les détails sur la division des nations en tribus, sur les colliers, peuvent venir de Charlevoix, comme le veut M. Bédier; faisons remarquer toutefois que Charlevoix ne fait que résumer Lafitau (II, 509 f.), qui consacre tout un chapitre à la description et à la signification des colliers.

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages du baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.* Amsterdam 1709. (Tome II, p. 11.)

<sup>2</sup> Lafitau, II, 43.

Ces rapprochements, qu'ils serait facile de multiplier, loin d'être un argument contre Chateaubriand seraient plutôt une preuve de sa sincérité, car il est évident tout d'abord qu'il ne saurait être question de plagiat au sens ordinaire du mot.

Chateaubriand à maintes reprises a très clairement indiqué qu'il avait lu et étudié avec une sorte de passion juvénile les voyageurs qui l'avaient précédé en Amérique: "M. de Malesherbes me montait la tête sur ce voyage," dit-il. "J'allais le voir le matin; le nez collé sur des cartes, nous comparions les différents dessins de la coupole arctique . . . nous lisions les divers récits des navigateurs et voyageurs anglais, hollandais, français, russes, suédois, danois. . . ."

Dans la préface d'*Atala*, il avoue lui-même qu'il avait conçu le plan général des *Natchez* avant même de songer à s'embarquer pour l'Amérique: il renvoie dans la préface du *Voyage* aux "savants récits des d'Anville, Robertson, Gosselin, Malte-Brun, etc.," dans le cours même de l'ouvrage il cite Lafitau, Charlevoix, Carver, Bartram, Beltrami, il en est de même pour les *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*.<sup>1</sup>

Il reste donc à la charge de Chateaubriand qu'il a décrit plus qu'il n'a vu, le fait est indéniable et subsiste malgré les réfutations partielles de M. Stathers et de Miss E. Armstong. Il ne faut cependant pas oublier que l'on ne peut s'attendre à trouver chez le grand poète qu'est Chateaubriand, même quand il a des prétentions à la science, l'exactitude d'un savant moderne.

On ne pouvait lui demander de mettre des notes au bas des pages d'*Atala* ou des *Natchez*, il a laissé cette besogne aux critiques et personne ne lui en fera grief. Aurait-il même voulu indiquer les sources auxquelles il puisait, qu'il n'aurait pu le faire sans difficulté, puisqu'il a dû retrouver les mêmes renseignements successivement reproduits par tous les voyageurs en Amérique. Comme M. Bédier l'a montré, Chateaubriand travaillait sur un système de fiches, il avait pris des notes en lisant, et s'est servi de ces notes toute sa vie et presque dans tous ses ouvrages; rien ne nous dit qu'il avait en même temps noté le nom de l'auteur et la page, qu'il copiait ou qu'il résumait: quand plus tard il a mis ces matériaux en œuvre,

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, I, 307.



il s'est peu soucié et n'avait pas à se soucier de leur origine, imitant en cela les procédés de tous ses devanciers.

Enfin M. Dick fait état des voyages de Beltrami publiés en 1827 pour montrer que le livre VI des *Mémoires* n'a pas été composé en 1822, date donnée par Chateaubriand, puisqu'il renferme des emprunts à Beltrami. Argument qui pêche par la base; Beltrami est en effet un voyageur au moins aussi fantaisiste que Chateaubriand, il n'est pas dans son ouvrage une seule page où il ne copie quelqu'un, soit Lahontan, soit Lafitau, soit Bossu; il faudrait d'abord prouver que Beltrami était lui-même original dans ces passages, cette discussion nous entraînerait trop loin et mériterait une étude à part. J'ai fait cependant quelques recherches qui m'ont confirmé dans l'opinion que M. Dick attribue une importance beaucoup trop considérable à Beltrami. Si on rapproche par exemple le chapitre sur la Guerre, dans le *Voyage*, du livre de Beltrami, on trouvera une foule de coïncidences qui sembleront concluantes; on n'en trouverait pas moins, par malheur, entre les *Natchez* et Beltrami. On ne peut pourtant pas dire que Chateaubriand se soit servi de Beltrami pour les *Natchez*. Si même on pouvait prouver que deux ou trois détails des *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe* ont été empruntés à Beltrami le fait ne vaudrait que peu contre la date indiquée par Chateaubriand, qui a certainement revu et corrigé à plusieurs reprises sa rédaction primitive.

Ces enquêtes ont cependant leur utilité, elles nous permettent de deviner quelques-uns des procédés de composition de Chateaubriand et peuvent nous expliquer le succès qui accueillit *Atala* en 1801. Quand Chateaubriand partit pour l'Amérique il est très probable que "son siège était fait": il emporta les notes qu'il avait prises avec M. de Malesherbes et son imagination était obsédée par des souvenirs livresques: ajoutons à cela qu'il avait une mémoire prodigieuse qui lui permettait de répéter mot pour mot un sermon qu'il avait entendu une fois, et d'apprendre par cœur la table des logarithmes.<sup>1</sup> On ne saurait rêver des conditions plus défavorables pour quelqu'un qui allait chercher dans le Nouveau-Monde la "couleur réelle"; il a été victime de l'erreur que n'ont pas su éviter Th. Gautier, V. Hugo, et même Taine (*Voyage en Italie*),

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, I, p. 77, ed. Biré.

pour s'être trop bien renseignés avant leur départ sur le pays qu'ils allaient visiter. Chateaubriand apportait avec lui dans le Nouveau-Monde des idées toutes faites qu'il allait chercher, non à vérifier, mais à confirmer. Vus à travers Lafitau, les sauvages de l'Amérique lui apparurent comme des héros d'Homère, opinion préconçue que bien d'autres, Bossu en particulier, avaient dû enraciner dans son esprit. N'est-ce pas Bossu qui avait dit: "le génie des Akansas est vraiment poétique, il est certain que Properce, Tibulle, Horace lui-même n'ont jamais pensé l'amour plus délicatement que ne le font ces peuples, dans mille chansons que je nommerai volontiers des odes dignes d'Anacréon. En effet si leurs chansons de mort ont tout le sublime des héros d'Homère, leurs naïves élégies sont dignes du pinceau du tendre et délicat Ovide."<sup>1</sup> Ces Indiens idylliques ne sont-ils pas proches parents des héros des Natchez? Dès l'origine même, le pouvoir d'observation de Chateaubriand se trouvait ainsi faussé, un verre coloré s'interposait entre l'écrivain et la réalité.

Plus tard, une sorte de contamination se produisit dans son cerveau et lui-même n'aurait plus été capable de faire le départ entre ce qu'il avait vu et ce qu'il avait lu. Le travail d'analyse qui consiste à rechercher les éléments qui sont entrés dans la composition des ouvrages de Chateaubriand sur l'Amérique est légitime à condition que l'on ait constamment à l'esprit tout ce que Chateaubriand a ajouté à ces récits de voyage, indigents de forme, remplis de fastidieux détails, sans aucun art, sinon sans artifices. Le fait que nous en devons retenir est qu'*Atala* n'est pas une production spontanée, une sorte de miracle qui aurait introduit dans notre littérature un nouveau genre, et aurait révélé au public un monde inconnu. Au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, on n'aurait probablement pas accepté la pseudo couleur locale d'*Atala*; elle fut reçue avec enthousiasme par le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle commençant. Que s'était-il donc passé dans cet intervalle? L'éclosion du roman exotique n'a pas été un coup de tonnerre inattendu; les gens de 1800 avaient lu Bernadin de Saint Pierre; dans toutes les bibliothèques de famille on trouvait la volumineuse histoire des voyages de l'abbé Prévost, la guerre de l'Indépendance américaine, enfin, avait tourné les regards de la France

<sup>1</sup> BOSSU, *Nouveau Voyage*, p. 273.

vers le Nouveau-Monde. Ajoutons que non seulement Regnard mais une foule de polygraphes comme Le Beau avaient publié à la Haye ou à Amsterdam, dans le courant du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, des récits de voyage qui donnaient au lecteur un aperçu souvent fantaisiste des peuplades de l'Amérique. Ainsi peu à peu s'était développé un goût de l'aventure et de l'exotisme qui aura sa pleine expression avec le romantisme. Si *Atala* ouvre une ère nouvelle dans notre littérature, elle est en même temps l'aboutissement nécessaire et comme la floraison d'un sentiment qu'on voit grandir à travers tout le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

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## THE LAST DAYS OF JOSEPH CHRISTIAN VON ZEDLITZ

It would seem as if the year 1866 had drawn a veil of oblivion over the poetic activity of men like Halm, Stifter Grün, Vogel, and Zedlitz, leaving at first little but their names visible on the roster of German poets of the nineteenth century. But when critical investigation began to exhaust the possibility of new discoveries about the greater figures in modern German literary history, an interest was awakened for the less conspicuous poets. Such minor characters, to use Heine's famous metaphor, comprise the young forest whose sturdy trunks fail to show their size until the hundred-years oak has fallen, the oak whose ancient branches have so completely overtopped them. We are then not surprised to learn that there did not exist, until recently, an adequate biography of Freiherr von Zedlitz.<sup>1</sup>

Zedlitz died on March 16, 1862, presumably as the indirect result of a fall some two years before. On February 11 his sickness first assumed a serious character. The Duchess of Acerenza, Iduna Laube,<sup>2</sup> and Emilie von Binzer<sup>3</sup> were with him at the last. August von Binzer was at that time in Venice, but received, principally from Archduke Ferdinand Max (later Maximilian I, emperor of Mexico), frequent telegrams regarding the condition of his friend in Vienna. A whim of fortune has brought a large mass of the unpublished writings of Binzer into my possession, among them these telegrams which furnish additional data for the student of Zedlitz.

<sup>1</sup> A survey of Zedlitz' life is found in Eduard Castle's "Der Dichter des Soldatenbüchleins," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, VIII, 33-107. More intimate information is given in Zedlitz' correspondence, a part of which is published in the *Stuttgarter Morgenblatt* (1864), Nos. 6, 8, 10, 22, 27, 29, 30, 35, 42, 52; (1865) Nos. 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 28, and in the *Wiener Neue Freie Presse*, Nos. 706, 710, 724, 732, 738, 748, 755, 745, 774, 797. References to his works and reviews of them (i.e., *Waldfräulein*, *Totenkränze*, *Soldatenbüchlein*, *Gedichte*) occur in various newspapers and periodicals, as well as in the works of contemporary writers who held the poet in high esteem; cf. Goedecke, *Grundriss*, VIII, 462. The first complete biography of the poet was published in 1910, under the following title: *Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz. Ein Dichterbild aus dem vormärzlichen Oesterreich von Oskar Hellmann* (Leipzig, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> The wife of Heinrich Laube.

<sup>3</sup> The wife of August von Binzer. Under the pseudonym *Ernst Ritter* she wrote a number of short stories and novels. Zedlitz' friendship with the Binzer family dates back to about 1840. Shortly after Zedlitz' death E. v. B. published a necrologue in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (April 24, 1862, Beilage 114).

## TELEGRAMS

## I

February 12, 1862

VENEDIG——WIEN

*Baron Binzer, Venedig, Zattere Caffè del Signor Paolo Battori:*

Mama glücklich angekommen. Zedlitz lebt aber hoffnungslos.

ACERENZA

## II

February 16, 1862

VENEDIG —— MIRARMAR

*Erzherzog Ferdinand Max an Baron August Binzer, Venedig, Zattere Caffè della Calcina.<sup>1</sup>*

Ueber das Befinden unseres Freundes ist folgende vorletzte und letzte Depesche hier eingetroffen:

1. Beim alten Skada zur consultation wenig Hoffnung weil er nichts genießt. Zuweilen ganz klar meist verwirrt.

2. De dato 15. um 12 eine plötzliche Veränderung im Gesichte als wäre es der Tod bis 7 in einer Lethargie gelegen dann erwacht und bisjetzt 4 Gerichte kommen lassen und nichts davon berührt, während er immerfort von Speisen spricht. Beide Aertze halten ihn fortwährend für hoffnungslos. Es ist ein schrecklicher Zustand für die Umgebung Er leidet nicht.

## III

February 17, 1862

Nach Depesche von gestern Abends 8 Uhr: der Zustand im ganzen derselbe, doch hat der Kranke ein klein wenig mehr und mit minder Abscheu genossen. Ideen zuweilen vollkommen klar.

## IV

February 18, 1862

Das Befinden ist im gleichen, die Schwäche hat nicht zugenommen, dennoch gibt der Arzt keine Hoffnung.

## V

February 19, 1862

Gestern Nachts ein wenig gegessen, dennoch grosse Abnahme der Kräfte, auf Augenblicke ganz freien Geistes.

## VI

February 19, 1862 (p.m.)

Die Nacht war ruhig, das Befinden war beim Alten, der Appetit null, so daz nichts gehofft werden kann, vollkommen lichte Stunden.

<sup>1</sup> Telegrams III–XV have the same heading as No. II. The telegrams are diplomatic copies.

## VII

February 21, 1862

Der Doktor bleibt dabei es sei keine Hoffnung, da er sich weigert Nahrung zu nehmen, sonst könnte er gerettet werden.

## VIII

February 22, 1862

Gestern Abends folgendes Telegramm erhalten: Heute war grosse Schwäche, jetzt[t] ein guter Augenblick, er macht den Küchenzettel behauptet von allen gegessen zu haben. Hat seit 24 Stunden 1 Tasse Thee 3 Schluck Milch und 2 Schluck Bouillon genommen.

## IX

February 23, 1862

Gestern Abends folgendes Telegramm erhalten: Die Nacht gut geschlafen bis 7 Uhr, Abends eine Tasse Caffé, morgens etwas Milch, ein paar Schluck Thee, ein quadrat Zoll Kuchen dann Chinin mit  $\frac{1}{4}$  Glas Champagner dann wieder bis jetzt 5 Uhr sanft geschlafen.

## X

February 24, 1862

Soeben folgendes Telegramm erhalten: Immer zunehmende Schwäche vollkommene fast heitere Ruhe, der Geist beinahe klar.

## XI

February 26, 1862

Gestern Abend folgendes Telegramm: Der Kranke durchaus nicht schlechter, als da ich gestern schrieb. Stimmung ebenso ruhig.

## XII

February 28, 1862

Soeben folgendes Telegramm: Vergangene Nacht wenig Schlaf, heute etwas besser, er schläft jetzt recht ruhig.

## XIII

March 2, 1862

Abends folgendes Telegramm: Kaum merkliche Aenderung, fängt an Gliederschmerzen zu bekommen, auch der Geist ist weniger frei.

## XIV

March 3, 1862

Gestern Abends folgendes Telegramm: Der Zustand ist unveränderlich derselbe, er kann sich noch länger hinziehen, gibt aber keiner Hoffnung Raum. Ich reise heute nach Süddalmatien, daher keine weiteren Telegramme zugesendet werden können.

## XV

March 11, 1862

Soeben folgendes Telegramm: Noch immer grösste Schwäche aber schmerzlos und ruhig, ist bei voller Besinnung, schläft viel und nimmt genug Nahrung ein.

## XVI

March 12, 1862

Noch lebt er und ist ergeben meist nicht bei sich. Ich bin gesund.

## XVII

BRN. BINZER

March 16, 1862 (9 A.M.)

*Baronesse Binzer Zattere 781 Venezia:*

Nach Mitternacht sanft ohne Zuckung entschlafen. Ich bin wohl und fast ruhig. Wäre Papa da!

EMILIE

Binzer left Venice on March 14 or 15 to hasten to the deathbed of his friend, but before his arrival in Vienna Zedlitz had expired. The funeral took place on March 18. The same afternoon Binzer wrote in his journal:

Zedlitz wird nun von keinem Sterblichen mehr gesehen. Wir haben Erde auf seinen Sarg geworfen: Sieber, Tinen, Webenau (der mit mir hinausfuhr), Bruns, Lesemann mit ihren Frauen und die vier Dienstleute des Hauses. Dann ward die Gruft auf dem Matzleinsdorfer Friedhofe, in der schon seine Frau und Schwester begraben wurden, gefüllt—und wir fuhren betrübt nach Hause.

Die Leiche war heute Mittag noch so schön und poetisch anzuschauen wie am ersten Tage, nicht der kleinste entstellende Zug im edlen Antlitz. Hinter dem Sarg an schwarz behangener Wand war das Wappen befestigt; an den Seiten der Bahre standen sechs hohe Candelaber mit brennenden Kerzen, zu Füßen ein Crucifix und ein Tisch mit seinen Orden auf schwarzem Kissen und der von Radezky's Armee ihm geschenkte Pokal, daneben ein hübsches Gefäß mit Weihwasser, und rings um schöne grüne Gewächse, die Bahre überragend. Sein Dichterhaupt war mit dem ihm gebührenden Lorbeerkranz geschmückt; in den weissen Händen unter der Brust lag ein kleineres Crucifix; der Körper war weisz gedeckt, zuoberst mit durchsichtigem goldbesticktem Zeug und darauf lagen 2 grosse Camellien Kränze (einer für Marie Pokorny) und ein festgeflechtener Lorbeerkranz mit breitem schwarzem Band, worauf die Worte eingenäht waren: "Dem Dichter von einer Verehrerin" (ich weisz nicht von wem). Auch drei schöne Blumenbouquets lagen auf der weissen Decke (eins von der Rettich). Das Ganze war ein schöner kleiner Todtengarten; aber auch der konnte ja nur vergänglich sein.—Kurz vor 2 Uhr (Mama war vorher zur Göthe gegangen)



kamen die Kirchendiener. Der Pokal ward in's andere Zimmer gebracht; das Kissen mit dem Orden nahm Johann, um es mit in die Kirche zu tragen; der zweite Sarg von Eichenholz ward neben dem offenen schwarzen gestellt, und, nachdem dieser mit seiner Blumenhülle hineingehoben war, zugedeckt. Die Poesie war dem Auge entschwunden, man sah nur ein groszes goldglänzendes Kreuz auf dem Deckel des Sarges. Als dieser hinausgetragen und auf den Leichenwagen gehoben war, umgeben von vielen Männern mit brennenden Kerzen, folgten wir, die Hausgenossen, in die Schottenkirche, vor welcher eine grosze Menge von Herren (auch viele in Generals-Uniform, wie ich aus der Ferne sah) sich versammelt hatten. Mir war es nur, als sollte ich dem Sarg so lange wie möglich nahe bleiben, und so ging ich, ohne mich umzuschauen, dicht hinter demselben als er in der Kirche ringsum getragen ward, und trat, als er vor dem Altar niedergelassen war, in die nächste Reihe der schwarzbekleideten Kirchenstühle. Vielleicht war das nicht dem hiesigen Gebrauch gemäsz, aber ich bin ja auch in dieser Beziehung ein Fremder hier; achtete auch nicht auf meine Umgebung und muszte mir die Augen trocken, als die Choralmusik ertönte. Ich hörte nachher von Webenau, dasz meine nächsten Nachbarn, der französische Gesandte und der Prinz von Coburg, mich, den sie nicht kannten, befremdlich angesehen hätten; auch erfuhr ich durch ihn, dasz das ganze diplomatische Corps zugegen war, dann viele von der Generalität, und—auf besondere Orde—*alle* Obristen der in Wien garnisonierenden Corps und von jedem noch 2 Offiziere; ferner viele Damen der ersten Gesellschaft, die Herren von der haute finance, etc., etc. Ich habe von alle dem nichts gesehen, nur beim Hinausgehen bemerkte ich zufällig in meiner Nähe Pauline Sermage, und gleich darauf drückte mir Fürst Stachemberg die Hand, und noch ein Herr, den ich aber nicht erkannte. Als der Sarg wieder in den Wagen gehoben war, nahm ich einen Fiaker für mich und Webenau, Sieber und Tinen fuhren in einem zweiten, dann auch die Leute.

Auf dem fernen Friedhofe ward keine Leichenrede gehalten; ohne alle Feierlichkeit nur bei stillen Gebeten der Anwesenden ward der Sarg in die Gruft gelassen; aber die Menschen, welche diese umstanden, waren tief bewegt—und die Musik in der Kirche war schön und erbaulich—auch der Gesang. Wenn die Seele des Freundes uns nahe war, so wird sie mit unserm Abschied von ihrer irdischen Hülle zufrieden sein. Gott gebe ihr den ewigen Frieden—und uns dereinst das Wiedersehen in einer bessern Welt.

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# Modern Philology

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No. 2

## ITERATIVES, BLENDS, AND "STRECKFORMEN"

One of the oldest methods of expressing continuation or emphasis is iteration.<sup>1</sup> This may consist of the repetition of a clause, a phrase, or a word or part of a word. In the modern Germanic languages such repetitions are very common, especially in popular usage. They fall naturally into the classes given below.<sup>2</sup>

### I. REPETITION OF THE SAME FORM

1. *Chim-chim* 'talk in a longwinded, undecided way' : *chim* 'take by small portions, eat nicely' Wr.
2. *Choo-choo*, word used by little children to designate a train of cars, in imitation of the noise made by the engine.
3. *Gee-gee* 'horse' : *gee*, used by teamsters to their animals in directing them to the right Sl.
4. *How-how* 'a charwoman, an untidy, slovenly woman' Wr.
5. *Pum-pum* 'fiddler' Sl. : perhaps suggested by *pummel* 'beat.'
6. *Quit-quit* 'the note of the swallow' Wr.
7. *Shally-shally* 'irresolutely' : *shall I?* Cent.

<sup>1</sup> For examples see Brugmann, *Gdr. der vergl. Gram.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 56 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Examples have been taken from the following sources, thus abbreviated: B. = Boekenoogen, *De Zaanse Volkstaal*, Leiden 1897.—B.-L. = Barrère and Leland, *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant*.—Cent. = *The Century Dictionary*, 10 vols. and 2 new vols.—C. en V. = *Idioticon van het Antwerpsch Dialect opgesteld door P. J. Cornelissen en J. B. Versliet*.—Dial. Notes = *Publications of the American Dial. Soc.*—Fr. = Frischbier, *Preussisches Wörterbuch*.—Irwin, Wallace, in his Japanese letters.—Jam. = Jamieson, *Etymological Dict. of the Scottish Language*.—Koolman, J. ten Doornkaat, *Wb. der ostfries. Sprache*.—Schr. = Heinr. Schröder, *Streckformen*, Heidelberg 1906.—Sl. = Farmer and Henley, *Slang and Its Analogues*.—Sundén, K. = *Contributions to the Study of Elliptical Words in English*, Upsala 1904.—Wr. = Wright, *The English Dial. Dict.* Other examples, where the source is not indicated, I have heard myself.

8. *Talky-talky* 'chatter' Sl. : *talk*.
9. *Thud-thudding* 'noise made by galloping horses' Caroline K. Duer (quoted by Leon Mead, *Word-Coinage*, 144).
10. *Tom-tom* 'in India, the drum (*tamtam*) used by musicians, jugglers, etc.' Cent.
11. *Yum-yum* 'first-rate, elegant' B.-L., also used to imitate the sound of chewing a delicious morsel.
12. *Zing-zing* 'telephone' *Harper's Mag.*, December, 1910, p. 100.
13. *Zu-zu* 'the Zouave contingent in the Union Army during the Civil War' Sl. Here only a part of the word is repeated.
14. *Hupphupp* 'Wiedehopf, nach seinem Geschrei *hupp hupp*' Fr. Cf. the similar repetition in Lat. *upupa*.
15. *Kirrie-kirrie*, *kri-kri* 'net aan, nog juist, ternauwernood' B. Cf. Groning. *kar-kar*, *kar* 'niet geheel, bijna, nauwelijks' Molema.
16. *Kiskis* 'broodsop' B.
17. *Koeskoes* 'een mengsel van witte kool, haverdegort, spek en melk,' 'a porridge of cabbage, oatmeal, bacon, and milk' B.
18. *Taai-taai* 'zekere soort van bruine, zeer taaie koek, die van roggemeel en strop gebakken wordt in den vorm van het sinterklaasgoed,' 'kind of tough cake' B. : *taai* 'tough.'
19. *Wawau* 'Hund in der Kindersprache' Fr. Cf. WFlem. *bawwaww* and NE. *bow-wow*.

Other examples might be given from other dialects.

## II. REPETITION WITH ABLAUT

Examples of this class are so numerous that I have taken them only from English and East Friesian. In popular English, at least, they may be formed at will, almost any word with *i* or *a* (i.e., *æ* or *a*) being used as a basis. This, the most common variation, comes from the third ablaut-series, as in *sink* : *sank*. This variation may exist in the simple words of the compound, as *jingle-jangle*, No. 46, or it may occur only in the compound, as *kiddle-kaddle* 'dawdling' from *kiddle* 'dawdle,' No. 47, or *kiddle-kaddle* 'confusion' from *caddle* 'confusion,' No. 48.

1. *Bit-bat* 'bat' : *bat* Wr.

2. *Chick-chack(er)* 'saxicola oenanthe' Wr.
3. *Chiff-chaff* 'chaffinch' Wr.
4. *Chim-cham*, same as *chim-chim* Wr., No. I, 1.
5. *Chit-chat* 'small talk, chatter' : *chat* Wr.
6. *Clap-clopping* (of a horse's hoofs) 'clattering' *Harper's Mag.*, December, 1910 : *clap*.
7. *Click-clack* 'chit-chat' : *click+clack*.
8. *Cling-clang* 'a clanging' : *clang*.
9. *Clinkum-clankum* 'repeated ringing strokes' : *clink+clank* Cent.
10. *Clish-clash*, *clishmaclash* 'silly talk' : *clash* Cent.
11. *Crick-crack* 'talk, chat' : *crack* Wr.
12. *Crickle-crackle* 'crackle; crackling' : *crackle*.
13. *Crim-cram* 'crevice' Wr. : *cram* 'fold, wrinkle' Wr.
14. *Crink-crank* 'long words not properly understood' Wr.
15. *Crinkum-crankum* 'any engineering or mechanical device or toy; knick-knack' Wr.
16. *Crisscross* 'a congeries of intersecting lines; intersect frequently' Cent. : *cross*.
17. *Dilly-dally* 'loiter, delay, trifle' : *dally* Cent.
18. *Dingle-dangle* 'in a dangling manner' : *dingle+dangle* Cent.
19. *Ding-dangles* 'hanging beads or other finery' Wr., Dan, *dingel-dangel* 'Baumel' : *dingle+dangle*.
20. *Ding-dong* 'the sound of a bell' (Dan. *dingdang*, Swed. *dingdang*, *dingelidang*) : *ding* 'beat, strike' Cent.
21. *Driggle-draggle* 'slovenly; sloven' : *driggle* 'fall in drops, trickle'+*draggle* 'drabble' Wr.
22. *Fic-fac*, *fig-fag*, *fix-fax* 'the tendon of the neck' Wr.
23. *Fiddle-faddle* 'toy, trifle; talk nonsense' : *fiddle* 'dawdle'+*faddle* 'trifle, toy; dawdle' Wr.
24. *Fid-fad* 'fastidious person,' *fiddy-faddy* 'fastidious, over-nice' : *fad* Wr.
25. *Fiffle-fafflement* 'trifling and unnecessary work' : *fafflement*, same, *faffle* 'trifle; fumble' Wr.
26. *Fike-fack*, *fick-fack* 'a troublesome finicking job; needless bustle,' *fike-ma-facks* 'nonsense, silly, trifling sayings' : *fike*, *fick* 'move restlessly, fidget; kick, struggle; trouble, vex; trifle, flirt' Wr.

27. *Filly-fally* 'idle, dilly-dally' : perhaps *fal-* in *fal-de-ral*, *fal-lal* 'nonsense, trifling.'

28. *Fimble-famble* 'a lame excuse, a prevaricating answer' Sl.: *fimble* 'touch lightly' + *famble* 'stutter, gabble' Wr.

29. *Fish-fash* 'fuss, bother' : *fash* 'trouble, disturbance' Wr.

30. *Flifty-flaff* 'fluttering' : *flaff* 'flutter, flap' Wr.

31. *Flim-flam* 'idle talk, nonsense' : *flim* 'whim; illusion' + *flam* 'sham story, nonsense, humbug, flattery.'

32. *Flip-flap* 'a flighty creature' Sl. : *flip* + *flap*.

33. *Flipper-de-flapper* 'noise, confusion' : *flipper* 'flutter, swing' + *flap* Wr.

34. *Frim-fram* 'trifle, whim' : *fram* 'be fractious or peevish' Wr.

35. *Frimple-frample* 'in a confused tangled manner' : *frample* 'put in disorder' Wr.

36. *Frip-fraps* 'crackers, which leap about when exploding' : *frap* 'strike, rap; snap, fizz' Wr.

37. *Gibble-gabble* 'gabble, nonsense' : *gabble* Sl.

38. *Glibber-glabber* 'talk idly and confusedly; sb. frivolous and confused talk' : *glabber* 'chatter, gabble; coax, wheedle,' *glab* 'foolish, idle talk' Wr. (MHG. *er-glaffen* 'betören, berauschen,' *ver-glabet* 'sinnlos, ohne Verstand,' ON. *glópr* 'idiot' etc.).

39. *Glim-glam* 'the game of Blindman's buff' : *glim* 'dim, blind' Wr.

40. *Gweek-gwak* 'the noise or squeak of boots' Wr.

41. *Higgle-haggle* 'haggle' : *higgle* + *haggle* Cent.

42. *Hip-hop* 'with a hopping gait,' *hippety-hop(pety)* 'hopping and skipping' Cent. : *hop*.

43. *Imble-amble* 'ambling,' in a nursery rime : *amble*.

44. *Jig-jog* 'a jolting motion, jog' : *jig* + *jog* Cent.

45. *Jim-jam* 'jimcrack, knick-knack,' *jimjams* 'delirium tremens' : *jim-* in jimcrack Cent.

46. *Jingle-jangle* 'anything that jingles; a jingling sound' : *jingle* + *jangle* Cent.

47. *Kiddle-kaddle* 'slow, dawdling' Wr.; *kiddle* 'dawdle, loiter' Wr.

48. *Kiddle-kaddle* 'mess, confusion' Wr.: *caddle* 'confusion,

disorder' Wr. These two entirely distinct words are made, the one from *kiddle*, the other from *caddle*.

49. *kim-kam*, *-cam* 'awry, perverse,' *vb.* 'bicker, argue, retort': *cam* 'crooked, perverse, obstinate,' *vb.* 'cross, contradict, bicker, argue' Wr.

50. *Kingle-kangle* 'loud, confused, and ill-natured talk': *cangle* 'quarrel, wrangle, haggle' Wr.

51. *Knick-knack* 'trifle, trinket, toy': *knack* 'dexterity; ingenious trifle, toy' Cent.

52. *Miff-maff* 'nonsense, rot' Sl.: *miff* 'a petty quarrel.'

53. *Mingle-mangle* 'medley, confused mixture,' *adj.* 'irregular, confused,' *ming-mang* 'confusion': *mingle* Wr.

54. *Mixie-marie*, *mixter-maxter* 'heterogeneous mixture' Wr.: *mix*, *mixture*.

55. *Mizmaze* 'maze, labyrinth' Sl., 'confusion, bewilderment; giddy, confused' Wr.: *maze*.

56. *Muxter-maxter* 'a confused heap' Wr.: *mux* 'mix confusedly.'

57. *Nibble-nabble* 'do anything by pieces' Wr.: *nibble*.

58. *Niddle-noddle* 'do anything in a dreamy, bewildered way, dawdle': *noddle* 'nod' Wr. Cf. *nid-nod* 'nod.'

59. *Niddy-noddy* 'simpleton': *noddy*, same Wr.

60. *Niff-naff* 'a trifling thing, knick-knack; a small person; fussiness of disposition,' *niffy-naffy* 'an insignificant, fussy person': *naff* 'work in a weak, trifling manner, trifle; walk with short steps' Wr.

61. *Niggedy-naggety* 'irritable': *nigg* 'fret' + *nag* 'fret' Wr.

62. *Piddle-paddle* 'very poor ale' Wr.

63. *Pimple-pamples* 'an imaginary disease': *pimping*, *pimpy* 'small, paltry, sickly' + *pample* 'pamper' Wr.

64. *Pinkle-pankle* 'make a tinkling sound,' MLG. *pinkepanken* 'taktmässig mit dem Schmiedehammer schlagen': E. *pink* 'hit, strike, puncture,' LG. *pinken* 'hämmern, schmieden.'

65. *Pitpat*, *pitapat*, *pitypat*, *pitter-patter* 'a light quick step, a pattering' Cent.: *pat*, *patter*. Cf. also early E. *pitter* 'murmur, patter.'

66. *Plish-plash* 'splash': *plash* Wr.

67. *Plit-plat* 'expressive of the sound made by a horse's hoofs as it trots along the road' Wr.

68. *Prittle-prattle* 'childish talk' : *prattle* Wr.
69. *Rick-rack* 'a kind of openwork trimming made by hand, with needle and thread, out of a narrow zigzag braid' : *rack* 'a grating or open framework of bars, wires, or pegs' Cent.
70. *Riffraff* 'scraps, refuse, trash; rabble' : ME. *rif* and *raf*, OFr. *rif* et *raf*, *rifler*, *raffler* Cent.
71. *Rimble-ramble* 'nonsense; nonsensical' Sl. : *ramble* 'show a lack of definite direction or arrangement.'
72. *Riprap* 'broken stones used for walls, beds, and foundations' Cent.
73. *Rittle-rattle* 'rattle' : *rattle* Wr.
74. *See-saw* 'move backward and forward, or upward and downward' : *saw* Cent.
75. *Scriff-scruff* 'odds and ends, rubbish' : *scroff*, same Wr.
76. *Scrittle-scratle* 'a difficulty in making both ends meet' ('a scrimping and scraping') : *scrattle* 'scratch, scrape and save, labor hard,' with which cf. *scrutle* 'scrape together, save money with difficulty' Wr.
77. *Shilly-shally* 'act in an irresolute and undecided manner, hesitate' : *shally-shally* Cent. Cf. No. I, 7.
78. *Skimble-skamble* 'rigmarole, nonsense' Sl.
79. *Slipslap*, *slipslop* 'go slipping and slapping'; 'weak and sloppy drink'; 'slipshod, slovenly' : *slip+slap* or *slop* Cent.
80. *Snick-snack* 'equal shares' : *snack* 'share, equal portion' Wr.
81. *Snip-snap* 'a tart dialogue with quick replies' Cent.: *snip+snap*.
82. *Snipper-snapper* 'whipper-snapper' Cent.
83. *Teeter-totter* 'see-saw' : *teeter+totter*.
84. *Teeny-tony*, *teenty-tony*, diminutive of *tiny* Dial. Notes.
85. *Tittle-tattle* 'trifling talk' : *tattle* Cent.
86. *Tick-tack*, *tick-tock* 'a pulsating sound like that made by a clock or watch' : *tick* Cent.
87. *Trim-tram* 'trifle, absurdity, folly' Sl. : *trim* 'dress, trapping, ornament.'
88. *Tringum-trangum* 'whim, fancy' Sl. : *trang(r)am*, *trankum* 'trumpetry, trash,' *trink* 'a trick or fancy,' dial. *trinkums* 'trinkets' Cent.



89. *Twiddle-twaddle* 'gabble, twaddle' : *twaddle* 'senseless talk.'  
 90. *Whim-wham* 'trinket, trifle; rubbish, nonsense' Sl. : *whim*.  
 91. *Wibble-wobble* 'unsteadily' Sl. : *wobble*, *wabble* 'a rocking, unequal motion.'  
 92. *Wig-wag* 'move to and fro' : *wag* Cent.  
 93. *Wish-wash* 'a thin, sloppy drink,' *wishy-washy* 'thin and weak, sloppy' : *wash* Cent.

For East Fries. the following are given by Koolman:

94. *Bim-bam*, 'vom Anschlagen der Glocken,' *bum-bam* 'deutet das dumpfere Getön' einer grösseren Glocke an; 'Schaukel, Schwebel,' *bumbammen* 'hin u. herschlagen, schaukeln' : *bimmeln*, *bammeln*, *bummeln*.

95. *Dindan*, *dindanner* 'einer, der einen schwankenden, unsicheren, watschelnden Gang hat,' *dindannen* 'sich beim Gehen hin u. her bewegen' : NE. *dandle* 'play with, fondle, toss,' NHG. *tändeln* etc.

96. *Flik-flak* 'klipp-klapp,' *flik-flakken* 'Schläge od. Klapse geben' : *flik* 'Schlag, Klapps.'

97. *Hik-hak* 'Zänker,' *hik-hakken* 'wiederholt hacken' : *hikken* + *hakken* 'hacken.'

98. *Himp-hamp* 'Stümper, Hinkender, Humpler,' *himp-hampen* 'hinken, humpeln' : *gehampel* 'Gezappel' etc. Cf. NE. dial. *himp* 'limp.'

99. *Klik-klak* 'klipp-klapp' : *klik* + *klak*.

100. *Klip-klap* : *klappern*.

101. *Knip-knap* : *knappen* 'knacken.'

102. *Krits-krats* 'Kritz-kratz,' *krits-kratsen* 'kratzend kritzeln od. kitzelnd kratzen, kratzend u. kreischend gleiten' : NHG. *kratzen*.

103. *Lib-lab*, *lif-laf* 'fades geschmackloses Essen; leeres Geschwätz,' Du. *liflaf* 'geschmacklos, schal, fade', 'dummes Zeug; geschmacklose Speise,' *liflassen* 'auf alberne Weise liebkosen' : *laf* 'schlaff, matt, fade.'

104. *Pill-pallen* 'plaudern, schwatzen' : *pillern* + *pallen* 'schwatzen.'

105. *Rik-rak* 'Bewegung hin u. her,' *rik-rakken* 'hin u. her bewegen od. stossen, wiegen, wackeln' : *rikken* '(sich) hin u. her bewegen.'

106. *Ruk-rakken* 'hin u. her bewegen' : *rukken, rükken* 'rücken, rücken,' NE. *rock*.

107. *Snik-snak* 'Schnickschnack' : *snak* 'Geschwätz,' cf. also *snikken* 'schluchzen.'

108. *Stip-stap* 'Doppel-Tritt,' *stip-stappen* 'mit einem Fuss hierhin u. mit dem andern Fuss dahin treten' : *stap* 'Tritt, Schritt,' *stappen* 'treten.'

109. *Swibbel-swabbel-ful* 'zum Überlaufen voll' : *swibbeln+swabbeln* (*swubbeln*) 'sich hin u. her bewegen, wogen.'

110. *Tik-tak: tikken* 'ticken; leise anstossen od. berühren.'

111. *Tir-tarren, tir-targen* 'anhaltend od. wiederholt necken u. plagen' : *targen* 'necken.'

112. *Trip-trap* 'Bezeichnung des wechselweisen Niedersetzens beider Füße nebst dem dadurch verursachten Schall' : *trippeln+trap* 'Tritt.'

113. *Wip-wap* 'Schaukel' : *wip* 'Gerät, das hin u. her od. auf u. nieder schwebt od. schwingt,' *wippen* 'auf u. nieder schweben machen'+*wappen* 'auf u. nieder bewegen.'

### III. ITERATIVE COMPOUNDS OF SYNONYMOUS WORDS

Compounds of this class are very common, and occur also in the older periods. E.g. *bring*, pre-Germ. \**bhrenkō* : *bh(e)re* 'bear' +*en(e)k* 'bear, carry' (Brugmann, *IF.*, XII, 155 ff.); Gk. *δεν-δῖλλω* 'turn the eyes about, glance at' : *δονέω* 'shake, stir'+OE. *tilian* 'strive after,' OHG. *zilen* 'sich beeilen, eifrig streben nach,' Gk. *δίεμαι* 'hasten'; Gk. *δυο-παλλίζω* 'swing, fling about' : *δονέω* 'shake'+*πάλλω* 'shake, brandish'; Gk. *δαρ-δάπτω* 'devour' : *δέρω* 'flay' ('tear')+*δάπτω* 'rend,' Lat. *daps* 'meal' (author, *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 335); OHG. *lindwurm* : *lind* 'Schlange'+*wurm* (Kluge, *s.v. Lindwurm*); OHG. *sintfluot* 'Sündflut' : Germ. \**sindu*-flood,' Skt. *sindhu-s* 'stream'+OHG. *fluot* 'flood' (author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII, 14). See Persson, *Studien*, 216<sup>1</sup>; Fay, *Class. Rev.*, XX, 254.

The examples below are taken from English, the German of Prussia (Frischbier), and the Dutch dialect of Zaan (Boekenoogen). Many others could be added from the other dialects.

1. *Bumbaste* 'beat soundly' Wr. : *bum, bam* 'beat'+*baste* 'beat.'

2. *Bumbaze* 'confound, bewilder, perplex' : *bum* 'beat, strike'

(or *bam* 'delude') + *baze* 'alarm, puzzle, bewilder,' Du. *verbazen* 'in Bestürzung bringen' Wr.

3. *Bam-booze* 'abuse, domineer over, push about' : *bam* 'beat, strike, browbeat, bully' + *booze*, perhaps an ablaut-form to *baze*.

4. *Bam-boozle* 'deceive, cheat, impose upon, confuse, muddle' *bam* 'play a trick or joke on a person, impose upon, delude,' *sb.* 'joke, trick, hoax' (probably the same word as *bam* 'beat, bully') + *boozle*. Cf. Nos. 2, 3.

5. *Bam-bosh* 'humbug, deceit' Sl : *bam* 'trick, hoax' + *bosh* 'nonsense, trash.'

6. *Bam-, bum-foozle* 'play tricks upon, deceive, humbug' Wr., *bum-foozle, fuzzle* 'bewilder' Dial. Notes : *bam+foozle* 'a man who is easily humbugged, fool' B.-L. Compare NHG. *faseln*.

7. *Biff-bang* 'jarring racket' ("the biff-bang of the looms," Ida M. Tarbell, *Am. Mag.*, January, 1911, p. 351) : *biff+bang*. Compounds like this may be formed at pleasure. They are made up of words expressive of a noise caused by a blow or a fall. When composed of two syllables, they have level or nearly level stress, with a tendency to accent the last word. Other examples are : *crash-bang*; *slam-bang*; *slap-bang*; *slap-dash*; *smack-dab*; *stam-bang* (*stam* 'stamp' Wr.); *stam-ram*; *stram-bang* Wr.; *thump-thud-dash-clash*; *nickety-knock* 'with throbbings, with palpitations' Wr. from *nick* 'click' + *knock*; *lickety-cut*, *lickety-larrup*, *lickety-split*, *lippety-click*, *lippety-clip*, all expressive of rapid motion. From such words are formed *te-lick*, *te-smack*, etc. 'as fast as possible' Wr.

8. *Cag-mag, keg-meg* 'gossip, newsmonger; chatter, idle talk'; *vb.* 'nag, grumble at' : *cag, keg* 'annoy, vex, chatter, gossip' + *mag* 'chatterer, garrulous person'; *vb.* 'prattle, chatter' Wr.

9. *Clamjámfry* 'crowd, mob, raffle; rubbish, trumpery' Wr. : *clam* 'pinch, press' Wr. + *jam* 'press, crowd.'

10. *Clapperclaw* 'scratch, maul, fight in an unskilful manner' : *clap+claw* Wr.

11. *Cobble-nobble* 'rap on the head' : *cobble* 'knock, beat' + *nobble* 'strike, esp. on the head' Wr.

12. *Cram-jam* 'a dense crowd' : *cram+jam*.

13. *Creepy-crawly* 'in a creeping and crawling manner' Wr.

14. *Dumfoozled* 'confounded, puzzled' Sl. : *dumb+foozle*, cf. Nos. 6, 30.

15. *Dum(b)founder* 'confuse, stupefy, stun' : *dumb+founder* 'cause to stumble; dismay, strike with fear or astonishment' Wr. Cf. *bogfounded* 'perplexed': *bog* 'stick in the mire; confuse'+*foundered* Wr.

16. *Dumfóutter* 'bewilder, tease, annoy' : *dumb+fouter, footer* 'ridicule, disapprove, hinder' Wr.

17. *Fef(f)nicute, feffmecute* 'hypocrite, mean, sneaking person,' 'fawn, play the hypocrite' : *feff* 'fawn, play the hypocrite'+*cute* 'shrewd, sly' (?) Wr.

18. *Flamdoodle* 'nonsense, vain boasting' Sl. : *flam* 'nonsense, humbug'+*doodle* 'nonsense.'

19. *Flapdoodle* 'transparent nonsense, gammon' Sl. : *flap* + *doodle*.

20. *Flimslimp* 'soft' Wr. : *flimsy+limp*.

21. *Haphdzard* 'chance' : *hap* 'chance'+*hazard* 'chance' Cent.

22. *Hobgoblin* 'a mischievous imp or sprite' : *hob* 'sprite, elf'+*goblin* 'elf, sprite' Cent.

23. *Hoblob* 'clown, lout' : *hob* 'clownish fellow'+*lob* 'a dull, sluggish person, lout' Cent.

24. *Howdy-towdy* : *howdy+towdy*, cf. No. VI, 3.

25. *Hugger-mugger* 'privacy, secrecy'; *adj.* 'clandestine, sly'; *vb.* 'hush, smother; take secret counsel' Cent. : *hugger* 'lie in ambush, lurk; muffle, conceal' Cent., 'wrap up, hoard' Wr. (cf. *hug* 'crouch, huddle, cuddle, cling to etc.,' NHG. *hocken* etc.) +*mugger* 'save, hoard' or *smugger* 'hide, conceal' Wr. (cf. Swed. *i mjugg* 'heimlich, verstohlen,' EFries. *mogeln* 'heimlich u. hinterlistig handeln').

26. *Humpty-dumpty* 'short and broad'; 'name of the egg in the nursery rime' Cent. : *humpty* 'humped, hunchbacked'+*dumpty* 'short and thick, squat.'

27. *Lamback* 'beat, cudgel' Cent. : *lam* 'beat, thrash'+*back* 'beat, thrash; conquer' Wr.

28. *Lambaste* 'beat severely, thrash' : *lam* 'thrash, beat'+*baste* 'beat' Cent. Cf. *bumbaste* No. 1.

29. *Pull-haul* 'bicker, contend' Dial. Notes, III, 414.

30. *Ram-foozle* 'disorder, turn topsy-turvy' Wr. : *ram+foozle*. See Nos. 6, 14.

31. *Ram-feeze* 'fatigue, exhaust' : *ram+feeze* 'drive, urge, beat, worry' Cent.

32. *Ram-jam* 'a surfeit,' *vb.* 'stuff' Sl., *adj.* 'tightly packed' Wr. : *ram* 'cram' + *jam* 'cram.'

33. *Ram-scallion*, *-scullion* 'an offensively dirty person' : *ram* 'offensive in smell or taste' + *scallion* 'shallot, onion, leek' Wr. Compare "as ram as a scallion," said of a person of disagreeable contact.

34. *Ram-st(r)am* 'precipitately, with headlong speed' Wr. : *ram* as in *ram ahead* 'plunge ahead' + *stram* 'spring with violence.' Cf. *stam-ram* 'walk noisily and roughly' : *stam* 'stamp' Wr. + *ram*.

35. *Rapscallion* 'rascal, vagabond' : *rap* 'a cheat, impostor, a person of bad character' + *scallion* in *ram-scallion* No. 33. Cf. *raskallion* 'a thorough rascal,' No. V, 37.

36. *Skadoodles* of money 'a great deal of money' Dial. Notes, III, 94 : *skads* 'a large amount or number' (skads of money) + *oodles* of money 'a great deal of money' *ibid.*, 401.

37. *Stravåg*, *-vag*, *-vague* 'wander about aimlessly, stroll, saunter' Wr. : *stray+vaig*, *vag* etc. 'roll, stroll, wander' Wr.

38. *Splatter-dash* 'splash about, scatter liquids or semi-liquids far and wide' Wr. : *splatter+dash*.

39. *Teeny-weeny*, *tiny-winy*, *tinny-winny* 'very small' Wr., *teentsy-weentsy*, *tintsy-wintsy* (pron. *taintsi-waintsi*) 'diminutively small' Dial. Notes, III, 380, also *weenty-teenty* : *tiny* (pron. *taini*, *tini*, *tini*) + *weeny* 'very small, tiny, wee' Wr., perhaps from *wee* 'winzig.' Cf. *twiny* 'tiny' Wr., apparently from *tiny+weeny*. Cf. No. II, 84.

40. *Dummdätsch* 'überaus dumm' : *dumm+dätsch* 'stumpfsinnig' Fr.

41. *Hakkeptel* 'stoffelig, onhandig, onbedreven person,' *hakkepielen* 'met stomp gereedschap hakken en snijden, onhandig bezig zijn,' 'hack and haggle' : *hakken+pielen* 'met een stomp mes snijden, met een stompe bijl hakken' B.

42. *Hakkepóffen* 'slecht schaatsenrijden,' 'skate clumsily, with

clatter and clump,' *hakkepoffer* 'onbedreven schaatsenrijder' : *hakken* 'hack'+*poffen* 'met een bof neerkomen,' 'clump, clatter' B.

43. *Hålje-travålje* 'overhaast, hals over kop,' 'precipitately' : *hals* 'neck'+*travalje* 'halter' (?) B. Cf. Pruss. *holl über boll* 'über Hals u. Kopf, in grösster Eilfertigkeit,' perhaps from *hals über boll(e)* 'Hals über Kopf,' Du. *bol* 'Kugel, Ball, Kopf,' OHG. *hirni-bolla* 'Hirnschale.' Westf. has *holl öwer troll* 'alles kraus u. bunt übereinander.'

44. *Hemmeteutje* 'een teutig, onhandig vrouwsperson,' 'a drawling, dawdling woman' B. : Du. *hemmen* 'hem! roepen (om de aandacht te trekken; kuchen om de keel te schrapen (vóór men begint te spreken),' 'hem and haw'+*teuten* 'moeilijk, langzaam spreken; langzaam te werk gaan,' 'drawl; dawdle.'

45. *Hoesteproesten* : *hoesten* 'husten'+*proesten* 'schnauben, niesen' B.

46. *Hölterblöffig* 'hölzern, stupide, schwer von Begriff' : *holterig* 'hölzern'+*anblaffen* 'dumm, starr ansehen' Fr.

47. *Holtertolterig* 'plump, tölpelhaft,' *holtertoller* 'ein hölzerner, plumper, tölpelhafter Mensch' : *holter(ig)* 'hölzern'+*tolterig* 'plump,' *toltern* 'ungeschickt, plump sich bewegen, unsicher u. polternd gehen, taumeln' (cf. OE. *tealtrian* 'stagger, not stand firm,' *tealt* 'unsteady' etc.) Fr.

48. *Hotsklots* 'hotsend en klotsend' B. Cf. WFlem. *hutseklutsen* 'waggelende schudden.'

49. *Hucheldibuchel* 'Klangname für das Ei im Rätsel' Fr. : MHG. *hüchen* 'kauern, sich ducken'+*bücken*. Cf. NE. *humpty-dumpty* No. 26 and Westf. *huckepucke* 'Eichel.'

50. *Hucksducks* 'geheimes Einverständnis' : *hucken* 'hocken, sich ducken'+*ducks* 'geheimes, partiisches Einverständnis demjenigen gegenüber, der sein Recht sucht' Fr.

51. *Hunkebunk* 'zur Bezeichnung eines sehr magern Menschen, eines schlechten Pferdes' Fr. : LG. *hunke* 'abgenagter Knochen'+*bunke* 'Knochen.'

52. *Hutzbutz* 'im Volksrätsel die Eichel, welche im Hutz butzend auf den Boden fällt' : *hutzen* 'schlagen'+*butzen* 'zu Boden fallen' Fr. Cf. WFlem. *hotsbots* 'tout d'un coup,' Du. *hossebossen* 'rütteln, stossen.'

53. *Juchtel* 'fuseliger Kornbranntwein' Fr. : *juche* 'dünne Brühe, schlechtes Bier,' MLG. 'Jauche, Brühe' etc. + *fucht-el* from *fucht* 'feucht,' and *Fusel* 'schlechter Branntwein, bes. Kornbranntwein.'

54. *Klempeinigen* 'peinigen, quälen, foltern, einen in der Klemme haben' : *klemmen* + *peinigen* Fr.

55. *Kuckeluren* 'lauernd gucken' Fr., EFries. *kukelüren* 'von einem Versteck aus wonach kucken u. spähen etc.' : by analogy and feeling connected with *kucken* 'gucken' and *lüren* 'lauern,' but actually transformed from MDu. *kokerolien* 'cochleae vitam agere, domi latitare.' Cf. Koolman, II, 394.

56. *Kikkebik* 'moment,' in the expression *alle kikkebikken* 'alle oogenblikken' : *kik* 'Laut, Ton,' *kikken* 'einen leisen Laut von sich geben' + *bikken* 'hacken' B.

57. *Kikkemik* 'moment' : *kik(ken)* + *mik(ken)*. Cf. Du. *geen kik of mik zeggen, kikken noch mikken* etc. B.

58. *Klikkebik* 'moment' : *klik, klikken* 'click' + *bik* B.

59. *Krikkemikken* 'voortdurend heen en weer bewegen, beweeglijk zijn, raggen,' 'move to and fro,' Du. *krikkemik* 'Kranbock' B. : MDu. *cricke, crucke, crocke* 'kruk, haak, iets met een dwarshout; stok met een dwarsstuk of kruk, kruk waarop men gaat; stelt, staf, rechterstaf' + *mikken*.

60. *Slikkebikken* 'slikken,' 'verschlucken' (in the expression *dat ken-je sl.* 'dat mocht je willen') B. : *slikken* + *bikken* 'uithakken; pikken, eten, schransen,' 'behacken, picken, essen.'

61. *Ukkedop* 'iemand die klein is in zijn soort, dwerg, dreumes' : *uk, ukkie* 'iemand die klein van gestalte is, dreumes' (according to B. a by-form of *hurk*) + *dop*, here indicating something small and dumpy (cf. MLG. *dop, doppe* 'Schale, bes. von Eiern, Kapsel, Kelch, Topf; Kreisel; Knopf'). Similar synonymous compounds are : *urkedop* : (h)*urk* 'iemand die klein van gestalte is, dwerg' + *dop* : (h)*uppedop* : *upper* 'een klein kind, dreumes' + *dop*; *utterdop* : *uttertje* 'iemand die klein is in zijn soort, dreumes, klein kind' + *dop*; *ukkepuk* : *ukkie, uk* + *puk* 'een klein kind; een mensch of dier dat klein is in zijn soort,' NE. *puck* etc. B.

62. *Verhapsnappen* 'naschen,' *hapsnap* 'Mund' : *happen* 'schnappen, einbeissen' + *snappen* 'schnappen' B.

Compounds like the above are very common in Hungarian,<sup>1</sup> the elements being related both by meaning and by sound, as : *nyal-fal* 'lick-devour'; *ken-fen* 'smear-daub'; *csusz-masz* 'creep-crawl,' etc.

#### IV. RIMING COMPOUNDS<sup>2</sup>

These are not essentially different from those in class III, some of which might be given here. However, I have aimed to give here only those compounds which have a riming element that is not a word by itself, as *churchy-wurchy* No. 3. Here *wurchy* is merely a riming element. In popular speech such compounds are quite frequent, and it is highly probable that many new words have been formed by abstracting the riming element from the compound. This would help to account for the large number of rime-words.

1. *Argle-bargle* 'argue, haggle' : *argle* 'argue disputatiously, haggle' Sl. (cf. V, 3). The second part was perhaps suggested by *bargain*. Cf. *argue-bargue* De Morgan.

2. *Cag-mag, keg-meg* 'tough, inferior meat; carrion' : *cag* 'bad or inferior meat; carrion' Wr.

3. *Churchy-wurchy* 'little church' De Morgan, *Somehow Good*, 477.

4. *Cozy-rozy* 'merrily and fantastically tipsy' : *cozy* 'conceited, arrogant [cocky]; of horses, restive' Wr. Perhaps *rozy* was suggested by *rock* 'sway.'

5. *Cushle-mushle* 'a confused muttering and movement, hubbub' : *mushle* 'confusion' Wr.

6. *Curly-berly* 'ornaments,' *curly-merly* 'bric-a-brac,' *curly-wurly* 'fantastic ornamentation on buildings and on stone work' Wr.: *curly-(cue)* 'a twisted flourish.' *Curly-berly* belongs properly in III. Cf. *burl* 'a knot or excrescence on walnut and other trees, used for ornamental veneering.'

7. *Dimmy-simmy* 'languishing, affected' Wr. : *simmy*, properly a shortened form of *simpering* 'affected, silly.' Cf. *sim-kin* 'simpleton' Wr. from *sim-pleton*. Cf. No. I, 13, and 9 below.

<sup>1</sup> The examples given here and elsewhere in this article are furnished by Mr. Alexander Green, College of the City of New York.

<sup>2</sup> For riming compounds in which both parts exist as separate words cf. Nos. III, 8, 9, 11, 12, 22-26, 32, 34, 39, 43, 45, 47-60. See also H. Willert in *Festschrift für A. Tobler*, pp. 437-58. Müller, *Die Reim- und Ablautkomposita des Englischen*, was not at my disposal.



8. *Eckle-feckle* 'cheery, merry, gay; alert, shrewd' : *feck* 'strong, vigorous' Wr.

9. *Eeksie-peeksie* 'equal' Wr. : *eq-ual*.

10. *Fuzzy-wuzzy* 'fuzzy' : *fuzzy* Wr.

11. *Helter-(s)ketter* 'head-foremost, all together; with great speed, without intermission' Wr. : *skelter* 'hurry, scamper, beat a hasty retreat,' *ketter* 'move at full speed; headlong speed' Wr.

12. *Higgledy-piggledy* 'in confusion, topsy-turvy,' 'a riming compound of no definite elements' Cent.

13. *Hob-nob* 'drink together; be on very friendly terms' : *nob* 'drink with a companion' Wr.

14. *Hocus-pocus* 'juggler, trickster; juggler's trick; juggle, deceive, cheat' Cent. : *hocus* 'a stupid fellow, fool,' *hoke* 'romp or play, gambol' Wr.

15. *Howdy-towdy* 'push' : *howder* 'push; blow fitfully,' *howdle* 'move up and down, sway, rock; crowd together, swarm,' *howd* 'sway, rock, bump up and down' Wr., NHG. dial. *hutzen* 'stossen,' *holzeln* 'schütteln,' MHG, *hotze* 'Wiege.'

16. *Hubble-bubble* 'a continued bubbling or gurgling sound' : *bubble* Cent.

17. *Huddle-duddle* 'a decrepit person' : *huddle* 'an old decrepit person' Cent., cf. Pruss. *huddeln* 'zögern, langsam arbeiten.'

18. *Huffy-tuffy* 'swaggering manners' : *huffy* 'a swagger' Cent.

19. *Hurly-burly* 'tumult, bustle, confusion' : *hurly*, same, Cent., *hurl* 'throw with violence, send whirling or whizzing through the air,' early E. *hurl*, *hurlment* 'tumult, confusion.' *Burly* 'boisterous' (prop. 'bulky, large') probably took its meaning from the compound.

20. *Hurry-burry* 'hurly-burly,' *hurry-durry* 'rough, hasty' : *hurry* 'move or act with haste' Cent. Cf. *hurry-scurry* from *hurry* + *scurry* and *scurrie-whurrie*, *skirry-whirry* from *scurry* + *whir*.

21. *Kabbie-labby* 'altercation, wrangle,' *kebbie-lebby* 'altercation in which a number of people are talking at once' : *kebbie* 'chide, quarrel' Wr.

22. *Kicksy-wicksy* 'flickering, restless' : *kick* Cent.

23. *Ocker-docker* 'a black pebble striped with some other color' : *ocky* 'dirty, nasty' Wr.

24. *Pinny-ninny* 'a Christmas game played with pins' Wr. : *pin*.

25. *Peery-weery* 'blinking, small-eyed' : *peery* 'peeping, peering' Wr.

26. *Piggy-wiggy* 'a pet name for pig' Sl. : *pig*.

27. *Roister-doister* 'a roisterer' : *roister* Cent.

28. *Ranty-tanty* 'very angry' : *ranty* 'wildly excited with passion' Wr.

29. *Razzle-dazzle* 'dazzle and confuse' : *dazzle* Cent.

30. *Roly-poly* 'the act of rolling over and over' Wr., 'a sheet of paste spread with jam and rolled up, to form a pudding; round, pudgy' : *roll* Cent.

31. *Rory-tory* 'loud, noisy' Wr. : *roar*.

32. *Tissy-wissy* 'a dry tickling cough' : *tissick* 'a cough, esp. a dry tickling cough' Wr.

33. *Tol-loll(ish)* 'tolerable' Sl. : *tol-* in *tolerable* (cf. Nos. 7 and 9). Similarly we may explain *colly-molly* 'melancholy' : *colly* (-*cholly*) + *molly* (transformed from *melan-*). Cf. No. I, 13.

34. *Twilly-willy* 'woolen dress material, a stuff gown' Wr. : *twill*. *Willy* was probably suggested by *wool*.

35. *Fiselrtzel* 'ein Leichtfüssiger, Leichtfertiger' : *fiseln* 'unruhig, unstät umherlaufen, sich zwecklos umhertreiben,' *fisel* 'leicht bewegliche, hin u. her fahrende, alberne Person' Fr.

36. *Hetsetze, hetzchetsche* 'übereilt, flüchtig, leichtfertig, etc.' Fr.: *hetzen*. Other synonymous forms, differently associated, are: *hirz(e)firz(e)*, *hirzfirzig*, with which cf. NE. dial. *clarty-farty* 'moving briskly about, frisking, unsettled' and NHG. dial. *ferzeln* 'umherfahren, geschäftig hin u. her laufen' Weinhold, *Schles. Wb.*, 19.

37. *Hakkepak* 'iemand die onbedreven is, die onhandig doet,' 'a clumsy person' B : *hakke(ptel)* No. III, 41. Notice the change in accent.

38. *Heutemeteut* 'teut, dreutel, onhandig persoon,' 'clumsy, dawdling person' B. : (*hem*)*meteutje* No. III, 44.

39. *Holterdepolter, hulterdepultter, hollerdeboller* 'zur Bezeichnung eines polternden Geräusches und der lärmenden Hast, mit der eine Sache abgemacht wird' Fr. : *poltern*, MLG. *bulderen* 'poltern,' *bulder, buller* 'Gepolter.' The first part of the word was perhaps suggested by *holla* or *hallen*. Similarly *holterdetolter* : *toltern* 'unsicher u. polternd gehen, taumeln,' cf. No. III, 47.

40. *Hurrdeldurrdel* 'Saus und Braus' Fr. : EFries. *hurdel* 'sauer sender Windstoss, Wirbelwind; kurzdauernder Lärm u. Zank,' *hurdeln* 'brausen, sausen, wirbeln.' The last part is probably simply a riming addition, though if there were a Germ. *durd-* 'roar,' it might be compared with Ir. *dordaim* 'brülle,' Lett. *dardēt* 'knarren,' etc.

41. *Ickepicke* 'Klangwort als Rätselname für den Krebs' Fr. : *picken*.

42. *Lanterfanteren* B., Du. *lanterfanen* 'müssig gehen, sich umhertreiben,' WFlem. *lantefaneren*, Kil. *landtrefanten* 'ociose vagari,' *landtrefant*, *land-trouwant* 'vagabundus' : *trouwant* 'vagabundus,' *trouwanten* 'otiose vagari,' OFrench *truant*, whence NE. *truant*. Here the word was at first a compound like MDu. *lantlöper*, *lantstriker*, with a later assimilation of the second part to the first, which was perhaps associated with *lenteren* 'lente et ignave agere,' Fr. *lanterner*, also in WFlem. *lanterlullen* 'niet of weinig en traagzaam werken,' 'loiter, dawdle.'

With the above compare Hungarian iteratives in which the initial sound of the second part is changed, usually to *b*, as: *csiga-biga* : *csiga* 'snail'; *ingó-bingó* : *ingó* 'movable,' etc.

## V. BLENDS

No doubt everyone has had the experience of combining two synonymous words in one, as when one says *plish*, having *plate* and *dish* in mind at the same time, or *snangle* for *snarl* and *tangle*, etc. What thus comes about by accident may be done intentionally or may even grow into fixed usage. Certain it is that many words owe their origin to a crossing or contamination of one word with another.

With the examples given below compare the following from the French:

*Comparatire* : *compar(oir) + (par)atire*; *éclabousser* : *écla(ter) + OFr. (es)bousser*; *meugler* : *m(ugir) + (b)eugler*; OFr. *oreste* : *or(age) + OFr. (temp)este*; *phalanstère*, mot créé par Fourier : *phalan(ge) + (mona)-stère*; *selon* : Lat. *se(cundum) + longum*; (argot) *foultitude* : *foule + (mul)titude*; *radicanaille* : *radi(caille) + canaille* etc. (cf. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 526 f.); *ridicoculiser* : *ridiculiser + co(cu)* Rostand.

Here again the Hungarian furnishes parallels : *kellembe* 'in my

breast' : *k(e)blembe* + (*m*)*ellembe*; *kutaskodik* 'he searches' : *kuta(t)* + (*kere*)*skedik*, with vowel assimilation according to rule; *türtözteti* : *tür* 'endure, suffer' + (*tar*)*t* 'hold' + *öz* (*öz*), inceptive suffix + *tet*, causative suffix + *i*, 3d sing. ind. termination, i.e., we have here a blend of *türteti* + *tartóztatja*. Numerous other examples of blending occur.

1. *Animule* 'animal, esp. the mule' : *ani(mal)* + *mule* Sl.
2. *Austerne* 'austere' (Wyclif) : *au(stere)* + *stern*.
3. *Argle* 'argue disputatiously, haggle' Sl. : *arg(ue)* + (*hagg*)*le*.
4. *Baffably* 'affably' Irwin : *b(landly)* + *affably*. In like manner Irwin forms *taffable*, in reference to the Taft smile.
5. *Beautilitarian Good Housekeeping Magazine*, March, 1911, p. 281: *beau(ty)* + (*u*)*tilitarian*.
6. *Brunch* (Oxford Univ. slang) 'a meal which takes the place of breakfast and lunch' : *br(eakfast)* + (*l*)*unch* Cent.
7. *Canoodle* (Oxford) 'paddle a canoe' : *canoe* + (*pad*)*dle* Sl.
8. *Chortle* 'exclaim exultingly, with a chuckle' : *ch(uck)le* + (*sn*)*ort* Cent.
9. *Cussnation*, used as an expletive : *cuss* 'curse' + (*dam*)*nation* Wr. In principle such blends are like Eng. words with Latin or Romance endings, as: *acknowledgment*, *riddance*, *starvation*, etc.
10. *Dink* 'deck, dress' Cent.: *d(eck)* + (*pr*)*ink*.
11. *Discombobbelate* 'discompose, confuse' : *discom(pose)* + (*ca*)*-bobble* No. VII, 1.
12. *Discomfuffle* 'incommode' : *discom(mode)* + *fuffle* 'throw into disorder' Wr. Cf. No. VII, 9.
13. *Discomfuddle* 'discompose' : *discom(pose)* + *fuddle*. Cf. No. VII, 8.
14. *Doggery* 'a low groggery' : *dog* + (*grog*)*gery* B.-L.
15. *Drummure* 'grave, serious, sad' : *drum* 'melancholy' Jam. + (*de*)*mure*.
16. *Dum(b)found* 'confound, perplex' : *dumb* + (*con*)*found* Cent. Or this may be a shortened form of *dum(b)founder* No. III, 15. Cf. *baffound* 'perplex': *baf(fle)* + (*con*)*found* Wr.
17. *Dwizzened* 'wrinkled, wizzened' Wr. : *d(windle)* + *wizzened*.
18. *Fidgitated* 'uneasy, agitated' Irwin : *fidg(ety)* + (*ag*)*itated*.
19. *Flimsical* Irwin : *fl(ighty)* + (*wh*)*imsical*.

- 20. *Frockaway coat* Irwin : *frock*+(*cut*)*away coat*.
- 21. *Fruice* 'drink made from fruit-juice' : *fr(uit)*+(*j*)*uice*.
- 22. *Grandiferous* : *grand*+(*aur*)*iferous* B.-L. Similarly formed are *splendiferous* from *splendid*, and *grandificent* : *grand*+(*magn*)*ificent*. B.-L.
- 23. *Happenstance* 'casual circumstance' : *happen(ing)*+(*circum*)*-stance*.
- 24. *Hellophone* 'telephone' : *hello*+(*tele*)*phone* Sl.
- 25. *Imperence* : *imper(tinence)*+(*impud*)*ence* Sl.
- 26. *Kazzardly, cazzardly* 'precarious, risky, uncertain' : *cazz(elty)* (dial. form of *casualty*) 'casual, accidental; precarious, risky, uncertain' Wr.+(*haz*)*ard*.
- 27. *Loistering* 'loitering' Irwin : (*lei*)*s(ure)*+*loiter*.
- 28. *Mouncing* 'exulting' Irwin : *m(ounting)*+(*b*)*ouncing*.
- 29. *Mux* 'mix confusedly' : *m(i)x*+(*m*)*u(ss)* 'put into disorder.'
- 30. *Needcessity* 'necessity' Dial. Notes : *need*+(*ne*)*cessity*.
- 31. *Pecurious* 'very minutely and scrupulously exact' Wr.: *pe(culiar)*+*curious*.
- 32. *Plumpendicular* 'perpendicular' : *plumb*+(*per*)*pendicular* Wr. Similarly formed is *slantendicular* Cent.
- 33. *Pupmatic* 'dogmatic in a puppish manner' : *pup*+(*dog*)*matic*.
- 34. *Pushency* 'urgency' Dial. Notes : *push*+(*urg*)*ency*.
- 35. *Rambust* 'robust' Wr. : *ram* 'a headstrong fellow'+(*ro*)*bust*.
- 36. *Ranshackle* 'pillage, ransack' : *ran(sack)*+(*ram*)*shackle* Sl.
- 37. *Raskallion* 'rascal' : *ras(cal)*+(*rap*)*scallion* Wr., No. III, 35.
- 38. *Recomember* : *reco(llect)*+(*re*)*member*. Similarly *remollect* : *rem(ember)*+(*rec*)*ollect*.
- 39. *Roaratorio* : *roar*+(*or*)*atorio* Sl.
- 40. *Rumfle* 'ruffle, rumple' Wr. : *ruffle*+(*ru*)*m(ple)*.
- 41. *Sklap* 'slap, strike with severity' Wr. : *s(lap)*+*clap*. Other examples of the addition of an *s-* from synonymous words are: *sclasp* 'clasp' Wr. : *clasp*+*s(natch)*; *sclatch* 'a large clot of mud or filth': *clatch* 'mess, slop'+*s(latch)* 'dabble in mire' Wr.; *sclimb* 'climb': *climb*+*s(crimb)* 'climb' Wr.; *splunge* 'plunge': *plunge*+*s(plash)*, "A see 'em sploshin an' splungein in the watter" Wr.; *squench* 'quench, allay thirst' : *quench*+*s(quelch)* 'quench thirst' Wr. These and others like them are in no sense examples of a

"movable s-," but of an s- added analogically. Moreover s is not thus added more than other sounds (cf. author, *IF.*, XXII, 133-71).

42. *Screwomatics* 'rheumatics' : *screws(s)* 'rheumatics' Wr. + (*rheu*)*matics*.

43. *Silkpipe hat* Irwin : *silk (hat)* + (*stove*)*pipe hat*.

44. *Skeddiddle* 'spill, scatter; disperse in flight; retreat precipitately' Wr. : *skee(t)* 'squirt; spread, distribute, scatter; hasten, move quickly' (cf. *scoot*) + *daddle* 'walk unsteadily, stagger, waddle' Wr.

45. *Skee-weep* 'a dash, smear' Wr. : *skee(t)* 'squirt, eject fluid' (*skeetle* 'drop') + *weep* 'drip, exude, leak' Wr.

46. *Skittenish* Irwin : *s(kittish)* + *kittenish*.

47. *Skrauky* 'ungainly' ('a skrauky long-legged thing in a white pinafore' *Chicago Record-Herald*, December 11, 1910) : *scraw(ny)* 'raw-boned, lean' + (*gaw*)*ky* 'awkward, ungainly.'

48. *Smothercate* 'smother' Wr. : *smother* + (*suffo*)*cate*.

49. *Snangle* 'snarl, tangle' : *sn(arl)* + (*t*)*angle*. This word was used by a girl of eleven, who unconsciously would frequently make such blends.

50. *Snash* 'snap, bite' Wr. : *sn(ap)* + (*gn*)*ash*.

51. *Sneekretly* 'slyly' Irwin : *sneak* + (*sec*)*retly*.

52. *Solemncholy* Sl. : *solemn* + (*melan*)*choly*.

53. *Squarson* 'a squire who is also a parson' Sl. : *squ(ire)* + (*p*)*arson*. Similarly *squishop* : *squ(ire)* + (*b*)*ishop* Sl.

54. *Squiggle* 'wriggle, squirm' Wr. : *squ(irm)* + (*wr*)*iggle* Wr.

55. *Striked* 'striped' in the expression 'ring-streaked and striked' Dial. Notes, III, 363 : *stri(p)**ed* + (*strea*)*k(ed)*. Cf. *ringstraked and spotted* Gen. 30:35.

56. *Sumple* 'supple, pliant' Wr. : *supple* + (*li*)*m(ber)*.

57. *Swellegant* : *swell* 'elegant, stylish' + (*el*)*egant*.

58. *Tow-row* 'noise, racket' Wr. : *tou(se)* 'pull, seizure, disturbance' + *row*.

59. *Wegotism* 'the excessive use of 'we' in journalism' Sl. : *we* + (*e*)*gotism*.

60. *Yellocution* : *yell* + (*el*)*ocution*.

61. *Kaseln* 'dumm u. unüberlegt reden, kosen, faseln' Fr. : (*k*)*osen* + (*f*)*aseln*.

62. *Kaputnieren* 'verschneiden, kapaunen' : *kapunieren* + (*kapu*)*t* Fr.

63. *Karfunkel*: *kar(b)unkel* + *f(unke)* Kluge.

64. *Leckkuchen* 'Lebkuchen, Honigkuchen' : *leck(er)* + (*Leb*)*-kuchen*. Fr. Cf. Swiss *Leckerli* 'Zuckergebäck.'

65. *Verlustieren* 'belustigen, amüsieren' Fr. : *verlust(igen)* (MLG. *vorlustigen* 'belustigen') + (*amüs*)*ieren*.

66. *Verrungenieren* 'ruinieren, verderben, zu Grunde richten' Fr. : *ver(ri)ng(ern)* + *ru-inieren*.

67. *Schmieralien* 'Bestechungsgeschenke; schlechtes Geschreibe': *schmier(e)* + (*materi*)*alien* Weigand<sup>5</sup>.

68. *Schimpfieren* 'verspotten' in late MHG. is a blend of *schimpfen* and *schumpfieren* 'besiegen; beschimpfen' from OFr. *descumfire*, *desconfire* 'déconfire.' The second meaning of *schumpfieren* is likewise due to *schimpfen*. For the same reason the noun *schumpfsentüre* 'Niederlage, Besiegung' (OFr. *desconfiture*) has the by-form *schimpfsentüre* (cf. Weigand<sup>5</sup>, 713).

## VI. HAPLOLOGIC BLENDS

Two words may be so combined that a sound or combination of sounds in one part of the compound may be suppressed because the same or similar sounds occur in the other. E.g. Skt. *çevrdha-s* 'lieb, wert' from \**çēva-vrdha-s* : Gk. *ἀμφορεύς* for *ἀμφιφορεύς* 'a two-handled jar'; *κατάδε* for *κατὰ τὰδε* 'after this'; Lat. *mediālis* from \**medidiālis*; OHG. *swibogo* 'Schwebebogen' from \**swibi-bogo*, etc. (cf. Brugmann, *Kz. vgl. Gram.*, 24); French *dévasteur* for *dévastateur*; OFr. *hipotame* for *hippopotame*; *idolâtre* for *idololâtre*; *tragicomédie* for *tragico-comédie*, etc. (Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*<sup>2</sup>, § 514).

Especially interesting are the examples of syllabic dissimilation in words in which the similar sounds are not juxtaposed. E.g. Skt. *maryādā* for *maryādāyā* dat. 'der Grenze'; Gk. *ὀλέκρᾱνον* 'point of the elbow' from \**ὀλενο-κρᾱνον*; Lat. *lapicīda* for *lapidicīda*, etc. (Brugmann, 244 f.); French *bedondaine* from *bedon* + (*be*)*daine*; (argot) *radicanaille* from *radi(caille)* + *canaille*; *républicoquin* from *républi(cain)* + *coquin* (Nyrop, §§ 526, 527).

In Germanic, examples of syllabic superposition and dissimilation occur in large numbers. Many have been collected by Heinrich

Schröder in his book, *Streckformen, ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Wortentstehung u. der germ. Wortbetonung*, Heidelberg 1906. Most of these are certainly haplogenic blends, not extended forms of a simple word. Schröder can at least be thanked for his collection of material if not congratulated on his theory.

Now if the so-called "Streckformen" are blends, where would the accent be? The stress would naturally rest on the same syllable in the blend as in the compound. In other words it would rest on the accented syllable of the stressed word. E.g. if we say *teény-weény* (No. III, 39), then the form would become by haplogy *\*teé-weény*; but *teeny-weény* would become *\*tee-weény*. This would be the more natural stress. For if for the sake of emphasis a word is repeated or two synonymous words used, it is the second that is naturally stressed. Thus if one repeats the command "come," he would say: "Come, come!" with a decided stress on the second word. Or in using a word like *slam-bang* (No. III, 7), the speaker would, in most cases, accent the last syllable, never the first.

Hence such words as Ger. *schlampdampen* from *schlamp-(schl)dm-pen*, *dajdcke* from *da(cke)-jádcke*, etc., are regular in their accent, and present no new phenomenon of language. The explanation here given is also not entirely new. Others have regarded such words as contaminations. E.g. Swiss *chräbüselen* 'kitzeln' is explained in *Schweiz. Id.*, III, 788, as "vielleicht eine Kontamination von *chräbben* mit *büselen* oder mit *chrüselen*." This was very close to the true explanation. And yet according to Schröder it is impossible on account of the accent.

Thus Schröder argues in a circle: Extended forms are irregularly accented; therefore irregularly accented words are extended forms. Neither premise nor conclusion is correct. As we have seen, apparently irregular accent may be due to other causes; and it is certain that extended forms may occur without a shifting of accent. E.g., one method known to me of extending words consists in inserting *liw* after the first vowel, with the repetition of the same vowel after the infix. Thus *bat* becomes *báliwat*; *book*, *boóliwook*; *dish*, *díliwish*, etc., always with the accent on the first syllable.

The examples following are plainly haplogenic blends. They could not better illustrate the principle involved if they were made to order.



1. *Brabanditti* 'soldiers of Brabant': *Bra(bant)*, English Colonial General in the Boer War + *banditti* Sundén 69. Cf. French *vaticanaïlle* : *vati(can)* + *canaille* Nyrop, § 514, R. 2.

2. *Coronotions* : *coro(nation)* + *notions* Sundén 69.

3. *How-towdie* 'a young hen, one that has never laid; a young unmarried woman' : *how(die)* + *towdie* Wr., same. Cf. No. III, 24.

4. *Pee-doddle* 'dawdle' Wr. : *pee(dle)* 'do anything in a slow, indolent fashion' + *doddle* 'walk feebly or slowly, idle, dawdle' Wr.

5. *Raviators*, title of a cartoon in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, Feb. 12, 1911, representing a group of persons gazing into the air: *rav(ers)* + *(av)iators*.

6. *Refereaders* 'readers of the Referee, a newspaper' : *Refe(ree)* + *readers* Sundén 69.

7. *Badautle* 'dumme Person' Schweiz. Id., *badaudel* 'Halbnarr, dummer Mensch' Els. Wb. : Als. *bad(el)* 'dummer Kerl' (also *badli*, Swiss *badi*, Swab. *badde*, Fr. *badaud*) + Swiss *(b)audi* 'ungeschickter, abgeschmackter Kerl, närrischer Mensch, Einfaltspinsel; vertrauliche Benennung einer dicken, unbehülflichen Person.' Similarly Swiss *badölich* 'dummer Kerl' : *bad-* + *(b)ölig* 'dumm'; *baduntle* 'Beiname einer fetten, dicken Weibsperson' (Swab. *badantele* 'kleines Männlein') : *bad-* + Swiss *(b)ünteli* 'Reisebündel; Benennung einer kleinen, dicken Person'; Als. *badutscherle* 'einfältige Person' *bad-* + Als. *(b)utscher* 'Schimpfname für einen Ungeschickten.' Schr. 10 f.

8. *Bagabauschi* 'Scheltwort : alte Hexe' Schweiz. Id. : *bagä'(schi)* 'Bagage, Gepäck; Pack, Gesindel' + *bauschi* 'nichtsnutzige Weibsperson.' By further dissimilation this becomes *bagauschi* (i.e. *baga[b]auschi*) 'Schelte auf eine nachlässige, dumme Weibsperson.' Instead of being extended, this form is doubly contracted. Schr. 11.

9. *Bahunke*, *bohunke*, \**buhunke* : *bu(nke)* + *hunke* 'Knochen.' Similarly *halunke*, *holunke* may be from MLG. *hal(e)* 'Hehl, Heimlichkeit' (Pruss. *holker* 'Hehler; im plur. Gesindel, Diebsgesindel') + *(h)unke*. Schr. 11 ff.

10. *Balaff* 'kräftiger Schlag' Els. Wb. : *ba(ff)* (Als. *baff* 'schallnachahmendes Wort,' *bäffere* 'schlagen; keifen, belfern') + *(b)laff* (Handsuhsh. dial. *plefe* 'jem. einen Schlag versetzen,' Swab. *pläf* interj., *blaffen*). Schr. 20.

11. *Bäjäckere*<sup>n</sup> 'schnell laufen, fortrennen' : *bä(ckere)*<sup>n</sup> 'schnell gehen' + *jäckere*<sup>n</sup> 'jagen, mit einem Fuhrwerk eilig fahren' Els. Wb. Schr. 19. Cf. French *républicoquin* : *républi(cain) + coquin*.

12. *Dajacke* 'Schelte, nur von einem Frauenzimmer' : *da(cke)* 'Mädchen, welches viel umherläuft; Klatsche' (*dacken* 'umherlaufen; klatschen') + *jacke* 'Klatsche' (*jacken* 'schnell reiten, tadelndes Wort für einen Menschen, der öfter müssig u. zwecklos ausreitet, für ein Frauenzimmer, das häufig ausser dem Hause Unterhaltung u. Zeitvertreib sucht') Woeste. Schr. 20.

13. *Fladakken*<sup>1</sup> 'lang vleien, lamoezen, laaien, fr. caresser, flagorner, flatter basement' De Bo : *flad(vlaeden* 'blandiri, adulari' Kil.) + *(fl)akken* 'vleien.'

14. *Flamakken* 'fladakken' De Bo : *flam-* (cf. NE. dial. *flam* 'sham story, humbug, flattery,' Bav. *flämmen* 'betrügen, übervorteilen' Bayer. Wb.) + *(fl)akken*. Similarly *flameien* 'fleien, vleien' De Bo : *flam-* + *(fl)eien* 'schmeicheln.'

15. *Flammatzgern* 'hohe Flammen werfen' Schweiz. Id. : *flamm(en) + (fl)atzgern* (Swiss *flatzgen* 'flackern'). Schr. 141.

16. *Galaffen* 'gaffen, mit offenem Munde dastehn' : *ga(ffen) + (g)laffen* 'gaffen, mit stieren Augen u. offenem Munde sehen' Fr., Els. Wb., Schr. 21.

17. *Glockotzen* 'rülpsen' : *\*glock(en) (glucken) + (gl)otzen*. Schr. 141 f. Or *glo(tzen) + kotzen* 'sich erbrechen' D. Wb.

18. *Gramdasse*<sup>n</sup> pl. 'Gram, Kummer,' *gramassig* 'grimmig': *gram + (gr)däss* 'finster, schrecklich' Els. Wb. Schr. 101.

19. *Gramauenzen* 'zanken, murren' : *gram(en) 'knirschen'* Bayer. Wb. + *(gr)auenzen* 'verdriesslich murren.' Schr. 102.

20. *Gramausen* 'weinerlich klagen, murren, etc.' : *gram(sen) + (gr)ausen* 'klagende, weinerliche Töne von sich geben.' Schr. 102 f. Similarly *gramauggen* from *gram(en) + (gr)auggi*, etc.

21. *Halletzen* 'hallo machen, lärmern' : *hall(en) + (h)etzen*. Schr. 21.

22. *Halops, holops* : *hal(lo), hol(la) + (h)ops*. Schr. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Under this word stands in De Bo-Samyn, *Westvlaamsch Idioticon*, Gent 1892 : "Dit *fladokken, fladakken, flamakken* is niet anders dan *flakken, fokken* met eenen lach in den grondvorm, waar ons dialect veel van houdt." Then follow seventy-five examples of such words, explained exactly as in Schröder's theory, twelve years before Schröder's first article on this subject appeared. Elsewhere in the book many other words are similarly explained.

23. *Jadackern* 'schnell laufen; schnell sprechen' : *ja(cken)* No. 12+EFries. *dackern* 'rasch u. hörbar gehn' (*dacken* 'umherlaufen; klatschen') Woeste. Schr. 22.

24. *Kabbauen* 'sich pöbelhafterweise mit lautem Geschrei untereinander zanken.' Schr. 24 : EFries. *kabb(eln)* laut zanken u. streiten, keifen'+(k)*auen*. Here also *kabecheln* 'sich Mühe geben, einen durch Erinnerungen zu bessern' : *kab*+(k)*ächeln* 'zanken'; *kabesern* : *kab*+(k)*ěsern* (LG. *kěsen* 'beissen,' etc.). Schr. 25.

25. *Kamuffel* 'dummer Kerl' : *kam(əl)* 'Kamel, Dummkopf' +(m)*uffel* 'hässlicher Mund, Maul' Els. Wb. Cf. Schr. 27 f., 49 f.

26. *Karwizen* 'einen durchdringenden Laut von sich geben': *kar(ezen)* 'knarren, kreischen' (*karen* 'unangenehm scharf tönen') +(k)*wizen* (*quitzten, quietzen*) 'quietschen.' Schr. 198.

27. *Klabastern* 'schmieren, kleiben; prügeln; mit starkem Geräusch od. ungeschickt laufen, reiten, fahren' Schr. 151 : *Klab*- (Pruss. *klabbern* 'kleben,' *klabberig* 'klebrig,' MHG., NHG. *klappern*) +(kl)*astern* (WFlem. *klasteren* 'beklakken, bekladden, beklüsteren,' NHG. *klastern* 'prasseln, platzen, klatschen'). Similarly Pruss. *klabacken* 'prügeln, schlagen' : *klab*+(kl)*acken* (MHG. *klac* 'Knall, Krach,' *klecken* 'tönend schlagen; einen Kleck, Fleck machen' etc.); *klabatschen* 'prügeln,' Els. *klawatschen* 'schwätzen' : *klab*+(kl)*atschen*; EFries. *klabattern* 'prügeln; galoppieren' : *klab*+(kl)*attern* 'klappern, rasseln' (WFlem. *klabetteren* 'klappern' : *klab*+(kl)*etteren* 'klappern'); LG. *klabistern* 'klabastern' : *klab*+(kl)*istern* (WFlem. *beklijsteren* 'éclabousser, salir,' etc.); *klabuster* 'Schmutzknoten'; *klab*+(kl)*uster*. Schr. 149 ff.

28. *Klabotsen*<sup>1</sup> 'klotzen, horten' De Bo, 'haard slaan' C. en V., 'hart anpochen, schlagen' : *kla(ts)* (Du. *klats* 'klatsch!' *kletsen* 'knallen lassen') +*botsen* 'stossen' (*kabots* 'plumps!' No. VII, 31).<sup>1</sup> Like this may be : Antw. *klabatteren* 'klappern' : *kla(tteren)* 'klappern' +*batteren* 'schlagen'; Antw. *klabotteren* 'botteren, stommeln' : *kla(tteren)* +*botteren* 'poltern' (cf. VII, 30).

29. *Klabautermann*. If this is primarily 'Klettermann' (Schr. 162), then it is from *klab*- (MHG. *klaber* 'Klaue, Kralle,' Du. *klaveren*

<sup>1</sup> In De Bo's *klabotsen* is regarded as "gevormd van *klotsen* met eenen *laech* in den grondvorm," in which case we should have *klab*+(kl)*otsen*.

'klettern')+EFries. *(kl)auteren* 'klettern.' Similarly *krabaut(er)* : *krab(be)*+*(kr)aut* 'Krabbe.' Schr. 157 f.

30. *Kladatschen* Holst. 'im Sprunge gehn,' Pom. 'durch den Kot steigen,' Westf. 'klatschen,' *kladatsche* 'Klatsche,' LG. *kladatsch* 'ein das unbequeme, tölpische Fallen im Ton nachbildender Ausdruck': *klad-* (MLG. *kladeren* 'schmieren,' Pruss. *kladdern* 'unreinlich u. ungeschickt arbeiten, bes. bei der Wäsche,' *kladderig* 'klebrig, schmutzig,' EFries. *kladdern* 'klatschen, prasseln, mit lautem Geräusch niederschlagen od. fallen,' *kladden* 'klecksen, schmieren, schmutzen, sudeln,' etc.)+*(kl)atschen*; *kladderadatsch* : *kladder-(kl)ad-(kl)atsch*. Schr. 155, 173.

31. *Kladater* 'kladde, kladder, vlek' De Bo : *klad(der)*+*(kl)ater* 'kladder, vlek.'

32. *Kladisen*, *kladistern* 'laufen' Woeste, 'für ungeschicktes plumpes Laufen durch den Kot' Schr. 173 : *klad-* (see above and cf. also Westf. *kladdern* 'lotterig gehen, sich liederlich umhertreiben')+*(kl)isen* (Dan. dial. *klise* 'kleben' etc.). Or *kladisen*: *kla(ddern)* Westf. 'sich liederlich umhertreiben,' EFries. 'klatschen'+Westf. *disen* 'laufen, rennen.'

33. *Kladodder* 'iets dat dik en klodderig is' : *klad-* (cf. No. 31)+*(kl)odder* 'kladdige, trillende klomp van een dikke, brijachtige stof' B.

34. *Klamaai* 'Dreck' B. : Du. *klam* 'Feuchtigkeit'+*klaai*, *klei* 'Marscherde, Lehm.'

35. *Klavutteren* 'kluttern, ratelen, reuteln' De Bo : *klav-*, *klab-* (see No. 27)+*(kl)utteren* 'met eenige ratelinge schudden of hutsen.'

36. *Kmot*, *komot* 'Schmutz, Dreck' : *k(ot)*, *ko(t)*+*mot* 'Kot, weiche Erde' (NE. *mud* 'Kot' etc.). Schr. 42.

37. *Knabestern* : *knab(bern)* 'mit Geräusch nagen' (obersächs. *knäbbbern* 'belfern, mürrisch reden')+*(kn)estern* (LG. *knastern* 'knirschen'). Schr. 25 f.

38. *Chräbüslen* 'kitzeln' : *chräb(ben)* 'kratzen, krauen'+*chrüslen* 'sanft kitzeln' Schweiz. Id., III, 788. Schr. 123.

39. *Krakeelen* 'zanken, schreien' : LG., Du. *krak(en)* 'krachen'+WFlem. *(kr)eelen* 'zanken' (Fr. *quereller*). Schr. 126 ff.

40. *Kramatz* 'unnützer Kram' : *kram*+*(kr)atz* 'Abgeschabtes, Abfall.' Schr. 128.

41. *Chramüslen* 'leise kitzeln, krauen, krabbeln; wimmeln' :

*chram(slen)* 'wimmeln, krabbeln, kribbeln; prickeln, jucken' + *(chr)üslen* 'sanft kitzeln' Schweiz. Id. Schr. 123.

42. *Labander* 'langer, schlaffer Mensch' : *lab(ben)* 'schlaft u. träge hängen' (EFries. *laf* 'schlaft, matt, schwach,' etc.) + *(l)ander* 'Zaunstange,' 'Latte.' Schr. 42.

43. *Labatschi* 'Narr, Laffe, Tölpel' : *lab(et)* 'einfältig, läppisch' + *(l)atschi* 'ein in Gang, Kleidung u. Benehmen nachlässiger Mensch.' Schr. 43.

44. *Labummeln* : *lab(ben)* + *(l)ummeln* (or [b]ummeln). Schr. 44.

45. *Lagdutschi* 'Strolch, nichtsnutziger Kerl' : *lag(gai)* 'Lakai; Dummkopf, Müssiggänger' (cf. Pruss. *lakeidern* 'zwecklos hin u. her rennen, fahren, bummeln,' perhaps from *Lakai* + ?) + *(l)äutschi* 'umherstreichender Mensch, Faulenzer, Wüstling.' Schr. 44 f.

46. *Lakunger* 'Müssiggänger' : MLG. *lak* 'schlaft, lose' + *(l)un-ger*. Schr. 45.

47. *Läppatschig* 'plump' : *läpp(isch)* + *(l)atschig* 'latschend mit breitem schlüpfendem Gange, nachlässig, schlaft.' Schr. 45.

48. *Latattere* 'alte, grosse Laterne' : *lat(erne)* + *(l)attere* Els. Wb. Schr. 207.

49. *Lateische* 'Laterne' : *lat(erne)* + *(\*)l)äusche*. Schr. 45.

50. *Latüchte* 'Laterne' : *lat(erne)* + *(l)üchte* 'Leuchte, Laterne.' Schr. 46.

51. *Lawatsch* 'schwatzhafte, oft auch tölpelhafte, träge Person' : *law-, lab-* (see No. 42) + *latsch* 'ein bes. im Gehn u. Sprechen träger Mensch, Mensch von unfestem Charakter.' Schr. 46.

52. *Lawattel* 'spöttische Bezeichnung für einen dummen, tölpelhaften Menschen' : *läw(ær)* 'grosser, unverständiger Mensch' (*läwra* 'sich läppisch benehmen' etc. Els. Wb., cf. Nos. 42, 51) + *(l)attel* 'einfältiger, kraftloser, fauler Mensch.' Schr. 47.

53. *Malauchen* 'stehlen, naschen; fälschen; einer Kuh die Hörner stutzen u. Klauen verkürzen, um sie jünger erscheinen zu lassen,' *vermalaucht* 'verflucht, vermaledet,' etc. : *mal(efitz)* 'verflucht, böse' (*maledeien* etc.) + *(m)auchen* 'heimlich machen' (*meucheln* etc.). Schr. 48. Similarly *malöggi* 'widerlicher, unreinlicher, einfältiger Mensch' : *mal-* + *(m)öggel* 'russiger, schmutziger Kerl.' Schr. 48 f.

54. *Manoggei* 'kleiner Mann,' *mannoggel* 'bewegliche Puppe in

Gestalt eines Mannes' : *mann*+(*m*)*ockli* 'dicker, fatter, kurzer Mensch.' Schr. 49.

55. *Manuffel* 'Schelte für ein hässliches Weib' : *mán(ik)* 'störrig, halsstarrig' +(*m*)*uffel* 'hässlicher Mund, Maul' Els. Wb. Schr. 49.

56. *Maruckel* 'unordentliche, zerlumpt gehende Weibsperson' : *mar(ə)* 'Stute; sittenloses Frauenzimmer' Els. Wb. +(*m*)*uckel* 'Schwein; kleine wolgenährte Weibsperson.' Schr. 50. Similarly *Maruschel* 'Scheltname für eine unbändige wilde Weibsperson' : *mar(ə)* +(*m*)*uschel* 'Scheltname für eine nachlässige Weibsperson.' Schr. 51.

57. *Pladáks* 'platsch, bezeichnet den Schall fallender Körper' : Pruss. *plad(dern)* 'plätschernd giessen, stark regnen, dass die Tropfen mit Geräusch aufschlagen' (EFries. *pladdern* 'ein platschendes od. klatschendes Geräusch machen,' etc.) + Wfal. (*pl*)*áks* 'Knall u. Fall.' Schr. 174.

58. *Pladauks interj.* 'zur Bezeichnung des Schalles beim Wurf eines Steines ins Wasser, beim Fall von Fläche auf Fläche' : *plad(der)* 'das glatt daliegende Flüssige, Weiche' (*pladdern* etc., cf. the above) +(*pl*)*auksch interj.* 'zur Bezeichnung des Tones, den ein ins Wasser fallender Körper od. eine mit einem Guss ausgeschüttete Flüssigkeit verursacht' (*plaukschen* 'mit Schall ausgiessen'). Schr. 174. Similarly *pladauz* : *plad* +(*pl*)*auz*, etc.

59. *Pladetsche*<sup>n</sup> 'plaudern' : *plad(iere*<sup>n</sup>) 'reden, eigentl. vom Advokaten: schnell u. aufgeregt, mit Handbewegungen sprechen; ausplaudern' +(*pl*)*etschen* etc. Schr. 175.

60. *Pladompen* 'met gerucht plompen,' 'plumpen' De Bo : *plad*-(cf. Nos. 57, 58 and early Flem. *pladeren* 'blaterare, garrere' Kil.) +(*pl*)*ompen* 'plumpen.'

61. *Plakijsteren* 'beklijsteren, bekladden, bemorsen,' 'beschmutzen' De Bo : *plak(ken)* 'bezetten of bepleisteren met gips, moortel, leem,' 'maculare' Kil. +(*pl*)*ijsteren* 'crustare, gypsare' Kil. (Du. *pleisteren*). Similarly *plakaasteren* (De Bo s.v. *plamoesteren*) : *plak* +(*pl*)*aasteren*.

62. *Plamaaster* 'eig. zooveel als plaaster, doch met een bijgedacht van bevuilding; kaakslag', 'Schmutz; Ohrfeige' De Bo : *plam*-MDu. *plamen* 'uitvlakken, -schrappen' +(*pl*)*aaster* 'Pflaster, Mörtel.' Similarly formed are WFlem. *plamakke* 'iets dat lijk een plaaster

of klad ergens oplit, plakijster' : *plam-*+(*pl*)akken No. 61; *plamoes-teren*,<sup>1</sup> *plamoezen* 'beschmutzen,' LG. *plamüstern* 'herumwühlen, herumstöbern' : *plam-*+LG. (*pl*)üstern 'zerzausen, durchwühlen'; Du. *plamuren* : *plam-*+?

63. *Polagge* 'Holzklapper, Holzhammer, der an ein Brett befestigt ist und durch Schütteln pocht' : *po(chen)*+(*p*)lagge (*plaggeln* 'klappern, klatschen'). Schr. 178.

64. *Pollaren* 'schwätzen' : *pol(tern)*+(*p*)laren; *pollatschen* : *pol-*+(*p*)latschen 'plappern.' Schr. 138 ff.

65. *Rabakkern* 'von scharf treibenden Reitern gebraucht,' *rabakken* 'rasseln, klappern, ein Getöse machen, klopfen, hämmern, als wenn man ein altes Gestell zerbricht,' etc. : *ra(kk-)* (cf. Pruss. *racks* 'Knacks,' Brem. *rikrakken* 'etw. hin u. her bewegen u. es dadurch los u. gebrechlich machen,' NE. *rack*, etc.)+*bakkern* (*bäck-eren pakera* 'schnell gehen' No. 11, Pruss. *bachern* 'wild umherjagen'). So also WFlem. *radokkeren* 'met een dof en daverend gerucht over iets voortschokken' : *ra(kk-)*+*dokkeren* 'herhaaldelijk dokken, kloppen of botsen' De Bo. Schr. 57 f.

66. *Rabanzen* 'geschäftig sein,' 'lärmend wirtschaften' Hertel, *rawanzen* 'tolles Wesen treiben, herumrasen' Els. Wb. : MHG. *rab(ïne)* 'das Rennen'+(*r*)anzen 'ungestüm hin u. her springen.' Schr. 58. Similarly *rabaschen* : *rab-*+(*r*)aschen. Schr. 59; *rabasen* 'tollen, rasen, lärmern' : *rab-*+(*r*)asen; *rabasseln*; 'geräuschvoll hantieren, lärmend herumwirtschaften, rasselnd arbeiten' : *rab-*+(*r*)asseln; *rabasteln*, *rabastern* : *rab-*+(*r*)asteln (*r*)astern, etc., etc. Schr. 59 ff.

67. *Ragozzen* 'im Scherz raufen' Schmid : *rag(ele<sup>n</sup>)* 'lärmern, brüllen' Els. Wb.+(*r*)otzen (MHG. *rohezære* 'ausgelassener, lärmender Bursche). Schr. 66.

68. *Ramasseln* 'geräuschvoll tätig sein, rasseln, klappern, hämmern u. klopfen' : *ram(meln)* 'wiederholt u. öfters stossen, schlagen, klopfen od. mit Lärm hin u. her stossen od. schlagen, klappern, lärmern' Koolman+(*r*)asseln. Similarly *ramasteln* : *ram-*+(*r*)asteln (cf. No. 66). Schr. 61.

<sup>1</sup>Schr. 176 f. says: "Die vläm. worte werden von De Bo Westvl. Idiot. 752b aufgeführt, aber ohne eine etymologische bemerkung." And yet there stands: "Hetzelfde als *Plamaastern*," and under *plamaaster* reference is made to *fadakken*, where all such words are explained (cf. No. 13).

69. *Ranunkel* 'unordentliches Weibsbild' : *ran(zen)* 'Sack; Bauch' + *(r)unkel* 'Runzel.' Schr. 67. So also synonym. *rakunkel* : *rak(Racker)* + *(r)unkel*.

70. *Rapuse, Rabuse* 'Wirrwarr, Gerümpel' : *rap(peln)*, *rab(beln)* 'irre u. wirr od. verrückt sein' Koolman + *(r)üse* 'Geräusch, Lärm, Wirrwarr etc.' K. Schr. 67 ff.

71. *Rareifen* 'lärmern, schreien' Fr. : *rar(en)* 'tosend brüllen, stark schreien' + MHG. *(r)eifen* 'raufen.'

72. *Rasaunen* : *ras(en)* + *(r)aunen*. Schr. 74.

73. *Rumpumpeln* : *rum(peln)* + *pumpeln* (or *rump[eln]* + *[r]umpeln*, see below).

74. *Salbadern, \*slabadern* : *slab-* (*schlabbere*<sup>n</sup> 'dünnflüssige Speisen gierig u. mit Geräusch geniessen; unverständlich plappern' Els. Wb., *schlabbern* 'lappend u. schlürfend saufen; schwatzen, plappern' Fr.) + *(sl)adern* 'plappern.' Schr. 178 ff.

75. *Scharrassel, Scharrachtel, Scharrumbel* 'verächtliche Ausdrücke für altes Weib' Follmann : *scharr-* (MHG. *scharren* 'coitus') + *(sch)assel* (Als. *schass* 'Schelte für eine Weibsperson' Els. Wb., MHG. *schaz* 'vulva'); *scharr-* + *(sch)achtel* 'Spott- oder Schimpfname für ein altes, schwatzhafte Weib' Follmann; *scharr-* + *(schr)umpel* 'Runzel; runzelvolles Frauenzimmer.' Cf. also Steir. *Scharbetze* 'altes, abgelebtes Weib' Unger-Khull 533 : *schar-* + *petze*, *bätz* 'Hündin, Hure.'

76. *Scharwänzeln* : *schar(ren)* + *(sch)wänzeln*. Schr. 199.

77. *Schatimbern* 'dunkel werden' : *schat(ten)* + *(sch)imbern* 'schattig, dunkel sein oder werden.' Schr. 77.

78. *Schatudel* 'schlechtes Volk' Mi 75a : *schat(ull)* 'verächtlicher Ausdruck für altes Weib' Follmann, Lux. *schadull* 'Schachtel, ältliches Frauenzimmer' + *(sch)udel* 'ein nachlässiger, wie auch ein sich übereilender, leichtsinniger Mensch' Campe. Schr. 77.

79. *Schawakeln* 'hin u. her rütteln, schütteln' : *schaw-* (Pruss. *schabbeln, schawweln* 'unsicher, schwankend gehen' Fr.) + *(sch)akeln* (EFries. *schaken* 'stossen, rücken' etc.). Schr. 77. Similarly *schawukken* : *schaw-* + *(sch)ukken*; *schawuppen* : *schaw-* + *(sch)uppen*. Schr. 78 f.

80. *Slabbacken* 'labescere, languescere, deficere, laxari' Kil., Du. *slabakken* 'träge, schlapp sein, werden' : *slab-* (ON. *slafask*



'abnehmen, nachlassen,' early Flem. *slabben* 'distillare, sive fundere inter sorbendum') + WFlem. (*sl*)*akken* 'schlapp sein, werden.' Schr. 182 f. Similarly from *slabb-*, *slab-* 'soft, limp; anything soft or liquid' come the following: Hamburg. *slabörden* 'verschwenden, aufzehren, auf unnütze Weise vergenden' : *slab-* + EFries. (*sl*)*orden*; Swiss *Schlabutz* 'Schnaps; dünner flüssiger Frass, üppige Fresserei': *schlab-* + (*schl*)*utz* (Als. *schlutzen* 'saugen, lutschen, schlürfen' etc.). Schr. 182 ff.

81. *Sladacke* 'klatsch süchtiges Frauenzimmer, das sich viel ausser dem Hause umhertreibt,' *sladacken* 'schnell laufen; schnell sprechen' : *sla(dden)* 'schwatzhaftes Frauenzimmer' (EFries. *slad-dern* 'klatschen, klatschend rennen' etc.) + *dacke*, Mädchen, welches viel umherläuft; Klatsche,' *dacken* 'umherlaufen; klatschen' Woeste. Schr. 188. Cf. No. 23.

82. *Sladatsche* 'schwatzhaftes Weibsbild' Woeste : *sla(dakke)* + (*kla*)*datsche* 'Klatsche' No. 30. Schr. 188 f.

83. *Schlakanter* 'Herumtreiber, Mensch in schmutzigen, zerrissenen Kleidern' Fr. : *schlak(kern)* 'schlenkern, zwecklos gehen' (*schlākern* 'nachlässig gehen, überhaupt nachlässig hin u. her bewegen,' MLG. *slak* 'schlaff') + (*schl*)*anter* (LG. *slantern*, *slentern* 'schlendern'). Schr. 192. Cf. Pruss. *kaschantern* 'sich auf der Strasse herumtreiben.'

84. *Schlakeidern* 'unstet umhergehn, in weiten schwingenden Kleidern' : *schlak-* (as above) + (*schl*)*eidern* 'schleudern, schlendern.' Schr. 192 f. Cf. Pruss. *lakeidern* 'zwecklos hin u. her rennen, fahren; bummeln' No. 45.

85. *Schlamätere*\* 'geschwind gehen; ohne Sorgfalt gehen, schlendern,' *schlamäteri* 'Schlenderer, der beim Gehen die Füße verschränkt; Lümmel' Els. Wb. : *schlam-* (cf. MHG. *slernen* 'umkehren, stürzen, bewegen,' Norw. dial. *slam* 'schlaff,' *slama* 'sich schleppend vorwärts bewegen,' aisl. *slōma* 'schwingen,' and also Als. *schlampe*\* 'nachlässig umhergehen') + (*schl*)*attern* 'schlottern.' Schr. 193.

86. *Slammattje* 'eine faule plauderhafte Schleppschwester,' *slammutje* 'schmutziges Weibsbild' : *slamm-* (Westf. *slamsack(en)* 'Schwätzer,' 'schwätzen,' *slampe* 'nachlässiges liederliches Frauenzimmer') + (*sl*)*atje* 'eine schmutzige Dirne,' (*schl*)*utte* 'Schlampe' etc. Schr. 193 f. Similarly *schlamune* 'unordentliches, schmutziges

Weibsbild' : *schlam-*+(*sch*)*lune* (MLG. *slüne* 'Beischläferin, gemeines Weib' etc.). Schr. 194.

87. *Schlampumper* 'weites Morgenkleid, bequemer Hausrock': *schlamp(er)* 'schleppender Weiberrock'+(*schl*)*umper* 'alter bequemer Rock, Hausrock, Schlafrock.' Schr. 194.

88. *Schlaraffe* 'Müssiggänger' : *schlar-* (NHG. *schlarfen*, MHG. *slerfen* 'die Füße schleppend einhergehen' Swed. *slarva* 'nachlässig sein,' Pruss. *schlarren* 'schleifend, schlarfend gehen,' Norw. *slarra* 'schlendern,' *slōra* 'saumselig sein, sich schleppend bewegen,' ON. *slōra* 'faulenzten' etc.)+(*schl*)*affe* 'der Schlarfe.' So also *schlaruff(e)* : *schlar-*+(*schl*)*uffe* (Swiss *schluffi* 'schläfrige, unbrauchbare Person' etc.); MHG. *slūraffe* : *slūr* 'träge, faule, leichtsinnige Person, Faulenzen' (MLG. *slūren* 'schlottern, los u. welk hangen, träge sein,' Norw. dial. *slūre* 'träger Mensch' etc.)+(*sl*)*affe*; *schlarunke* 'langsame, träge, dumme Person' : *schlar-*+(*schl*)*unk* 'Schlingel, Müssiggänger.' Schr. 195 f.

89. *Schmalieren*: *schmal(gen)* 'schmieren'+(*schm*)*ieren*. Schr. 82.

90. *Schmarlecks* 'Leckerbissen' : Bav. *schmar(ren)* 'Brocken, Stück, Bissen'+(*sch*)*lecks* (MHG. *slec* 'schleckerei,' *slecken* 'naschen'). Schr. 81. Similarly Augsb. *schmarollen* 'eine Art Klösse' : *schmar-*+Swab. (*sch*)*molle* 'Fettklumpen.' Schr. 83.

91. *Schmarrauchen* 'schmarotzen' Els. Wb. : Bav. *schmarr(en)* 'karg, geizig sein u. handeln' (*schmarrisch* 'sparsam, karg, kärglich,' *schmarren* 'gar zu karger, häuslicher Mensch' Bayer. Wb.) +Swiss (*schm*)*auchen* 'verbergen, verheimlichen, od. Esswaren heimlich entwenden' etc. So also *schmarotzen* : *schmar-*+(*schm*)*otzen* (Kärnt. *schmoutz'n* 'schmarotzen.' Norw. *smȳta* 'heimlich wegnehmen, verstecken'); *schmalotzen* : *schmal-* (MHG. *smal* 'gering, kärglich,' *smollen* 'schmarotzen')+(*schm*)*otzen*. Schr. 82 ff.

92. *Schrafazen*, *schrापazen* 'schröpfen' Bayer. Wb. II, 598, 610: Bav. *schraf(en)* 'ritzen, kratzen, Einschmitte machen,' *schrाप(pen)* 'scharren, schaben'+MHG. (*schr*)*atzen* 'ritzen, kratzen.'

93. *Stopōzen* 'stolpern' Lexer : *stop-* (MHG. *stoppen*, *stopfen* 'palpare, palpitare, pedibus incongrue ire')+(*st*)*ōzen* 'stossen.' Schr. 80.

94. *Zalaschen* 'herumschleichen' Bayer. Wb.: *za(schen)* 'ziehen,

schleppen; langsam arbeiten, schlendern'+*laschen* (cf. *lasch* 'schlaff, matt' Weigand, *läsch* 'schlaff, nachlässig in der Arbeit' Els. Wb., and also *latschen* 'träge herumschelnern' Els. Wb., 'sich herumtreiben, schlapp einhergehen, faulenzen' Lothr. Wb., Bayer. Wb.). Schr. 75.

95. *Zawatzen* 'beschlafen': *za(tzen)* (Bav. *zatz* 'Hündin; Weibsperson,' Swab. *zätz* 'Hündin,' Bav. *zetzen* 'vexieren, foppen') + (z)*watzen* (MHG. *zwatzler*, *zwetzler* 'penis,' Bav. *zwazeln* 'zapeln'). Schr. 76.

Like the above in principle are Schröder's so-called "präduplizierende streckformen." The only difference is that in the following the supposed extended forms are the result of the repetition of the same word with the suppression of the initial consonants in the second part. Thus if *thud-thúdding* (No. I, 9) had been so dissimilated, it would have become \**thudúdding*; and Goethe's *Klimpimpimperlied* (vgl. Schr. 214) is simply *klimp(kl)imp(kl)imperlied*, and nothing else.

96. *Humpumpen* 'hinken': *hump-(h)umpen* Schr. 214.—*Kleppeppern* 'dreschen': *klepp-(kl)eppern* 207.—*Latattere* 'Mund; Person mit breitem Mund': *lat-(l)attere* 207.—*Plappapper* 'Geschwätz': *plapp-(pl)apper* 206.—*Plämpämperlen* 'schlenkern': *plämp-(pl)ämperlen* 213.—*Pumpumpel* 'Gepolter': *pump-(p)umpel* 214.—*Rumpumpeln* 'sehr rumpeln': *rump-(r)umpeln* 215 (or cf. No. 73).—*Schlampampen*: *schlamp-(schl)ampen* 211.—*Schlankankel* 'langer, schlanker, unbeholfener Mensch': *Schlank-(schl)ankel* 216.—*Schwempemperlig* 'taumelig, schwindlicht, elend, schwach': *schwemp-(schw)emperlig* 213.—*Schnäppäppern* 'in einem fort schwätzen': *schnäpp-(schn)äppern* 207, etc., etc.

## VII. COMPOUNDS WITH AN UNSTRESSED FORE-SYLLABLE

According to Schröder all of the following examples would be "streckformen." For since there is no such prefix as *ka(r)-* (cf. Schr. 38, 40, etc.), his theory<sup>1</sup> demands that we call them "streckformen."

But facts are stubborn things; and the wise man will not seek to

<sup>1</sup> "Man kann auf vielerlei Weise irren; aber am sichersten an der Hand einer blindlings befolgten Methode" [oder Theorie]. Richard M. Meyer, *Germ.-rom. Monatschrift*, II, 642.

hide or to deny them, but will try to make his theory conform to them. The facts are that a large number of genuine Germ. words have an unaccented fore-syllable *ka(r)*,- *kə(r)*-. If Schröder is unwilling to call this a prefix, let him call it an unstressed prefixed syllable. Most writers would prefer the shorter term.

In Eng. this prefix is *kə*- or *kər*-, spelled *ca*-, *ker*, *cur*-; in German and Dutch it is *ka*-, *kar*-. In Eng., or at least American, popular speech, this prefix may be used with any word expressive of the sound of a blow or a fall, as : *ke(r)bang*, *ke(r)plunk*, *ke(r)whack*, etc. In Ger. and Du. it is apparently not so productive.

The origin of this "unstressed introductory syllable" is doubtful. According to Cent. Dict., XI, 681, "it probably originated in the involuntary utterance which often precedes a sudden physical effort as in striking with an ax or hammer or paving-rammer." Or it may have been abstracted from the initial sounds of words denoting a sudden blow or fall (cf. No. VI, 26). Perhaps we may also speak of a prefix *kla*- abstracted from such words as *clack*, *clap*, *clash*, *clatter*, etc. (cf. No. VI, 28). And, to mention no other, a prefix, or unstressed introductory syllable *te*- occurs in provincial English, as *te-lick*, *te-smack*, etc. 'as fast as possible.' This resulted from the abbreviation of such words as *nickety-knock*, *lickety-cût*, *hippety-hóp* etc. (cf. III, 7).

1. *Cabobble* 'mystify, puzzle, confuse' Wr. I, 478 : *bob* 'surprise,' *bobble* 'bob up and down' Wr. I, 321, *bubble* 'dupe, gull' Sl.

2. *Caboodle* 'the whole lot, gang' Dial. Notes, III, 5 : *boodle* 'the whole' *ibid.*, 4, 'crowd, company' Sl.

3. *Ke(r)chug* *adv.* 'with a sudden dull thud' : *chug* 'a dull sound, thud.'

4. *Kerchunk* 'with a sudden heavy blow or thump' : *chunk* 'a short thick piece, as of wood' Cent.

5. *Ke(r)flap* *adv.* 'with a sudden flap' : *flap*.

6. *Ke(r)flop* *adv.* 'with a sudden flop' : *flop*.

7. *Curflummux* *adv.*, used of a heavy fall Wr., *kerflummux* 'fall in a heap' Dial. Notes, *kerflummux* 'bewilder, daze' Dial. Notes, III, 62: *flummox* 'bewilder, perplex, puzzle' Wr.

8. *Carfuddle* 'discompose, rumple, crease' Jam. : *fuddle* 'confuse, stupefy.'

9. *Car-*, *curfuffle* 'disarrange, throw into confusion; *sb.* fuss, excitement' Wr. : *fuffle* 'ruffle, throw into disorder; dishevel' Wr.

10. *Car-*, *curfumish* 'diffuse a very bad smell' Jam. : *fume*.

11. *Curglaff*, *-gloff* 'the shock felt in bathing at the first plunge into cold water,' *curgloft* 'panic-struck' Wr. : *glaff* 'a sudden blast' puff of wind' Wr.

12. *Cahoots* 'partnership; collusion' in the expression "in cahoots with" Dial. Notes, III, 60 : *hoot* 'business, affair, concern' Wr.

13. *Curjute* 'overwhelm, overthrow, esp. used by children when small banks or dams they make are carried off by water; overpower by means of intoxicating liquor' Jam. : *jute* 'tipple,' 'weak or dul liquor, tea' Jam.

14. *Curmudge* Jam., *curmudgeon* Wr. 'a mean fellow' : *mudge* 'sludge, mud' Wr.

15. *Curmur* 'the purring of the cat,' *curmurring* 'murmuring, grumbling' Wr. : *murmur*.

16. *Curnab* 'pilfer' Jam. : *nab* 'seize, snatch.'

17. *Canoodle* 'fondle, dally,' 'be silly' B.-L. : *noodle*.

18. *Kerplunk* *adv.* 'with a sudden 'plunk' or plunge' Cent. : *plunk* 'knock, bang.'

19. *Kerslam* *adv.* 'with a slam' : *slam*.

20. *Kerslap*, *-slop* *adv.* 'with a sudden slap or loud slapping blow' Cent. : *slap*.

21. *Kersmash* *adv.* 'with a sudden smash' : *smash*.

22. *Kerspank* *adv.* 'with a spanking sound' : *spank*.

23. *Kersplash* *adv.* 'with a sudden splash' : *splash*.

24. *Caswash* 'describes the sound made by a body of falling water' Dial. Notes : *swash*.

25. *Kerwallop* *adv.* 'with a sudden wallop or onrush' Cent. : *wallop*.

26. *Kerwhack* *adv.* 'with a sudden whack' Cent. : *whack*.

27. Du. dial. Antw. *kababbelen* 'oppeuzelen, smakelijk opeten': *opbabbelen* ds. C. en V., *babbelen* 'plappern.'

28. Du. dial. *kabonkel* 'harde kaakslag' : *bonk* 'luide slag' C. en V.

29. WFlem. *kabooten*, *kabooteren* 'booten, met herhaalde slagen slaan': *booten* 'schlagen' De Bo.

30. Antw. *kabotteren*, 'versterking van botteren' : *botteren* 'stommelen, en dof gerucht maken,' 'poltern' C. en V. Cf. *klabotteren* with same meaning.

31. WFlem. *kabots* 'plumps!' : *bots* 'stoot, fr. heurt,' *botsen* 'tegen iets hard stooten, fr. heurter.' In Brugge (Bruges) *kabouks*: *bouksen* De Bo.

32. East Fries. *kabúf*, *kebúf* 'Ruf oder Wort, womit man einen polternden Sturz oder Fall von etwas bezeichnet' : *buf*, *buff*. 'Schlag, Stoss' Koolman.

33. Westf. *kabūs* 'bauz! puff!' : *būs* 'Schall, Stoss' Woeste.

34. WFlem. *kadanse* 'danskroeg, herbergje waar's zondags gedanst wordt' : *dans* De Bo.

35. EFries. *kedikkern*, *kedakkern* 'traben, in kurzem Galopp gehen oder fahren und reiten, rasch mit hüpfendem stossendem Gange gehen oder sich fortbewegen' : *dakkern* 'rasch und hörbar gehen' Koolman.

36. Antw. *kadodder* 'klein ingedrongen mannekin,' 'undersized person' C. en V. : WFlem. *dodder* 'dot, duts, verwarde bundel vlas, hooi, stroo' De Bo.

37. WFlem. *kadotteren*, *kadodderen* 'sterk daveren, dotteren': *dotteren* 'zittern, beben' De Bo, NE. *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' *dudder* 'shiver,' etc.

38. Antw. *kadul* 'dronkaard' : *dul* 'razend gram of zinnelos' C. en V.

39. NHG. dial. *kāfúp* 'Sprung,' *kāfúptax* 'hops' : *fup* 'Sprung' Leihener, Cronenberger Wb.

40. Antw. *kajanken* 'het janken von honden,' *kajonkelen* 'janken van eenen hond' C. en V., Ger. dial. *kajinken* 'klagend winseln, heulen' Fr. : Du. *janken* 'heulen, winseln, murren,' dial. *jonkelen*, same. The ablaut-form *jinken* need give no one pause, cf. II.

41. East Fries. *karjolen*, *kar-*, *kerjōlen* 'laut u. lärmend singen' Koolman, Westf. *karjolen*, *krajōlen* 'schreien' Woeste, Waldeck. *karjolen* 'schreien, jauchzen' : NHG. *jolen*. Cf. Westf. *scharjolen* and Pruss. *kanjolen*.

42. Pruss. *kalaschen* 'prügeln' : *laschen* 'derb ausprügeln,' NE. *lash* 'hauen, peitschen, geisseln,' OE. *læsce* 'lash.'

43. Antw. *kalut* 'dwaas en halfgek vrouwmensch' : *lut*, same, C. en V.

44. Antw. *kawauwelen*, *kawauwen* 'wauwelen, babbelen,' 'schwätzen' C. en V., Pruss. *karwauen* 'klagen, jammern' (*karmen* 'jammern') Fr. : Antw. *wauwen* 'schwätzen.'

45. Pruss. *karwendig* 'munter, unbesorgt, schnell u. geschickt in der Bewegung' : *wendig* 'munter, geschäftig, geschickt' Fr.

46. Pruss. *kaschantern* 'sich auf der Strasse herumtreiben' Fr. Tirol. *tschandern* 'müssig herumgehen' Frommann, Die d. Mundarten, 452.

In conclusion it may be said that Schröder's theory of "streckformen" is untenable. It is based on incorrect premises and wrong conclusions. And even if it were true, it would not be a contribution to the science of language. For in most cases the assumed infixes must be regarded as mechanically and arbitrarily inserted. When words are so formed, they throw no more light upon the development of language than do the words of any artificial language. It is true, as Schröder asserts in his preface, "dass es für die Lösung der Grundfragen der Sprachwissenschaft viel wichtiger ist, das Leben der Volksmundarten zu erforschen als das Leben der Schriftsprachen." But we shall learn no more from the study of words arbitrarily formed by the schoolboy or the peasant than from those that have been coined by the scientist or the poet.

All the so-called "streckformen" may not be blends. Some no doubt are onomatopoeic. E.g., L. M. Elshemus writes:

Then flies the nighthawk high,  
With eyes intent on prey in nooks and trees;  
While shrill *crebeaking* as he wheels at ease,  
His mate joins! When they meet *puflute* they cry;

or again:

The red-black marsh-bird, sweet *bree-reeing*  
In joy, then swaying, swiftly fleeing (cf. Mead 113 f.).

Here *crebeaking*, *puflute*, *bree-reeing* are exactly such words as Schröder calls "streckformen," and by him ought to be referred to *creak*, *\*pute*, and *\*bree*. But the shrill note of the nighthawk is not a creak by any stretch of the imagination—except in the imagination

of a stretchformer—and *\*pute* and *\*bree* do not exist at all. These words are simply imitative, though the author may have had other words in mind. The same may be said of Eng. dial. *curroo*, *curdoo* 'coo,' and *cree-creery* 'the cry of the groundlark' Wr.

Of imitative origin are also Pruss. *kadāksen*, *kaduksen*, '*kadāks* schreien wie ein Huhn, das ein Ei gelegt hat' (Schr. 32). It is the same word as Lith. *kadākszczióti* 'vom Huhn gackern, wenn es z.B. ein Ei gelegt hat' (Kurschat), formed from *kadēti* 'gackern.' Schröder ought to have mentioned also Pruss. *kaldāksen* 'gackern, namentlich von dem eigentümlichen Geschrei der Hühner nach dem Eierlegen,' *kalduksen* 'laut schallende Töne lachend ausstossen,' which are blends of *kadāksen*, *kaduksen*, and *kalakeln* 'gackern' (Fr.). As for *kalakeln*, this may be either a blend of *kallen* (EFries. 'schwatzen, plaudern,' MLG., MHG. *kallen*, OHG. *kallōn* Lat. *gallus*) and *kakeln* 'gackern' or else onomatopoetic, like Eng. *culcucudāhcūt* 'cackle.'

Finally, some of the supposed "stretchformen" may be simply perversions, like Eng. dial. *dollymosh* 'demolish' Wr., *collymolly* 'melancholy' (cf. IV, 33), *hockholler* 'hollyhock' Wr., *pereat* 'repeat,' NHG. Als. *kapet* 'Packet' etc.

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## KING JAMES I AND *THE DEVIL IS AN ASS*

Ben Jonson's satirical comedy, *The Devil Is an Ass*, was presented by the King's Players in 1616 at the Blackfriars. Its contemptuous attitude toward witchcraft and demoniacal possession has been much discussed and heartily approved, but the editors and critics have overlooked a number of circumstances that are highly significant.

We may first notice the scornful words of Satan to Pug, almost at the beginning of the play. They contain a remarkable fling at the credulity of Middlesex juries:

You have some plot now  
Upon a tunning of ale, to stale the yeast,  
Or keep the churn so that the butter come not,  
Spite o' the housewives cord, or her hot spit?  
Or some good ribibe about Kentish Town,  
Or Hogsden, you would hang now for a witch,  
Because she will not let you play round Robin;  
And you'll go sour the citizens' cream 'gainst Sunday,  
That she may be accus'd for't, and condemn'd  
By a Middlesex jury, to the satisfaction  
Of their offended friends, the Londoners' wives,  
Whose teeth were set on edge with it? (I, i, 12-23)<sup>1</sup>

The allusion is obviously to three witch trials of the preceding year. In 1615 Elizabeth Rutter, Joan Hunt, and Agnes Berry had severally been convicted of witchcraft by Middlesex juries and hanged. Agnes Berry was charged with causing Grace Halsey to "languish and waste away." Joan Hunt was indicted for bewitching to death an infant of three years. Against Elizabeth Rutter there were no less than four indictments, three of them for murder by

<sup>1</sup> The following remark about Middlesex juries is worth quoting here. It occurs in a letter from Bacon to James I (January 22, 1616) concerning the trial of Somerset for the murder of Overbury: "I said to your Majesty that which I do now repeat, that the evidence upon which my Lord of Somerset standeth indicted is of a good strong thread, considering impoisoning is the darkest of offences; but that the thread must be well spun and woven together. For your Majesty knoweth it is one thing to deal with a jury of Middlesex and Londoners, and another to deal with the Peers; whose objects perhaps will not be so much what is before them in the present case (which I think is as odious to them as to the vulgar) but what may be hereafter" (Spedding, *Letters and Life of Bacon*, V, 231).

witchcraft.<sup>1</sup> These trials must have made a great noise, for the hanging of witches was a rare event in Middlesex. Mr. Jeaffreson, the editor of the *Middlesex Records*, has found only these three executions for witchcraft in that county during the whole of James the First's reign,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Inderwick has discovered only eight such executions in Middlesex for a period of over one hundred and sixteen years (1550-1666).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, then, the cases of 1615 were what suggested to Jonson the composition of a play which should satirize witchcraft.

In the fifth act Jonson brought in a scene of sham demoniacal possession. His procedure can hardly have been directly suggested by the Middlesex trials of the preceding year, for these involved neither possession nor fraud. There are, to be sure, cases of demoniacal possession in Machiavelli's *Belfegor*, but the patients are really possessed and the circumstances have no resemblance to those in the drama. Indeed, Jonson owes nothing to the *Belfegor* except perhaps the mere hint for Pug's futile expedition to this world. The most superficial comparison of the drama with the novel will suffice to show that Jonson's demoniac scene is not indebted to the *Belfegor* for anything whatever, in general or in particular. It is absolutely independent of the Italian in all respects. We cannot even hold that the *Belfegor* suggested to Jonson the inclusion of a demoniac scene. For our present purposes, then, the *Belfegor* may be ignored, and the same is true of *Friar Rush*. What we need is a notorious example of fraudulent possession occurring just before the play appeared, and the impostor should be a boy of about thirteen. For Meercraft, in persuading Fitzdottrel to counterfeit, remarks encouragingly—

Sir, be confident,

'Tis no hard thing t' outdo the devil in:

A boy o' thirteen year old made him an ass

But t'other day.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, II, 108, 110, 116, 218-19. Both Joan Hunt and her husband William had been tried on charges of witchcraft and acquitted in 1614 (II, 95, 96, 217, 218).

<sup>2</sup> II, lili. There were doubtless other executions (for the records are incomplete), but there cannot have been many. One occurred in 1621 (Henry Goodcole, *The Wonderful Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer*, 1621, reprinted in Bullen's *Ford*, 1895, I, lxxxi-cvii).

<sup>3</sup> *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 169-70.

<sup>4</sup> V, 5, 48-51 (Jonson's numbering). It is well known that Jonson used the sixteenth-century Darrel cases for details; but what we are discussing is not the minutiae of the scene, but the moving cause, the occasion for including it at all.

The case which Meercraft cites must be that of young Smith, of Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire. We have two accounts of the affair. One, strictly contemporary, is embodied in a letter written on July 18, 1616, by Alderman Robert Heyrick, of Leicester, to his younger brother, Sir William, in London.<sup>1</sup> The other, less accurate, but furnishing valuable details, may be found in Francis Osborne's first Essay.<sup>2</sup> The business is also mentioned in a letter from Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated October 12, 1616.<sup>3</sup>

Heyrick's letter is worth reprinting, for it is important, and Nichols's *Leicestershire* (which contains it) is not very common in this country.

Although we have bene greatly busyed this 4 or 5 days past, being syse tyme, and a busy syse speacally about the araynment of a sort of woomen, Wythes, w<sup>t</sup> 9 of them shal be executed at the gallows this fornone, for bewitching of a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old, beinge the soon of one Mr. Smythe, of Husbands Bosworth, brother to Mr. Henry Smythe, that made the booke which we call Mr. Smythe's Sarmons. Your man Sampson stays, and yt is to tedyous to write anny one thing unto you of the matter; and the examynacyons and finding out of the matter came to my hand in wryting just as I began your lettarr. Only I will signifye unto you of the chyld's straundg fits, who was brought hythar of Sayturday last to be shewed to the Judges; and since his coming hither he hath had dyvars wonderfull straundg fyts in the syght of all the greatest parsons here, as dyvers knyghts and ladies, and manny othars of the bettar sort, most tereble to be tollid. Sir Henry Hastings hath doon what he colld to hold him in his fit; but he and another as strong as he could not hold him; yf he might have his arm at liberty, he woold stryke himsellfe suche bloes on his brest, being in his shirt, that you myght here the sound of yt the length of a long chamber, soumtymys 50 bloes, soumtymys 100, yea soumtymys 2 or

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, II, ii, 471\*, along with another letter of Heyrick's on the further history of the case, dated October 15, 1616. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1829, Vol. XCIX, Part II, pp. 515-16 (*Gentleman's Magazine Library*, ed. Gomme, *Popular Superstitions*, 1884, p. 235); Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 193, n. 1; Gifford, *Ford*, 1827, I, clxxii-clxxiii, clxxx; Dyce's *Ford*, 1869, III, 276; James Thompson, *History of Leicester*, 1849, pp. 344-45; Foss, *Judges of England*, VI, 202. Alderman Heyrick died June 14, 1618, at the age of seventy-eight; his brother, Sir William, was the king's jeweler (see Nichols, *Progresses*, II, 463, n. 3; III, 180, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> "On such as condemn All they understand not a Reason for" (*Miscellaneous Works*, 11th ed., 1722, I, 29-31). Osborne was born in 1593; the essay was first published in 1659, the year of his death. In introducing the anecdote, he remarks, "I will here relate a Story of my own Knowledge"; but he was writing a good while after the event. Hence I ignore certain of his statements that are inconsistent with Heyrick or Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 192-93 (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398).

300 bloes, that the least of them was able to stryke doune a strong man; and yet all he did to himself did him no hurt. 6 of the witches had 6 severall sperits, one in the lyknes of a hors, another like a dog, another a cat, another a pullemar,<sup>1</sup> another a fishe, another a code,<sup>2</sup> with whom evary one of them tormented him: he woold make soom syne according to the sperit; as, when the hors tormented him, he woold whinny; when the cat tormented him, he would cry like a cat, &c. When he was in his fyt, they were soomtymes brought to him, and then they were chardged to speake sarten words, and to name theare sperits, and one of them to speake yt aftar another; as thus: "I such a one chardge the hors, yf I be a wiche, that thou com forthe of the child." And then another by her sperit to doe the like; and so till all had doone. Yf anny of them woold speake a woord contrary to that charm, he shold be myghtyly tormented; but, if he<sup>3</sup> would speake as he had first directed them, at the end of the last he woold fall out of his fit as quyetly as if one did lay him doune to slepe. For the rest, I leave till it please God we meete. Leicester, the 18th of July, 1616.

Your loving brother,  
ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Smith, it will be noted, is described by Heyrick as "a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old." This fits the words of our text. The recency of the occurrence is indicated by the phrase which Meercraft uses, "but t'other day." This phrase rules out the Boy of Burton (1596)<sup>4</sup> and the Boy of Northwich (1601 and 1602),<sup>5</sup> and leaves young Smith alone in the field.

Heyrick's letter enables us to identify the pretended demoniac as a nephew of Henry Smith, lecturer at St. Clement Danes, apostrophized by Nashe in *Piers Penniless* (1592) as "silver-tongued"

<sup>1</sup> A misreading for *fullemar* (a founmart or polecat).

<sup>2</sup> Clearly a misreading for *tode*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably we should read *she*.

<sup>4</sup> This was Thomas Darling of Burton-on-Trent, who was exorcised in 1596 by the famous John Darrel. He was about fourteen years old. Jonson mentions him in V, 3, 7, in connection with other supposed demoniacs relieved by "little Darrel's tricks." See Harsnet, *Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of Iohn Darrel*, 1599, pp. 2, 22, 37, 28; Darrel, *Detection of S. Harshnet*, 1600, pp. 9-11, 16, 38-40, etc.; Darrel, *Doctrin of the Possession*, etc. (appended to his *True Narration*, 1600), pp. 6 ff., 11 ff., 26, 38.

<sup>5</sup> This was Thomas Harrison, of Northwich in Cheshire. Deacon and Walker discuss the case in their *Summarie Answers to Darrel*, 1601, pp. 70 ff. Darrel, in *A Survey of Certain Dialogical Discourses*, 1602, p. 54, says that the boy is "at this present very greuously vexed by Sathan." See particularly John Bruen's memoranda in William Hinde's *Life of Bruen* (Samuel Clarke's *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part II, Book II, 2d ed., 1675, pp. 94-96); cf. also Thomas Cooper, *The Mystery of Witch-craft*, 1617, sig. A 3. Gifford (after exploding Whalley's suggestion of the Boy of Blison on the convincing ground that his fraud was four years after Jonson wrote the play) advanced the erroneous suggestion that Jonson was referring to Thomas Harrison. But Harrison's is far too early a case: 1602 was not "t'other day" in 1616.

Smith,<sup>1</sup> one of the most famous preachers of the late sixteenth century. The family was old, rich, and of high standing among the gentry.<sup>2</sup> The boy's grandfather, Erasmus Smith, had married for his second wife a sister of the great Lord Burghley. The boy's father, Roger (afterwards Sir Roger<sup>3</sup>) Smith, had many children, one of whom, Erasmus, at this time about six years old, became a distinguished educational benefactor; he was an ancestor of the present Earls of Derby (who from 1776 to 1869 bore the surname of Smith-Stanley).<sup>4</sup> The demoniac's Christian name is not mentioned, but an inspection of the Smith pedigree suffices to identify him, with considerable probability, as the eldest of Roger Smith's children by his second wife—namely John Smith, who died unmarried at the age of forty.<sup>5</sup> This identification becomes practically certain when we observe that there is a document at Belvoir Castle (referred to July, 1610) containing "an account partly taken from the depositions of Sir Henry Hastings, the High Sheriff, of the bewitching of John Smith by Randall and other witches."<sup>6</sup> Sir Henry Hastings was Sheriff of Leicestershire for one year only—the fifth of James I (1607–8).<sup>7</sup> If John Smith was thirteen years old in 1616, he must have been a child of four or five when these earlier depositions were taken before Hastings. Manifestly he suffered from hystero-epilepsy, of which lying and imposture are well-recognized symptoms.

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 192. Nashe labels the paragraph "Encomium H. Smithi." Smith had died in the preceding year (1591). Fuller also testifies to the epithet "silver-tongued" as applied to this eloquent preacher (*Life*, prefixed to Smith's *Sermons*).

<sup>2</sup> A good account of the Smith (originally Herex) family, with pedigrees, may be found in Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, 1, 180–85, 389–92. See also the pedigree in the *Visitation of the County of Leicester in 1619* (Harleian Society, II), pp. 66–67. Henry Smith, the preacher, and his nephew Erasmus are included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> He was knighted at Whitehall in 1635, and died in 1655, at the age of 84 (Nichols, II, 1, 180, 185).

<sup>4</sup> Doyle, *Official Baronage*, I, 563–65.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Roger Smith's second wife, Ann Goodman, of London, who died in 1652, aged 66, had issue by him "sons and daughters twentie-two" according to her epitaph (Nichols, II, 1, 181). Nobody has hitherto attempted to identify the demoniac among this wilderness of offspring, but it is quite certain that he was one of the children of this second marriage and that he was older than his brother Erasmus—and John is the only person in the pedigree who satisfies both conditions.

<sup>6</sup> *Manuscripts of the Earl of Rutland*, I, 422 (*Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Twelfth Report*, Appendix, Part IV). The document is dated "July." The year is supplied by the cataloguer, on what grounds I do not know. The year of Sir Henry Hastings's shrievalty settles the date of the phenomena.

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 641.

The suspicion of witchcraft which his fits excited in 1607 or 1608 does not appear to have resulted in any convictions. But in 1616, as we learn from Heyrick, his disease brought about the death of nine alleged witches. Probably the malady lasted as long as he lived, for, as we have seen, he never married and he died at a comparatively early age.

Sir Henry Hastings, we observe, is mentioned in Heyrick's letter of July 18, 1616, as interested in the witch trials of that year. Doubtless (as on the previous occasion) some of the depositions were taken before him as Justice of the Peace. It is interesting to notice that this is true also of a part of the evidence in the trial of Margaret and Philip (i.e., Philippa) Flower, who were hanged in 1619 for bewitching to death two children of the Earl of Rutland.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry was a man of importance. He was a grandson of the Earl of Huntingdon, and his seat was at Braunston, Leicestershire.<sup>2</sup>

It is natural that the second accusation of witchcraft (in 1616) should have had a more sinister outcome than the first (in 1607 or 1608). For John Smith was now old enough not only to make definite charges against particular persons, but to supply details and play tricks with that subtlety which is an effect and a symptom of his disease. And in the meantime he had of course learned much about witchcraft phenomena from the talk of his elders. We may feel confident that he had heard, for example, of the afflicted Throckmorton girls, of Warboys in Huntingdonshire, who also belonged to a distinguished county family, and whose case had received wide currency. The charm which Heyrick says the accused were made to repeat ("I such a one charge the horse, if I be a witch, that thou come forth of the child") is patterned after a formula devised by the hysterical Throckmorton girls and used in the Warboys trials ("As I am a Witch, and did consent to the death of the Lady Cromwell, so I charge the deuill to suffer Mistress Iane to come out of her fit at this present").<sup>3</sup> As in the Warboys case, the officers of the law

<sup>1</sup> *The Wonderfull Discoverie of The Witch-crafts of Margaret and Philip Flower, 1619*, sig. C 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Hastings of Braunston, Knight, was the son of Walter Hastings, Esq., of Kirby and Braunston, who was the sixth son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon. Sir Henry was M.P. for the County of Leicester in 18 James I, and again in 1626. He died in September, 1649. See Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 456, 461; III, II, 608; IV, II, 610, 612, 617-19, 627.

<sup>3</sup> *The Witches of Warboys*, 1593, sig. P. 2 r<sup>o</sup>.

were doubtless inclined to give readier credence to persons of the intelligence and social position of the Smiths than they would have given to ignorant villagers or farm-laborers.

The women to whose malice poor John Smith ascribed his affliction in 1616 were tried in that year at the July assizes at Leicester, before Sir Humphrey Winch (Justice of the Common Pleas) and Serjeant (Sir Randal or Ranulph) Crew. Nine were duly convicted, and they were hanged on the 18th.<sup>1</sup>

Almost exactly a month later, King James visited Leicester in the course of a royal progress. He remained there only a single day (arriving on August 15th and leaving the town on the 16th).<sup>2</sup> But he found leisure for a humane and enlightened act. Young Smith was still having his fits, and six more witches were in prison, awaiting the autumn assizes.<sup>3</sup> James had long been skeptical about such matters, and he prided himself on exposing sham demoniacs and other impostors. He called the boy before him and soon detected the fraud. But there was not time to sift the matter to the bottom. Accordingly, the king sent young Smith to Archbishop Abbot at Lambeth for further examination, with the result that he made a full confession of his tricks. Abbot then sent the boy to the king, before whom he made a complete exhibition of his imposture.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, on or about October 15, 1616, by a writ to the High Sheriff of Leicestershire, the five witches still in custody were released without a trial—the sixth had died in the meantime.<sup>5</sup>

As to Justice Winch and Serjeant Crew, we have the best possible evidence that they incurred the royal displeasure for their part in the affair. "Justice Winch . . . and Serjeant Crew," writes

<sup>1</sup> Heyrick's letter of July 18, 1616; Chamberlain to Carleton (Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 192-93). Cf. Foss, *Judges of England*, VI, 202.

<sup>2</sup> The king was on his way toward Windsor. He spent the night of August 14th at Nottingham, where he remained for one night only. On the 15th he went to Leicester. After passing the night there, he went to Dingley on the 16th (Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 180, 186; cf. III, 175).

<sup>3</sup> Heyrick's letter of October, 1616 (see n. 5, below). Cf. Osborne, I, 30; Chamberlain to Carleton, October 12, 1616.

<sup>4</sup> Osborne, I, 30-31.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Robert Heyrick to Sir William Heyrick (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, II, 471\*):

I received your letter yesterday, dated the 10th of October, 1616; for which I thank you hartily. for I thought y<sup>e</sup> long since I hard any thinge from you; for anny news I heare but from you I account it but uncertayne. I am desyrous to signefye unto

Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on October 12, 1616, "are somewhat discountenanced for hanging certain Witches in their circuit at Leicester; whereas the king, coming that way, found out the juggling and imposture of the boy, that counterfeited to be bewitched."<sup>1</sup>

All these facts throw light on Jonson's famous demoniac scene in *The Devil Is an Ass* (V, viii), in which the justice, Sir Paul Eitherside, witnesses Fitzdottrel's pretended fit of possession and is convinced that he is suffering from witchcraft. It is no longer possible to identify Sir Paul with Coke, even "partially," as Dr. W. S. Johnson does.<sup>2</sup> So far as the satire is personal, it is manifestly aimed at Sir Humphrey Winch, the judge who had presided at the Leicester witch trials in July, when the Smith boy played his tricks successfully in the presence of the bench. We should note, by the way, that Sir Paul Eitherside is not treated contumeliously by Jonson. When Fitzdottrel confesses, and Manly says to the justice, "Are you not asham'd now of your solemn, serious vanity [i.e., foolishness]?" Sir Paul answers, like a dignified and conscientious gentleman, "I will make honorable amends to truth."<sup>3</sup>

The Smith boy, as we have seen, had been sent to Archbishop Abbot about August 15th, 1616. The archbishop's men, so Osborne

you of the Witches, but it must be in my next; for they be but this day, as I am informed, examyned before Mr. Mair and the Justisis, and Docktor Lambe, in our Town-hall; and to-morrow I shall know the substaunce of the matter; and then you shall here how the matter goes w<sup>th</sup> them. So, with my love and hartyeest salutatyons to yourself and my Lady doone, I leave you to the Most Highest. Leicester, the 15th of October.

Your loving brother,

ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Since wryting of the above, the under sherive, by a warrant directed to the highe-sherive, hath set the 5 Witches at liberty; the sixt is ded in the gayle.

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 192-93 (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398). Mr. Inderwick, whose essay on Witchcraft in his *Side-Lights on the Stuarts* contains much valuable material along with a great variety of curious errors, gives an oddly distorted account of the Leicester affair. He says that it was on October 12 that James discovered the imposture of the "boys," and that "some time afterwards, . . . certain witches were tried for this very witchcraft, and, being convicted, were hanged by order of Justice Winch." "This," adds Mr. Inderwick, "was considered so impertinent an invasion of the king's prerogative, that the judge was disgraced for having allowed the case to be tried after the king himself had decided it" (2d ed., 1891, p. 150).

<sup>2</sup> "It is certain that Coke is partially responsible for this portraiture. . . . On the other hand, it is improbable that the picture was aimed exclusively at Coke" (W. S. Johnson, *The Devil Is an Ass*, 1905, p. lxxii, *Yale Studies in English*, XXIX). Fleay's identification of Coke with Fitzdottrel (*Biographical Chronicle*, I, 382-83) had already been properly rejected by Johnson as a patent absurdity.

<sup>3</sup> V, viii, 145-47.



informs us, brought him to a full confession, at Lambeth, "in a few weeks." "He was sent back to his Majesty," continues Osborne, "before the end of the Progress; where, upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his Tricks often times in a Day."<sup>1</sup> These exhibitions must have taken place at Windsor between the 3d and the 17th of September, the progress ending on the latter date.<sup>2</sup> Their first result was the "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew, of which Chamberlain speaks in his letter of October 12th. Their second result was the examination of the surviving witches at Leicester before the Mayor,<sup>3</sup> certain justices, and Dr. Lambe, on October 15th, and their release either on that day or soon after.<sup>4</sup> Dr. John Lambe's presence is significant. He was an eminent ecclesiastical jurist and was vicar of the Bishop of Peterborough, in whose diocese Leicester is included.<sup>5</sup> Doubtless he attended the examination because of instructions from Lambeth. If Winch sat on the bench at this session, he probably used the opportunity (in Justice Eitherside's phrase) to "make honorable amends to truth." The "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew was not serious, no doubt because the king's justifiable self-satisfaction at his own cleverness and its fortunate issue overweighed his anger. On the 7th of October, it was rumored at St. James's that Crew was to succeed Coke as chief-justice.<sup>6</sup> It is safe to infer that the royal disfavor became known at court between October 7 and October 12 (the date on which Chamberlain reported it to Carleton). Between these two dates the king probably expressed his feelings by some snub in word or act.

My suggestion, therefore, that Jonson's demoniac scene alludes

<sup>1</sup> Osborne, I, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Windsor was the last ghest of the progress. The king was to arrive there on August 29, and to remain "during pleasure" (Nichols, III, 180). In fact, however, he did not reach Windsor until after September 3, for Chamberlain writes to Carleton on that day that he "keeps much about Windsor, though he has not yet been there." On the 7th he was at Windsor, and he remained until the 15th or 16th (Nichols, III, 188-90; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 392; *Venetian, 1616-1617*, pp. 290, 297, 301). On the 17th he was at Theobalds, and the progress was finished (Nichols, III, 190; cf. *Calendar, Domestic*, pp. 392, 394).

<sup>3</sup> The Mayor of Leicester was Thomas Herrick (Erick) (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 425).

<sup>4</sup> Heyrick's October letter.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Lambe took the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge in 1616. Heyrick calls him by his new title. For Lambe's life see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Lord Danvers to Carleton (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 397.)

to the Smith affair makes it necessary to assign the composition of that scene to the latter part of October or thereabout. Let us see if this date accords with other evidence.

We know that the play was first performed in 1616.<sup>1</sup> The time occupied falls within the limits of a single day. Pug, the fiend, assumes the hanged cutpurse's body in the morning, and is carried off to hell by Iniquity, the vice, that same night.<sup>2</sup> In settling the date of production, we are justified in using whatever indications of the season of the year are afforded by the text, for the day on which the events of the drama occur is identified, by Jonson himself, with the actual day on which it was first acted. This appears from the following passage, in which Wittipol is speaking of Fitzdottrel:

Yes, that's a hir'd suit he now has on,  
To see *The Devil Is an Ass* to-day in.<sup>3</sup>

Two bits of internal evidence are available. (1) In V, ii, 39, Pug remarks, "If we can get a wigeon, 'tis in season." This points to the time of year when wigeons are procurable, but not yet a glut in the market. These birds make their appearance in England about the middle or end of September or early in October.<sup>4</sup> (2) In III, vi, 2-4, Pitfall says:

Canst thou get ne'er a bird?  
No thrushes hungry? Stay till cold weather come,  
I'll help thee to an ousel or a fieldfare.

Fieldfares arrive in England early in October. They are very shy birds,<sup>5</sup> however, and not until there is snow, or a severe frost, can one readily get within gunshot of them. Then they seek the uplands, to feed upon the hedges, and become not only in better

<sup>1</sup> The year is mentioned in so many words in I, i, 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, i, with V, vi-vii. See especially I, i, 133-50; V, vi, 5-10, 48-49; V, vii, 5.

<sup>3</sup> I, iv, 20-21. Cf. also the following passages:

*Fitzdottrel.* Art thou sure  
The play is play'd to-day? *Ingine.* O, here's the bill, sir.  
I had forgot to gi't you. *Fitz.* Ha! the Devil! (I, iv, 42-44)  
"To-day I go to the Blackfriars playhouse." (I, vi, 31)

<sup>4</sup> F. O. Morris, *History of British Birds*, VII, 29-30; Yarrell, *History of British Birds*, 2d ed., 1845, III, 287; Macgillivray, *History of British Birds*, 1852, V, 87-88.

<sup>5</sup> It is the fieldfare's shyness that gives point to the proverbial "farwel felfefare" (*Troilus*, III, 861), i.e., "the bird has flown." Cf. Middleton, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, I, II, 264 ff. (Bullen, V, 255): "When I studied there [at Cambridge], I had so fantastical a brain that, like a felfare frighted in winter by a birding-piece, I could settle nowhere; here and there, a little of several art, and away."

condition as to flesh and flavor, but also easier to approach.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Cox, in *The Gentleman's Recreation*, instructs his reader thus: "About Michaelmas [September 29], or when the cold weather begins to come in, take your Gun and kill some *Feldfares*."<sup>2</sup>

Pitfall's remark,<sup>3</sup> then, would not be appropriate later than about the first of November, and would certainly fit the middle or latter part of October in any ordinary season. That cold weather has not yet come is shown also by the fact that, when Ambler complains that he had to walk barefoot from the neighborhood of the Lord Mayor's Banqueting House to St. Giles's, he says nothing about suffering from inclement weather.<sup>4</sup>

Both pieces of internal evidence are consistent, it appears, with our fixing the date of the first performance as about the middle or end of October.

Further, when Pug has been arrested and taken to Newgate, Iniquity visits his cell, with a message from the Great Devil:

H' hath sent thee *grant-paroll* by me to stay longer  
A month here on earth.

"How?" cries Pug, "longer here a month?" And the dialogue proceeds:

*Iniquity.* Yes, boy, till the session,  
That so thou mayest have a triumphal egression.  
*Pug.* In a cart, to be hang'd!<sup>5</sup>

That is, in a month there is to be a session of jail delivery, at which Pug will be tried for theft. There was usually such a session for Middlesex early in September, early in October, and early in December, but none in November. If, then, the date of performance (which, we remember, corresponds with that of the action) is the

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Daniel, *Rural Sports*, 1807, III, 149, note; Morris, III, 171-72; Bewick's *History of British Birds*, 1804, I, 103; Col. G. Montagu, *Ornithological Dictionary*, ed. Rennie, 1831, pp. 180-81. Chaucer speaks of "the frosty feldfare" (*Parliament of Fowls*, vs. 364); cf. Skeat on *Troilus*, III, 861 (*Oxford Chaucer*, II, 479).

<sup>2</sup> 3d ed., 1686, Part II, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Pitfall is punning on *bird* in the sense of "loose woman" (cf. *Mod. Philol.*, VII, 475-77), but the season is indicated all the same. Charles Carter, in his *Compleat City and Country Cook*, 1732, plates 44, 45, reckons wigeons among the birds in season in September, October, and November; fieldfares, among those in season in December, January, and February.

<sup>4</sup> V, I, 26-47.

<sup>5</sup> V, VI, 19-23.

latter part of October, the next session will fall early in December—that is, in round numbers, about a month hence.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears that all the internal evidence either points directly to the latter part of October (or thereabout) as the date of presentation, or agrees with that date. Indeed, no other date will satisfy all the conditions. When Jonson began to write the play we cannot tell, but it seems quite clear that he finished it shortly before it was produced. There is nothing in the internal evidence that conflicts in any way with the view which I have expressed, namely, that the demoniac scene in the fifth act was written with an eye to the Leicester case, to the king's detection of the imposture, and to the royal displeasure manifested at the precipitancy and credulity of Justice Winch.

The demoniac scene, indeed, is by no means necessary to the plot, which might just as well be wound up without it. Its connection with the structure of the drama is very loose. Probably Jonson inserted it at the last minute, after the "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew (mentioned in Chamberlain's letter of October 12) had become the talk of the court and the town. We may conjecture that he was on the point of finishing his play when the matter came to his attention, and that he found it too apposite to his general satirical purpose to be disregarded.

The results of our investigations are not trivial, for they have a direct bearing upon the relations between Jonson and James I, as well as upon the status of both poet and king in the history of witchcraft. James is commonly regarded as a frantic and bigoted witch-prosecutor during his English reign, and Jonson has been commended for his enlightenment and independence in taking the other side.<sup>2</sup> In fact, however, James distinguished himself, almost from the very beginning of his reign, as a detector of fraudulent demoniacs, and there is plenty of evidence that he did not encourage

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact there were ten Old Bailey sessions of jail delivery in 1616—on January 12, February 20, March 15, April 12, May 16, June 26, August 1, September 6, October 4, and December 4 (*Middlesex Court Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, II, 218-19).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Aronstein, *Ben Jonson*, 1906, p. 164 (Schick and v. Waldberg, *Literaturhistorische Forschungen*, XXXIV): "Männer wie Bacon und Raleigh zweifelten nicht an der Existenz von Hexen, und Jakob I. hatte bekanntlich selbst ein Werk über Dämonologie geschrieben. Um so höher ist es dem Dichter anzurechnen, dass er es gewagt hat, in seinem Lustspiele diesen Aberglauben kühn zu verspotten."

the prosecution of witches. On the contrary, though he believed in witchcraft in general, it is quite certain that he was disposed to be skeptical with regard to particular examples, and his English reign is by no means a dark and bloody period in the annals of this terrible delusion.<sup>1</sup> In undertaking to write a comedy satirizing witchcraft, Jonson was not braving the king's wrath: he was acting in perfect accord with what he knew to be the king's sentiments, and he must have felt sure of his approval. James and he were not on different sides in this question; they were on the same side.<sup>2</sup> When, therefore, as Jonson was completing his play, a remarkable instance of the king's acumen occurred, resulting in the rescue of five suspected witches, the poet welcomed the opportunity of paying a well-deserved compliment to his royal patron. He inserted a scene of sham demoniacal possession, and pointed the compliment by satirizing the justice whose credulity the king had reproved.

This was not the first time that Jonson had gratified the king by such a compliment. There is a counterfeit demoniac in *Volpone*, the advocate Voltore, who has spasms and pretends to vomit pins.<sup>3</sup> *Volpone* was acted early in 1606. Shortly before, King James had exposed the imposture "of a woman pretended to be bewitched, that cast up at her mouth pynnes, and pynnes were taken by divers in her fitts out of her brest."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence in full, see Kittredge, *English Witchcraft and James I.* Gifford, in 1827, printed a brief but powerful defence of James in his edition of *Ford*, I. cixi-cxxv, cxxix-cxxx (Dyce's edition, 1869, III, 273-76; Bullen's edition, 1895, III, 273-76). He called attention to Osborne and to Chamberlain's letter of October 12, 1616, but did not perceive the connection of the Leicester case with *The Devil Is an Ass*.

<sup>2</sup> We may note, by the way, that alchemy (satirized by Jonson in *The Alchemist*, 1610) was likewise a subject on which King James was skeptical. In 1620 he made some acute criticisms on the alchemists' fallacious reasoning, to say nothing of a highly characteristic jest (*King James His Apophthegmes*, 1643, pp. 7-8).

<sup>3</sup> V, xii, 8 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, 1585-1616*, ed. by H. S. Scott, p. 70 (*Camden Miscellany*, X). Sir Roger mentions the case along with that of Richard Haydock, the Sleeping Preacher, of New College, Oxford who (as we know) was exposed by King James in April, 1605. Walter Yonge also mentions Haydock's exposure, and couples with it the following item, which must refer to the demoniac woman of whom Wilbraham speaks: "This year there was a gentlewoman and near kinswoman to Doctor Holland's wife, Rector of Exon College in Oxford, strangely possessed and bewitched, so that in her fits she cast out of her nose and mouth pins in great abundance, and did divers other things very strange to be reported" (*Diary of Walter Yonge*, ed. by George Roberts, Camden Society, 1848, p. 12). By "this year" Yonge seems to mean 1606, for the entry immediately preceding is dated "An. D. 1605-1606." But, since he refers Haydock's case to "this year also," we are safe in dating the bewitching of Dr. Holland's wife's

Many students have been puzzled to understand why Jonson, after receiving a royal grant of a hundred marks a year for life in February, 1616,<sup>1</sup> should have seized the earliest opportunity to insult the king by ridiculing witchcraft in *The Devil Is an Ass*. Nor has their perplexity been diminished by observing that the insult caused no interruption in the king's favor, inasmuch as Jonson was employed to write a Christmas masque at the end of the same year. It now appears that *The Devil Is an Ass* was not an insult, but a compliment, so that all grounds for perplexity are happily removed.

Ben Jonson, as is well known, gave Drummond a brief account of *The Devil Is an Ass* in 1619. The passage is as follows:

A play of his, upon which he was accused, The Divell is ane Ass. According to *Comedia Vetus* in England, the Divell was brought in either with one Vice or other; the play done, the Divel carried away the Vice. He brings in the Divel so overcome with the wickedness of this age that thought himself ane Ass. *Παρεργως* is discoursed of the Duke of Drounland. The King desired him to conceal it.<sup>2</sup>

These jottings of Jonson's talk are rather tantalizing. "Whether the subject which gave offense" was monopolies or witchcraft, writes Dr. W. S. Johnson, "it is impossible to determine."<sup>3</sup> It is clear, however, that some person or persons lodged a complaint against *The Devil Is an Ass*, and that the king promised Jonson immunity if he would not print the play. As we know, Jonson did not publish the text until 1631, six years after James's death.

Perhaps the complainants were Winch and Crew; perhaps the relatives of the young demoniac. In either case the king may well have thought it best to satisfy the aggrieved parties, and at the same time let the poet off, by "desiring" Jonson not to print the drama. The good-natured monarch may have regarded the judges as punished

kinswoman 1605, or early in the following year. *Volpone* is made out by Mr. L. H. Holt to have been presented between March 9 and March 25, 1606 (*Modern Language Notes*, XX, 164-65). Dr. Thomas Holland died March 17, 1611-12. He was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1589 and Rector of Exeter College in 1592, and held both offices till his death (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, II, 111-12; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 731).

<sup>1</sup> *Shakspeare Variorum* of 1821, I, 417, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Jonson's Conversations with Drummond*, ed. Laing, p. 28 (Shakespeare Society, 1842). I have regulated the punctuation, which, as given in the manuscript, obscures the sense. I have also made the obvious correction of *Παρεργως* for *Παρεργως*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Devil Is an Ass*, 1905, p. lxii.

enough without the further publicity of type. And he would certainly have considered the feelings of the Smith family, which had abundant wealth and influence and was highly connected. The boy's grandfather, we should remember, had married as his second wife a sister of William Cecil, the great Lord Burghley,<sup>1</sup> and Burghley had more than once used his influence to protect Henry Smith, the eminent preacher,<sup>2</sup> who was the boy's uncle. Burghley's grandson was now Earl of Salisbury. Very likely, however, the accusation had nothing to do with witchcraft, but concerned rather the satire on monopolies, in particular the draining of the fens, a project of great public importance, much canvassed in the reign of James I.

At all events, the language of Drummond's memorandum shows clearly that James protected Jonson—not that he censured or punished him. And this is what we should expect, since the play, as we have seen, was of a kind to give the king much satisfaction.

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<sup>1</sup> She was Margery, "relict of Roger Cave" (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, i, 185). She married Cave on November 24, 1561 (Fox-Davies, *Genealogy of the Cecils*, in *Historical Monograph, William Cecil Lord Burghley*, 1904, p. 111). Henry Smith speaks of Brian Cave, High Sheriff of Leicestershire, as his uncle (*Three Sermons*, ed. 1624, p. 56: misprinted "Cane"). Brian Cave, of Ingarsby, was High Sheriff of the Counties of Leicester and Warwick in 5-6 Philip and Mary (1558), and of Leicestershire in 11 and 24 Elizabeth (1568-69, 1581-82) (Nichols, I, 460, 461). He died July 30, 1590 (III, i, 280). Roger Cave, of Stanton-on-Avon, who married Margaret (or Margery) Cecil, and died in 1586, was his brother, as were also Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford-on-Avon, and Sir Ambrose Cave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and one of Elizabeth's privy councillors (II, ii, 852; III, i, 97, 290, 292; III, ii, 954; IV, i, 351-52, 356). A sister, Dorothea, married John Smith, Henry Smith's grandfather, so that Brian Cave was the preacher's great-uncle (*Visitation of the County of Leicester in 1619*, pp. 66, 128, Harleian Society, II).

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's *Life of Smith* (Smith's *Sermons*, ed. 1866, I, viii); cf. C. H. and T. Cooper, *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, VII, 223. Smith dedicated his collected *Sermons* to Burghley with an expression of gratitude ("haec pignora in grati animi testimonium"; ed. of 1609).





## A SERMON ON SOURCE-HUNTING

Some years ago a student in our English Seminary, having occasion to read Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, had her attention caught by the opening lines of one of its lyrics:

When tender ewes brought home with evening sunne  
Wend to their foldes,  
And to their holdes  
The shepheards trudge when light of day is done. . . . .

And as she read them the conviction flashed upon her that this was just the beginning of Gray's "Elegy," with its curfew, and its lowing herd winding slowly o'er the lea, and its plowman plodding his weary way homeward, and its ultimate darkness. In the course of her English studies she had heard much of parallels and sources: here finally was one all her own. That celebrated first stanza of Gray must have been inspired by the verses of Greene. It was not without difficulty that her instructor at last brought her to see that the coming home of herds and flocks and tired rustics at evening was a phenomenon of country life which any two or three or a hundred poets would be capable of observing, each for himself, quite independently of the others, and that in any such case of similarity, before one could infer literary indebtedness one must be sure that the likeness did not lie in the mere fact of the two poets having chosen the same subject-matter: there must be special resemblances of imaginative handling or style or actual wording which made any other hypothesis improbable.

Now, just this consideration which the seminary student overlooked is being ignored, right and left, today, not only by the rank and file of zealous source-hunters, whom nobody much heeds, but also by men of real ability, authors of volumes and learned articles, short and long, that are quoted with general and deserved respect. Only too often these men, in their study of "influences," pad their lists of parallel passages and points of resemblance between authors with examples which, on examination, are found to prove nothing at all, except that the authors concerned have happened to find in this or

that common topic the same obvious facts or details. The phenomenon is sufficiently curious. One can hardly believe that these scholars do not know what they are about; they can surely be no more than heedless; but it is strange that they do not see what harm they thereby work to their own soundest arguments; do not perceive that after a man has rejected nine out of a dozen of their parallels as worthless he is not in a mood to accept the remaining three as conclusive. A few examples will suffice, perhaps, to preach the needed sermon.

As good a one as any may be found in Mr. Sidney Lee's recent volume, *The French Renaissance in England*, in the chapters which he devotes to the Huguenot poet, Du Bartas. Here the one case of specific imitation that he sets forward is the horse in *Venus and Adonis*, which he believes to be modeled in part upon the horse in the *Divine Weeks* subdued by Cain. His evidence is best recorded exactly as he gives it, italics and all.<sup>1</sup>

#### SYLVESTER'S TRANSLATION

With *round*, high, hollow, smooth,  
brown, jetty *hoof*,  
With *pasterns* short, upright, but yet  
in mean;  
Dry sinewy shanks; *strong*, fleshless  
knees, and *lean*;  
With *hartlike* legs, broad breast, and  
large behind,  
With body large, smooth flanks, and  
double chined:  
A *crested* neck bowed like a half-bent  
bow,  
Whereon a long, *thin*, curled mane doth  
flow;  
A *firmful* tail, touching the lowly  
ground,  
With dock between two fair fat *but-*  
*locks* drowned;  
A *pricked* ear, that rests as little space,  
As his light foot, a lean, bare bony face,  
Thin jowl, and head but of a *middling*  
size,

#### VENUS AND ADONIS

His ears up-prick'd; his braided hang-  
ing mane  
Upon his compass'd crest now stands  
on end;  
His nostrils drink the air, and forth  
again,  
As from a furnace, vapours doth he  
send: . . . .  
Round hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks  
shag and long,  
Broad breast, full eye, small head, and  
nostril wide,  
High crest, short ears, straight legs and  
passing strong,  
Thin mane, thick tail, broad bullock,  
tender hide; . . . .

Sometimes he *scuds* far off . . . .

To bid the wind a base he now prepares,

<sup>1</sup> P. 337, note. The passage in Du Bartas is in the Fourth Part of the First Day of the Second Week. Since this part of Sylvester's translation was published after the appearance of *Venus and Adonis*, Mr. Lee is careful to remark that "Shakespeare probably consulted the French text."

[SYLVESTER'S TRANSLATION]

Full, lively flaming, quickly rolling  
eyes,

Great foaming mouth, *hot-fuming*  
*nostril wide,*

Of chestnut hair, his forehead starri-  
fied . . . .

As this light horse *scuds*, . . . .

*Flying the earth*, the flying air he  
catches,

*Borne whirlwindlike.*

[VENUS AND ADONIS]

And *whē'r he run or fly* they know not  
whether.

This catalogue of italicized points is obviously meant to be, and perhaps is, impressive—though some readers might reflect that a few of the points are not unknown, even today, to men who claim no first-hand acquaintance with either the *Divine Weeks* or *Venus and Adonis*. Furthermore, Mr. Lee seems to be unaware that we have a very similar description of a horse in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, canto xv, stanzas 105-7. Though three proverbially make a crowd, it had better, perhaps, be added to the other two. It will need no italics.

Egli avea tutte le fattezze pronte  
Di buon caval . . . .  
Piccola testa, e in bocca molto fesso;  
Un occhio vivo, una rosetta in fronte;  
Larghe le nari; e'l labbro arriccia spesso;  
Corto l'orecchio, e lungo e forte il collo;  
Leggier sì, ch'alla man non dava un crollo.

Ma una cosa nol faceva brutto,  
Ch'egli era largo tre palmi nel petto,  
Corto di schiena, e ben quartato tutto,  
Grosse le gambe, e d'ogni cosa netto,  
Corte le giunte, e'l piè largo, alto, asciutto,  
E molto lieto e grato nell' aspetto;  
Serra la coda, e anitrisce e raspa,  
Sempre le zampe palleggiava e innaspa.<sup>1</sup>

It is a pity that Mr. Lee did not know this other description, for he might then have given us a particularly interesting study in the field that he has cultivated with so much profit—that of the intermingling

<sup>1</sup> The preliminary stanza, which I omit, gives only one physical detail: "Tra falago e sdonnino era il mantello."

influences of Italy and France in Elizabethan poetry. Did Du Bartas here imitate Pulci? Was it Pulci or Du Bartas that Shakespeare imitated, or was it both? More probably, however, Mr. Lee would have perceived, what must be clear to one not wholly intent on parallels, that all three descriptions are but poetic records of the various "good points" then recognized by connoisseurs in horse-flesh. These would of course vary, according to locality and time, even as the three descriptions vary, but it would be odd if the ideal English steed of the end of the sixteenth century were another beast than the ideal French steed of the same era, or even than the ideal Italian steed of a hundred years earlier; and that Shakespeare, who knew most of what was practically worth knowing in his day, from the prejudices of the rural gentry to the ways of London inn-keepers, should need a foreign poet to teach him the points of a good horse is surely improbable.

Another student in the same field, Professor A. H. Upham, has endeavored to establish a more important parallel between Du Bartas and Spenser.<sup>1</sup> In the Sixth Day of the First Week, in his account of the creation of Adam, the French poet gives us a kind of inventory-description of the human body, accompanied by a running commentary. The description is in good part figurative, and the main figure consists in likening the body to a castle. The fancy is not worked out in all its parts systematically: it is used at the beginning and returned to casually when this feature or that is adaptable to it. Now, in the *Faery Queen*, in the ninth canto of the second book, Spenser, too, gives a detailed account of the human body, and he, too (though with an allegorical strictness far beyond the aims of Du Bartas), represents it under the guise of a castle, the abode of Lady Alma, the soul. Professor Upham believes that Spenser's allegorical description is imitated from that of Du Bartas.<sup>2</sup>

Now, Du Bartas, of course, was no more the originator of this similitude than Spenser: it had been used before him in the conclusion of the *Roman de la Rose*. Nor would Spenser need to seek it either there or in the *Divine Weeks*, for it lay ready to his hand in

<sup>1</sup> *French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration*, 168-70, 506-18.

<sup>2</sup> It may be worth notice that Mr. Sidney Lee apparently accepts this opinion: vide *French Renaissance*, 349.

*Piers Plowman*,<sup>1</sup> in the episode of the Castle Caro, that belongs to the Lady Anima. This episode, indeed, is worth notice, for although there is no attempt in it to work out the features of the body in terms of architecture, although, in fact, the body is not described in any terms at all (the author being interested exclusively in the soul), still, the mere recollection of this castle of the Lady Anima (there is no such lady in Du Bartas) might easily have been what set Spenser's imagination at work upon the more elaborate castle of the Lady Alma. To prove the influence of Du Bartas, then, one must establish between his account of the body and Spenser's special points of resemblance that cannot be accounted for by the natural demands of the subject. This, it seems to me, Professor Upham, despite his array of parallels, fails rather singularly to do. He calls attention to the teeth. These Du Bartas likens to a mill, set to grind food for the stomach; Spenser to a squad of warders, set to guard the main gate of the castle, the mouth. Wherein the resemblance lies, except that both Du Bartas and Spenser, having to describe the body, think the teeth worth notice, does not easily appear. He calls attention to the eyes, which Du Bartas likens to sentinels and Spenser to beacons. The only resemblance is that in both cases they are set on the top of the central tower—and if a poet is describing the body as a castle, he cannot very well avoid calling the head the central tower that rises above the rest of the building. He calls attention to the fact that Du Bartas calls the stomach *hot* and that Spenser gives two stanzas to the heat of the castle kitchen—ignoring the allied fact that both are but expressing the physiological lore of their day. In brief, Professor Upham has altogether failed to take account of natural processes. Given two poets, educated in the same schools of knowledge, working on the same material subject, and using in good part the same symbolism, what is to be expected but that their output should in many details agree? I do not care to assert that Spenser, when he wrote this canto, did not have Du Bartas in mind at all. My contention is only that Professor Upham has travestied argument by parading a lot of similarities which, far from supporting his theory, serve only to distract and confuse.

It is of course not always easy to distinguish between resemblances

<sup>1</sup> A text, *passus* x; B text, *passus* ix; C text, *passus* xi.

that inhere in the common subject-matter of two poems and resemblances that may really be due to direct imitation. How faint the dividing line may be is well illustrated by another parallel in Professor Upham's book.<sup>1</sup> Among the points of similarity between the *Noah's Flood* of Drayton and various passages in Sylvester's version of the *Divine Weeks* is set down a detail of the panic that seizes the sufferers. According to Sylvester, some flee to the mountains;

Some to a Towr, some to a Cedar-tree,  
Whence round about a World of deaths they see:  
But wheresoever their pale fears aspire  
For hope of safety, th' Ocean surgeth higher;  
And still, still mounting as they still do mount,  
When they cease mounting, doth them soon surmount.

And according to Drayton

. . . . some clamber up to Towers,  
But these and them the deluge soon devours,  
Some to the top of Pynes and Cedars get,  
Thinking themselves they safely there should set:  
But the rude Flood that over all doth sway,  
Quickly comes up and carrieth them away.

Now there can be little doubt that Drayton's poem was mainly inspired by the *Divine Weeks*; or at least that without the precedent of the *Divine Weeks* it would not have been written; and in this particular passage it may well be that Drayton had his predecessor distinctly in mind. Yet, on the other hand, is not the detail one of those which any poet who undertook to describe the Deluge would inevitably find in his path? The waters are rising: what will men do? Why, clamber up to high places—mountains, towers, lofty trees. And since the scene is biblical, what lofty trees will they find? Manifestly, cedars. And of course the waters will overtake them. When Michael Angelo came to depict the Deluge in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he set forth just this same frenzy of impossible escape, and little more. He had no room in his panel for towers, and his one dead tree with the man climbing it could not be much loftier than a high shrub, but the scene is virtually the same. One does not imagine that Du Bartas took his hint from Michael

<sup>1</sup> P. 522.

Angelo; nor do the details of execution make quite certain that Drayton took his from Du Bartas.

For one doubtful parallel like this, however, dozens may be found in the learned periodicals of the day concerning which there can unfortunately be no doubt at all. Recently,<sup>1</sup> Dean T. W. Nadal has argued that when Spenser wrote his mock-heroic poem *Muiopotmos* he had in mind Chaucer's mock-heroic tale of *Sir Thopas*, and among the points of resemblance between the two works he sets down the arming of the heroes. It may be well to quote the passages.<sup>2</sup>

SIR THOPAS, ll. 146 ff.

He dide next his whyte lere  
Of clooth of lake fyn and clere  
A breech and eek a sherte;  
And next his sherte an aketoun,  
And over that an habergeoun  
For percing of his herte;

And over that a fyn hauberk,  
Was al y-wroght of Jewes werk,  
Ful strong it was of plate;  
And over that his cote-armour  
As whyt as is a lily-flour,  
In which he wol debate.

His sheeld was al of gold so reed,  
And ther-in was a bores heed,  
A charbocle bisyde. . . .

His jambeux were of quirboilly,  
His swerdes shethe of yvory,  
His helm of laton bright;  
His sadel was of rewel-boon,  
His brydel as the sonne shoon,  
Or as the mone light.

MUIOPOTMOS, ll. 57 ff.

His breastplate first, that was of substance pure,  
Before his noble heart he firmly bound,  
That mought his life from yron death assure,  
And ward his gentle corpes from cruell wound:  
For it by arte was framed to endure  
The bit of balefull steele and bitter stownd,  
No lesse than that which Vulcane made to sheild  
Achilles life from fate of Troyan field.

And then about his shoulders broad he threw  
An hairie hide of some wilde beast, whom hee  
In salvage Forrest by adventure slew,  
And reft the spoyle his ornament to bee:  
Which, spredding all his backe with dreadfull vew,  
Made all that him so horrible did see  
Thinke him Alcides with the lyons skin,  
When the Næmean conquest he did win.

Upon his head his glistening burganet,  
The which was wrought by wonderous device,  
And curiously engraven, he did set:  
The mettall was of rare and passing price;

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV (December, 1910), 640-56.

<sup>2</sup> The reader may be reminded that Spenser's hero, Clarion, is a butterfly.

[SIR THOPAS]

His spere was of fyn ciprees,  
 That bodeth werre, and no-thing pees,  
     The heed ful sharpe y-grounde;  
 His stede was al dappel-gray,  
 It gooth an ambel in the way  
     Ful softely and rounde  
     In londe.

[MUTOPOTMOS]

Not Bilbo steele, nor brasse from  
 Corinth fet,  
 Nor costly oricalche from strange  
 Phœnice;  
 But such as could both Phœbus  
 arrowes ward,  
 And th' hayling darts of heaven beat-  
 ing hard.

Therein two deadly weapons fixt he  
 bore,  
 Strongly outlaunched towards either  
 side,  
 Like two sharpe speares, his enemies to  
 gore.

Lastly his shinie wings, as silver bright,  
 Painted with thousand colours, passing  
 farre  
 All painters skill, he did about him  
 dight.

Had Dean Nadal contented himself, in this case, with noting the similarity of incident, the fact that both heroes, about to set forth on adventure, arm themselves piece by piece in the manner approved by epic and romance poets as far back as Homer,<sup>1</sup> his point, though it might not carry much conviction of Spenser's indebtedness, would be unassailable. But he is not content with so little; he must find resemblances of detail, which may be marked in italics. Sir Thopas has a "whyte lere"; Clarion a "gentle corpes." Sir Thopas puts on "an habergeoun, for percing of his herte"; Clarion binds "his breast-plate . . . before his noble heart." Sir Thopas' "fyn hauberk was al y-wroght of Jewes werk," and on his shield was "a bores heed, a charbocle bisyde"; Clarion's "burganet . . . was wrought by wonderous device, and curiously engraven." In fact, says Dean Nadal, "there is an interesting resemblance between the armors of the two knights." He does not note that the resemblance, such as it is, could hardly have been avoided, but proceeds at once to conclude that "Spenser had in mind either Chaucer's description or else a similar description which Chaucer himself was parodying." If such

<sup>1</sup> The arming of Clarion might be compared with the arming of Agamemnon at the outset of *Iliad* xi.



comparisons are to hold, then surely Pope's account of the toilet of Belinda, from the moment when

*robed in white*<sup>1</sup> the nymph intent adores,  
With head uncover'd, the cosmetic powers,

to that when

awful Beauty *puts on all its arms*,

must be another of the possible reminiscences of *Sir Thopas*.

Hunting after parallels has nowhere been pushed more vigorously than in the field of the Petrarchistic love-sonnet. Here it has proceeded, of late years, mainly under the stimulus of Mr. Sidney Lee, whose primary interest in the work has been, on the whole, less that of a student of letters than that of a biographer. It was his concern with the biographical problem of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, that is, which first led him to investigate the sonnet literature of the age, and this biographical preoccupation has more or less dominated his judgment ever since. He seems to be never quite so well satisfied as when he has apparently demonstrated that such and such an Elizabethan sonnet cannot possibly be the record of personal experience, because it is all imitation. How far he is willing to carry his skepticism may be illustrated by his treatment of the 68th sonnet of Spenser's *Amoretti*. This, it will be remembered, comes shortly after the poet's acceptance by the lady whom he has been wooing for over a year. The time is Easter Day.

Most glorious Lord of lyfe, that on this day  
Didst make thy triumph over death and sin,  
And having harrowd hell, didst bring away  
Captivity thence captive, us to win:  
This joyous day, deare Lord, with joy begin,  
And grant that we, for whom thou diddest dye,  
Being with thy deare blood clene washt from sin,  
May live for ever in felicity:  
And that thy love we weighing worthily,  
May likewise love thee for the same againe;  
And for thy sake, that all lyke deare didst buy,  
With love may one another entertayne.  
So let us love, deare love, lyke as we ought:  
Love is the lesson which the Lord us taught.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "whyte lere"—transferred epithet?

This sonnet, says Mr. Lee,<sup>1</sup> "was clearly suggested by Desportes' ejaculation at the same season [i.e., Eastertide] which unexpectedly fills a niche in the poet's *Amours de Diane*."

Here is the ejaculation of Desportes (Bk. II, sonnet 46):

Je m'estoy dans le temple un dimanche rendu,  
Que de la mort du Christ on faisoit souvenance,  
Et, touché jusqu' au cœur de vive repentance,  
Je soupiroy le tans que j'ai mal despendu.  
"O Seigneur! qui des cieux en terre es descendu,  
Pour guarir les pecheurs et laver leur offance,  
Que ton sang, ruisselant en si grande abondance,  
N'ait point esté pour moi vainement respandu!  
Seul Sauveur des humains, sauve ta creature!"  
J'achevo y de prier, quand je vey d'avanture  
Celle dont les beaux yeux sans pitié m'ont defait.  
"Ah! Dieu!" ce dy-je alors, la voyant en priere,  
Triste et l'œil abaissé, "ceste belle meurtriere  
Se repent-elle point du mal qu'elle m'a fait?"

What have these two sonnets in common? Nothing whatever, except that both have to do with Easter; in thought, temper, and all that constitutes style they are radically different. What then is Mr. Lee's theory of the relation between the two? Apparently this, that Spenser, as a poet of the Petrarchistic school, could not have written this sonnet on Easter Day without the inspiration of Desportes; or, to speak more accurately, that since Desportes wrote a sonnet on a reminiscence of Easter Day, Spenser's sonnet composed on that day and inspired by thoughts of the season must be an imitation of it, or must have been suggested by it. The vista which this theory opens is fairly appalling. To know that these Petrarchists borrowed ideas, images, sentiments, tricks of style from each other, imitated or translated whole sonnets when they felt inclined, is one thing; but to think that even the best of them, men of original power in other fields of poetry, when for instance they seemed to fall sick, like other men, and wrote a sonnet or two during what appeared to be convalescence, were presumably borrowing both sickness and sonnets, if not convalescence, from some earlier poet—to think that is to have

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Elizabethan Sonnets* (Constable, 1904), xcix. Mr. Lee does not there indicate which sonnet of Desportes he means, though a reader might guess. In his recent *French Renaissance*, 263, note, he supplies the number.

one's faith in poor human nature (and in the plain probabilities of human conduct) sorely shaken. Mr. Lee, however, seems to have overlooked one main trait of Petrarch's influence. The melancholy Tuscan not only founded a style of love-poetry and established a code of situations, moods, ideas, and images for subsequent poets, but he taught lovers how to use the trivial daily incidents of life as matter for sonnets. To send a present of small game to a friend, to take a walk in the country and fall into a brook, to see your mistress coming from a visit to a sick relative, to find, one day, that she has been requested by her family to stay at home, somewhat against her will—experiences like these, he taught, were matter out of which excellent sonnets might be built. His followers, especially in France and England, learned this lesson and put it in practice. That two of them happen to write of similar experiences surely does not prove that one necessarily took his cue from the other.

This point may further be exemplified from the work of Professor L. E. Kastner. As all students of the subject know, he has, like Mr. Lee, made most valuable contributions to our knowledge of Petrarchism in Great Britain, but none the less, apparently under the influence of Mr. Lee's theory, he has sometimes darkened counsel. For example, in No. 48 of the *Amoretti*, Spenser apostrophizes a certain copy of verses which he has sent to his mistress and which she has burned unread. This sonnet, Professor Kastner thinks,<sup>2</sup> was "certainly suggested by" one of Desportes (*Diane*, II, 75) in which the poet, addressing his verses, tells them to beware when they come into his mistress' hands, lest the flame of her eyes consume them. It may be well to print the two side by side.

Innocent paper, whom too cruell hand  
Did make the matter to avenge her  
yre,  
And ere she could thy cause wel under-  
stand,  
Did sacrificze unto the greedy fyre:  
Well worthy thou to have found better  
hyre

O vers que j'ai chantes en l'ardeur qui  
m'enflame,  
Je deviens à bon droit de vostre aise  
envieux!  
Vous viendrez en la main et retiendrez  
les yeux  
Qui retiennent ma vie en l'amoureuse  
flame.

<sup>1</sup> In the Leopardi edition, which has at least this merit for reference-use that it is the one most commonly met with in small public and private libraries, these sonnets are Nos. 7, 43, 28, 167 of the first part, *In Vita di Madonna Laura*.

<sup>2</sup> "Spenser's 'Amoretti' and Desportes," *Modern Language Review*, IV (1908), 65 ff.

Then so bad end, for hereticks or-  
dayned:

Yet heresy nor treason didst conspire,  
But plead thy maisters cause unjustly  
payned:

Whom she, all carelesse of his griefe,  
constrayned

To utter forth the anguish of his hart:  
And would not heare, when he to her  
complayned

The piteous passion of his dying smart.  
Yet live for ever, though against her  
will,

And speake her good, though she  
requite it ill.

Gardez-vous seulement des regards de  
ma dame,

Ardans flambeaux d'amour, benins et  
gracieux,

Car s'elle peut brûler les mortels et les  
dieux,

Elle vous brûlera comme elle a fait mon  
ame.

Je sçay qu'il eust fallu, pour monstrier  
son pouvoir,

Un esprit plus divin, plus d'art, plus de  
sçavoir;

Mais, estant plein d'amour, je fuy tout  
artifice.

J'écry ce que je sens, mon mal me fait  
chanter,

Et le plus beau laurier que j'en veux  
meriter,

C'est d'allegier ma peine et la rendre  
propice.

Just what does Professor Kastner wish us to infer in this case? Apparently, that Spenser invented the whole story, that the verses he apostrophizes, if they ever existed, were not really burned, but that, having read the sonnet of Desportes, he was inspired to pretend that they had been. But how, then, came the sonnet of Desportes to inspire that particular fiction? It speaks of no real burning, already accomplished; it only pays a kind of prophetic compliment to the fire of his lady's eyes, a compliment which, if Spenser did actually try to imitate it, he spoiled, for the fire that is represented as consuming his verses is just plain matter-of-fact household fire. Perhaps Professor Kastner has in mind that both poets apostrophize their verses; but surely, a convention so immemorial as that cannot be stretched to imply imitation. One is left to wonder what Professor Kastner really does mean.

How far afield this eagerness of source-hunting may lead a man is best shown, perhaps, in one final example, from *The French Renaissance in England*.<sup>1</sup> There, in the section devoted to Rabelais, Mr. Lee brings up the speech of Sir Andrew to the Clown, in *Twelfth Night* (II, iii, 22 ff.): "In sooth, thou wast in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spok'st of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians pass-

<sup>1</sup> P. 162.

ing the equinoctial of Queubus. 'Twas very good, i' faith." The words attributed by Sir Andrew to the Clown he thus comments on: "This is the mystifying kind of jargon which Rabelais loved. The words are not to be found in Rabelais's text, but poor rabbit-witted Sir Andrew is hardly likely to report correctly in the morning a difficult verbal quip which he had heard at a convivial debauch at a late hour the night before." In short, Mr. Lee is not content with the common opinion that in the Clown's jargon Shakespeare is imitating the humorous jargon of Rabelais. No, there must be a more definite source, some special phrase of Rabelais that has got itself transmogrified. And how has it got itself transmogrified? Ah! therein we have an example of Shakespeare's subtle sense of character. What the Clown really uttered was true Rabelais, but Sir Andrew could not of course be expected to remember in the morning what he had heard, when drunk, the night before. To have preserved the true Rabelais, for the delectation of future source-hunters, would have been to falsify Nature.

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## MEDIAEVAL STORY-BOOKS

Students of mediaeval Latin fiction, especially those interested in the class of *exempla*, have been eagerly awaiting, since 1893, the promised third volume of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*.<sup>1</sup> It has recently appeared and more than fulfils the expectations of scholars in this branch of literature. The author of this volume was associated with the late H. L. D. Ward in the preparation of the first two volumes of this great work, and has been able in many cases, so the Keeper of MSS informs us, to make use of Mr. Ward's notes—those admirable notes, which were so freely and unselfishly placed at the disposal of scholars everywhere. It is pleasant to think that the work he began has been continued, and, we trust, will be completed, in a way worthy of his memory and of the best traditions of the great library, to which for so many years he devoted his untiring labors.

It is only fifty-two years since Benfey in the introduction to his translation of the *Pantschatantra* laid the foundations of the study of comparative storiology and threw open an enormous and fascinating field for research. Since then has arisen an immense literature devoted to comparative mythology, popular tales, customs, and superstitions, etc.; while the earth has been ransacked from the Arctic regions to South Africa, and from India to our Pacific coast for the stories and beliefs of the people. The early interest in the subject centered in the question of the origin and diffusion of popular tales. At this stage of the study it was important to collect parallels and to track a given story, fable, or whatever it might be, to its original habitat. It was fortunate that for many years Benfey's theory of the literary transmission of stories prevailed and led to the investigation and publication of collections of oriental tales, and the study of the diffusion of their contents throughout the literature of Europe. Every possible channel of transmission was narrowly

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. III. By J. A. Herbert, B.A., Assistant in the Department of MSS. Printed by order of the Trustees. London, 1910. Crown 8vo, pp. xli + 720.

scanned, such as the Hebrew translators of Spain, the French *Fabliaux* writers, etc. It was in the course of this investigation that a new and important means of diffusion was discovered and a broad and fresh field of study.

As early as 1842 Thomas Wright, in the introduction to *A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Contribution to the History of Fiction during the Middle Ages* (Percy Society, Vol. VIII), gave an outline of the use by preachers of illustrative stories, or *exempla*, to employ the technical term (not used by Wright). Bromyard's *Summa Praedicatorum*, and Herolt's *Sermones* and *Promptuarium Exemplorum* are cited. In the note to the eighty-third story, p. 74, Wright says: "Promptuarium (quoted from Jacobus de Vitriaco)." This is the only mention of the great preacher, to whom is due the later vogue of *exempla*, until 1862, when Goedeke in an article "Asinus Vulgi," in *Orient und Occident*, Vol. I, p. 531, first called attention to the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry. As I have already said in my Introduction to the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. lii, "Goedeke himself had never heard of the *sermones vulgi* or seen any of the collections of Jacques de Vitry's *exempla*, which are to be found in Paris and elsewhere. He only knew that the author of the *Scala Celi* had used a *Speculum exemplorum Jacobi de Vitriaco*, and he also learned from the catalogues that a MS in Troyes contained: 'cxxxviii exempla sumpta ex sermonibus Jacobi de Vitriaco,' and that a Paris MS 3283 (fourteenth century) contained: 'Sermones et exempla Jacobi de Vitriaco.' From a comparison of the stories in the *Scala Celi* attributed to Jacques de Vitry with those in Wright's *Latin Stories*, Goedeke inferred that of the 225 *exempla* of the Harley MS 463 many were by Jacques de Vitry. In fact, thirty-six of Wright's stories are by Jacques de Vitry, although Wright was unaware of it."

Goedeke's valuable article does not seem to have aroused any interest in Jacques de Vitry's *exempla* and it was not until 1868 that Lecoy de La Marche, in his *La chaire française au Moyen Age*, gave for the first time a satisfactory account of them. The same writer in his *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon* (Société d'Histoire de France,



Paris, 1877) constantly cited Jacques de Vitry and printed several of his *exempla*.

By the systematic use in his sermons of illustrative stories Jacques de Vitry set an example to his successors which they were not slow in following. The foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders had given an enormous impulse to preaching and greatly modified its character. It became necessary to interest and amuse the common people and the preachers soon had to have at their command repositories of stories. Collections of all kinds, arranged alphabetically and otherwise, soon came into existence, and were later perpetuated and widely disseminated by the printing-press. These collections were translated and imitated in Italian, French, Provençal, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and English. How enormous the mass of material is may be judged by the fact that the volume of the *Catalogue* before us is devoted entirely to this class of literature and contains the analysis of one hundred and nine manuscripts and refers to over eight thousand stories, many of which are, of course, frequently reprinted.

It will facilitate the task of examining this material if we first eliminate those works which have already been printed, wholly or in part, and are thus fairly well known and accessible to students.

The *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry (p. 1, Harley 463, and p. 26, Additional 26770) have been printed from a Paris MS, with references to the British Museum MSS, by Professor Crane for the Folk-Lore Society, 1890; the *Fables* of Odo of Cheriton (p. 31, Arundel 292, printed in full by Oesterley in *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Literatur*, Vol. IX [1868], pp. 127-54; p. 38, Additional 11579, printed by Hervieux in *Fabulistes latins*, Vol. IV [1896], p. 173, from MS 441 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the British Museum MS was used in collation; p. 46, Arundel 275, used by Hervieux, *op. cit.*, p. 173, for collation; p. 50, Harley 219, printed by Hervieux in first edition of *Fabulistes latins* [1884] [Vol. II, pp. 597-658, 661-702]); *Exempla* of Odo of Cheriton, contained in a collection of sermons on the Sunday-Gospels throughout the year (p. 57, Arundel 231, copious extracts printed by Hervieux from a Paris MS, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV [1896], pp. 127-145); Etienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, abridgment of Parts i-iv, imper-

fect (p. 78, Additional 22682, copious extracts printed from French MSS by Lecoy de La Marche in the work cited above); *Tractatus de abundantia exemplorum*, probably by Humbert de Romans (p. 88, Sloane 3102, printed, without date or place [J. Zainer, Ulm, 1470 ?], as *Liber de Abundantia Exemplorum Magistri Alberti Magni Ratispa. Episcopi ad omnem materiam*); Moralized Tales translated into Latin from the French of Nicholas Bozon (p. 100, Harley 1288, printed as an appendix to *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1889); Moralitates of Robert Holcot (p. 106, Arundel 384; p. 113, Additional 21429, p. 114, Royal 6 E. iii; p. 116, Egerton 2258, printed in Holcot's *In Librum Sapientiae Regis Salomonis Praelectiones* ccxiii, Basle [?], 1586); Fifty-six moralized Tales, Fables and Similitudes, in Italian (p. 179, Additional 22557, printed by J. Ulrich in *Romania*, xiii [1884], pp. 27-59); *Gesta Romanorum*, partial English translation (pp. 252, 255, Harley 7333, Additional 9066, printed by Madden, Roxburghe Club, 1838, and Herrtage, Early English Text Soc., 1879); William of Waddington, *Manuel des péchés* (p. 273, Harley 273, printed from this MS, collated with Harley 4657, by F. J. Furnivall for Roxburghe Club and Early English Text Society; p. 292, several other MSS have been only partly used, some not at all); *Handlyng Synne*, English translation by Robert Mannyng of Brunne of the *Manuel des péchés* (p. 303, Harley 1701, the basis of Furnivall's editions in the Roxburghe Club and Early English Text Society); English Metrical Homilies on the Gospel Lessons (six MSS, of which, p. 328, Harley 4196, has been partly printed by Horstmann in *Alt-englische Legenden*, N.F., Heilbronn, 1881, pp. 1-173. Horstmann also used Cotton, Tiberius E. vii); Five Tales, extracted from the writings of Petrus Damianus (p. 347, Burney 351, may be found in Migne, *Patrologia Lat.*, Vol. CXLV); Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, abridged extracts (p. 348, Additional 18346, p. 365, Arundel 407, may be found in Strange's edition, Cologne, 1851); *Alphabetum Narrationum*, A Translation in the Northumbrian Dialect (p. 440, Additional 25719, printed by Mrs. M. M. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, Early English Text Society, 1904-5); and, finally, Bromyard's *Summa Praedicantium* (p. 450, Royal 7 E. iv), and Herolt's *Promptuarium Exemplorum* (p. 452, Additional 19909)

have been frequently printed.<sup>1</sup> A few stories from other MSS have been printed from time to time, as, for example, nineteen tales from the *Speculum Laicorum*, to be mentioned more fully later in this article.

The remaining material consists largely of collections of tales, by known authors or anonymous, and arranged alphabetically or otherwise. The most interesting and important is the *Speculum Laicorum* (p. 370, Additional 11284), usually ascribed to John of Hoveden. This huge collection contains over six hundred stories to illustrate eighty-seven chapters of subjects arranged alphabetically. The MS was purchased in 1837 by the British Museum from Mr. W. J. Thoms, the famous antiquary, and has often been cited as "the Thoms MS."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Herbert discusses the authorship of the collection in his usual lucid manner and then gives a full analysis of the contents of the collection. A few words may be said here in regard to the analyses in this and the preceding volumes of the *Catalogue*. In general the stories are without literary form, often they seem mere memoranda for the preacher to expand as he wishes. The scholar who is comparing collections or tracing a particular *exemplum* wishes to know the substance of the story in a concise form, if possible, with references to other manuscripts or printed works. The analyses by the late Mr. Ward and Mr. Herbert are

<sup>1</sup> The contents of a certain number of MSS are known from other versions which have been printed, as for instance, the *Gesta Romanorum*, of which the British Museum possesses fourteen Latin, two English, and one German, MSS; *Vie des anciens pères* (p. 336, Additional 32678, seventy-four tales, of which twenty-six have been published separately in various places, see Herbert's list, p. 348); and *English Metrical Homilies* (p. 320, Additional 30358, printed by J. Small, *English Metrical Homilies*, Edinburgh, 1862; p. 322, Additional 22283, printed by Horstmann from the Vernon MS, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Bd. LVII (1877), pp. 279, 281-316). The German translation of Caesar of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (*Distinctiones VII-XII*), made by Johann Hartlieb, is now being edited by Professor Karl Drescher for the Prussian Academy's *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*.

<sup>2</sup> My attention was called to this collection many years ago while engaged in the preparation of the introduction to my edition of the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*. My description there, p. lxxii, of the MS is not exact: "572 stories under 91 headings." I used the MS personally, and through the kindness of the late Mr. Ward I had a very full analysis of it. I said of the collection at that time: "The value of the collection, however, consists in the fact that the compiler was undoubtedly an Englishman, and put into his work, besides the hackneyed monkish tales from the usual sources, a large number of anecdotes of a local character, and often imparted a local color to one of the old stories. The work is also rich in allusions to English mediaeval superstitions. This collection is one of the most interesting I have examined, and deserves to be more widely known." I had hoped that some young American scholar would edit the work, but I learn now that the task has been undertaken by a French priest.

beyond all praise. Especially in the volume before us Mr. Herbert has shown himself profoundly acquainted with the vast and intricate subject of mediaeval tales. His references are exact and copious and will save the student an enormous amount of labor.

Of the contents of the *Speculum Laicorum* Mr. Herbert says: "There are nearly two hundred tales for which no authority is named. Many of these are evidently derived, directly or indirectly, from the works of Odo of Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry and similar sources, such as the collections of Mary-legends, which had become very numerous before the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The remainder belong to the category of "temporum praeteritorum ac modernorum eventus," which our author probably learnt at hearsay. In the great majority of these the scene is laid in England, generally in some specified locality, as Kent, Winchelsea, Berwick, Eynsham, etc. (especially the first-named, which occurs frequently). Two of the anecdotes (Nos. 33, 34) relate to traits in Henry III's character; five others are narrated as having occurred during his reign (Nos. 208, 280, 298, 364, 421); and others contain marks of time which assign them to the same period, e.g. No. 149 is dated 1247, No. 478 refers to the death of Robert Grosseteste (1253) and Pope Innocent IV (1254), and in No. 265 Boniface of Savoy (ob. 1270) is spoken of as "bonae memoriae."<sup>2</sup>

Next in order is the *Liber Exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti* (p. 414, Additional 18351) of French origin, as Mr. Herbert points out. It is made from the usual sources, but contains one tale which I have never seen before in a Latin prose version. It is No. 28 (chap. xlix, "Gaudium"), the story of the Jongleur

<sup>1</sup> It would be easy to add to Mr. Herbert's references. Sometimes the story is in both Odo of Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry, e.g., Nos. 365 (*J. de Vitry*, 209) and 566 (*J. de Vitry*, 191).

<sup>2</sup> While Thoms owned the MS he published nineteen tales in *Alteutsche Blätter*, II (1840), pp. 74-82, and ten of these were reprinted by Wright in his *Latin Stories*, Percy Society, 1843. Seven stories from MS Additional 33957 were printed by Dr. J. K. Ingram in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, April 10, 1882, and reprinted from *Proceedings*, 2d Series, Vol. II, No. 5. The MS in question formerly belonged to the Diocesan Library of Derry. In the same paper Dr. Ingram referred to another MS in the same library, which is now MS Additional 33956 of the British Museum and will be mentioned later. Mr. Herbert says that many of the tales in the *Speculum Laicorum* were used by the author of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, Paris, 1510, a work I have not seen. Six other MSS of the *Speculum Laicorum* are described by Mr. Herbert. Only one (p. 406, Additional 17723) is of interest from the localisation of some of the stories at Oxford.

turned monk, who dances while the others chant psalms. The French metrical version (found in five MSS only) is well known. Is this prose story the hitherto undiscovered original of the French poem?<sup>1</sup>

Of greater interest is the *Alphabetum Narrationum* (p. 423, Harley 268), usually attributed to Etienne de Besançon, but, according to Mr. Herbert, more probably compiled in 1308 by Arnold de Liège. This interesting discovery of Mr. Herbert was published in *The Library* for January, 1905, pp. 94-101. I was clearly in error in my interpretation of Herolt's citations from "Arnoldus." My excuse is that I followed Oesterley and was unable to see a copy of the *Gnotosolitus* (which is not in the British Museum). The English translation of this interesting collection has been printed by the Early English Text Society (see above), and there is, substantially, a French translation yet unpublished in Royal 15 D. v, analyzed by Mr. Herbert on p. 441. A Catalan translation, as I pointed out many years ago, is in the *Recull de Eximplis* published at Barcelona in 1881-84.

I may mention here, although somewhat out of order, the work known as "Convertimini," from the opening word: "Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro," and probably, as Mr. Herbert thinks, by Robert Holcot. This work, of which there are eight MSS (pp. 116-55, Royal 7 C. i; Cotton, Vitellius C. xiv; Additional 16170; Harley 5369, 5396; Arundel 384; Sloane 1616; and a fragment in Harley 206), is really a treatise (it is called a "Tractatus" in three of the MSS) for the use of preachers, containing moralized *exempla*. The first-mentioned MS contains one hundred and forty-five *exempla*, of which thirty-one are to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum* and eight in Holcot's *Moralitates*. It may be, of course, as Mr. Herbert says, that the author of the present work, like the compilers of the *Gesta*, borrowed from Holcot; but it seems more natural to conclude that Holcot wrote the present work as well as the *Moralitates*, repeat-

<sup>1</sup> See *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. XI (1901), pp. 223-88, "Der Springer unserer lieben Frau," von H. Wächter. The poet says, p. 251, that his original is, "Es vies des anchlens peres. . . . Nos raconte d'un essamplel," and, p. 277, "Che nos racontent li saint pere." The story does not appear in the lists published of the various versions of this work. The editor says, p. 248, "Die lat. Vorlage (ditiés, wie der Dichter, v. 584, sagt) habe ich in den Acta Sanctorum nicht entdecken können." This was, indeed, looking for a needle in a haystack.

ing himself to a certain extent; and that his writings were used, more freely than has hitherto been supposed, in the compilation of the *Gesta Romanorum*. In any case the "Convertimini" presents an attractive subject of investigation.

✓ There remains the category of Collected Tales—Anonymous, comprising no less than forty MSS, and filling two hundred and fifty-eight pages of the *Catalogue*. It is difficult to describe this huge mass of inedited material. It is capable, however, of great compression, since the bulk of the stories is furnished by a few well-known collections from which all mediaeval compilers freely drew. The real value of these compilations consists in the local tales and customs and superstitions which they contain. One of the most interesting of these anonymous collections is that in Royal 7 D. i., which Mr. Herbert describes as "a collection of 315 edifying tales, compiled in England in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably by a Dominican friar at or near Cambridge." This collection was probably one of the sources of the *Speculum Laicorum*, and, as Mr. Herbert says, "contains what appear to be the Latin texts used by William of Waddington for five tales in his *Manuel des péchés*." It also includes an early version (probably the earliest extant) of one of the *Gesta Romanorum* stories. This is the tale technically known as "Fuss ab," Oesterley No. 127, who cites: "Jac. de Vitriaco; *Scala Celi*, 15; *Promptuarium exemplorum de Temp.* 24." These references all belong to No. 80, "Angel and Hermit," and I do not now recall any parallels to No. 127 except those in the MSS cited by Mr. Herbert.

Other extensive and interesting collections are: Arundel 506, two hundred and forty-eight stories, in three distinct collections; Harley 268, two hundred and nine tales; Additional 15833, one hundred and sixty-eight tales, of which a certain number are of German origin; Additional 33956, a collection of seven hundred and sixty-two *exempla* compiled from various sources for the use of preachers, and arranged in groups according to subjects, a very interesting collection, connected with Royal 7 D. i and the *Speculum Laicorum*; and Additional 27336, three hundred and forty-six tales, evidently compiled by a Franciscan in northern Italy (see also Additional 11872, another collection formed in Italy, probably

by a Franciscan, and Harley 3938, also of Italian origin), containing a considerable number of new stories. I may mention finally two collections in English: Harley 1288 and 2250, the latter extracted from John Mirk's *Festial* (printed in Early English Text Society, 1905).

In the Anonymous Collections are to be found many Miracles of the Virgin, to be added to the collections already analyzed by the late Mr. Ward in Vol. II of this *Catalogue*. These additional miracles occur in the third volume on pp. 467 (25 miracles); 523 (23); 540 (12); 546 (12); 557 (12); 575 (9); 696 (29); and 699 (5). Besides these there are two MSS, Additional 18344 and Sloane 2478, containing some eighteen miracles of the Virgin.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the range of this volume is a narrow one compared with that of Vols. I and II, which contained, among others, romances belonging to the great cycles of antiquity, those concerning Arthur and Charlemagne, northern and eastern tales, Aesopic fables, visions of Heaven and Hell, Miracles of the Virgin, etc. The relatively few questions which arise in this volume have been discussed by Mr. Herbert in a very satisfactory manner. We have already seen his interesting contribution to the authorship of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*; on p. 88, Sloane 3102, he makes a similar investigation as to the compiler of the *Tractatus de abundantia exemplorum*, whom he identifies with Humbert de Romans. Mr. Herbert has overlooked the fact that the writer of this article, in a letter to the (*London*) *Academy*, January 30, 1886, pointed out Hauréau's mistake and suggested the authorship of Humbert de Romans. In the examination of Arundel 292 Mr. Herbert gives a very complete and lucid account of Odo of Cheriton, so long a mysterious figure in the history of mediaeval fiction. In the same way there is an excellent summary of the question of the *Gesta Romanorum*, of which fourteen Latin, two English, and one German, manuscripts are described by Mr. Herbert. His conclusions are worth repeating: "On the whole, the evidence available hitherto points to the conclusion that the *Gesta* was originally formed in Germany early in the fourteenth century, the writings of Holcot, as well as other English sources, being utilized; that this original compilation is represented, more or less exactly, by the Inns-

bruck MS of 1342; and that the Anglo-Latin MSS contain a free adaptation made in England about half a century later."

As has already been said, Mr. Herbert shows a profound knowledge of mediaeval fiction and has made this volume of the *Catalogue* an entertaining as well as a useful work. One illustration may be given of the author's wide reading and of the value of *exempla* for the question of the diffusion of popular tales. Jacques de Vitry tells a story (ed. Crane, 88) of a man flying from his master. He is mounted on a roan (*rufus*) horse, with a boy in front of him to show the way. The boy tells him he is pursued by a man on a black horse, and, presently, by a man on a white horse; but the fugitive easily outrides them. When the boy, however, tells his master that another is pursuing them on a roan horse, the fugitive directs the boy to guide the horse into a stony path and through the water into a miry road. They escape, and the horses of different colors are explained by Jacques de Vitry as adversity, prosperity, and the reputation of sanctity, with which the devil tempts man. Mr. Herbert says, p. 6: "General E. Daumas, *Les chevaux du Sahara* (5th ed. 1858, p. 140), tells this anecdote of Ben Dyab, a chief of the desert about 1500. He asks his son the colour of his foremost pursuers' horses. His son answers, 'White.' 'Ride in the sun,' says Ben Dyab, 'they will melt like butter.' Again, 'Black.' 'Ride on the stones, they are as tender-footed as a negress of the Soudan.' But when the son says, 'Dark chestnut and dark bays,' Ben Dyab exclaims, 'Then spur for your life.' This is a curious instance of the tenacious life of a popular tale." It is, of course, difficult to say whether Jacques de Vitry picked up this tale when he was in the Orient or heard it from a returned crusader.

Thanks to Mr. Herbert's innumerable cross-references it is possible to trace a given story through a great number of versions. In some cases a story thought to be rare is found to occur not infrequently. An example or two will show how entertaining the *Catalogue* is. Mussafia in his *Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, III, p. 51, No. 79, cites from Herolt's *Promptorium, De Miraculis B.V.M.*, Ex. 79 (78 in ed. of Venice, 1606), the story of the Parisian cleric who ardently desired to behold the beauty of the Virgin. An angel appeared to him and informed him that his wish would be granted,



but that he would become blind. The cleric determined to cover with his hand one eye and thus save it. He does so, but regrets that he did not behold the Virgin with both eyes and begs to see her again even if he has to lose both eyes. The Virgin is moved by his piety and appears to him and restores his sight. Mussafia says: "Diese recht anziehende Legende ist mir in lateinischen Sammlungen nicht aufgestossen. Sie kommt im Englischen vor und Horstmann (*Altengl. Legenden*, N.F., 1881, S. 499 ff.) hat sie nach einer Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts abgedruckt. Auch Zupitza, welcher sie zum Gegenstande einer Erörterung machte (*Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LXXXII, S. 465), vermochte keine andere Fassung als die von Herolt nachzuweisen, bemerkt aber, dass die englische Erzählung einer anderen Quelle gefolgt sein müsse. Bolte, der aus einer Berliner Hs. des 15. Jahr. eine ähnliche Legende in alamannischer Mundart (*Alemannia*, XVII, 2) druckte, gibt zu derselben keinen Nachweis." The story occurs in Additional 15833, No. 123 (*Catalogue*, p. 593). Mr. Herbert says: "Agrees substantially with Herolt, see this *Cat.* II, pp. 674, 687 (Additional 33956, No. 29; Additional 19909, a MS of Herolt's *Prompt. de Mirac. B.V.M.*).<sup>1</sup>

I remember being very much struck many years ago by a story in the *Speculum Laicorum*, which I did not otherwise know. It was the tale of St. Theodore, Bishop of Sion, who was tormented with gout and could relieve his pain only by cooling his feet. His fishermen in midsummer find a great block of ice in the river and bring it to the bishop. The bishop rested his feet on it and assuaged his pain, but the ice did not melt and finally a voice issued from it saying that the soul of a sinner was confined in it and could be liberated only if thirty masses were said for its repose on thirty con-

<sup>1</sup> In another case, Mussafia, *op. cit.*, III (1889), p. 7, n. 1, says that he does not know the story "Kleiner Teufel in der Kirche," referred to by Mr. Ward in a communication to him. In the second volume of the *Catalogue*, published in 1893, p. 704 (Royal 8 C. iv, No. 42) the story appears in an intelligible form, with references to Vincent of Beauvais, VII (VIII), 118, *Scala Celi*, f. 117, and *Prompt. Exemp. C. iii*. Another interesting story is mentioned by Mussafia, *op. cit.*, p. 12, as otherwise unknown to him. It is the story of the beggar who finds an old neglected image of the Virgin, which had been thrown out of a neighboring church. He builds a chapel out of branches and puts the image in it and adorns it with flowers. The Virgin appears to him and sends him to warn a bishop who was growing forgetful of her. As a sign of his divine commission the Host turns into a child in the bishop's hands. The beggar accomplishes his mission and then enters a cloister. This story also occurs in *Cat.*, Vol. II, pp. 698, No. 17 (Additional 32248); 659, No. 26 (Additional 18929).

secutive days. When half of the masses were said the devil stirred up a tumult in the city and the bishop had to omit the service for a day. That meant beginning all over again. Twice this occurred. The third time all the masses but one were said when the bishop was told that the whole city and palace were in flames. The bishop declared that he would not give up the mass even if the whole city and his palace were consumed. When the last mass was said the ice suddenly melted and the flames vanished "*tanquam fantasma*." The only parallel I could find to this highly dramatic story was an incomplete version in the *Libro de los Exemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 503 (No. 28). Years afterward I found the story in the *Legende Aurea*, cap. CLXIII (ed. Graesse, p. 731), "*De Commemoratione animarum*." There are four versions in Herbert's *Catalogue*: pp. 330, No. 21 (Harley 4196, in the English Metrical Homilies); 383, No. 156 (Additional 11284, *Speculum Laicorum*); 630, No. 54 (Additional 33956); and 685, No. 43 (Harley 1288). Hervieux prints a version from the Douce MS 88 in his *Fabulistes latins*, Vol. IV (1896), p. 254, Odo of Cheriton.

The great value of the present volume for students of mediaeval fiction is clear from the little I have said, and Mr. Herbert has earned the gratitude of all students in that field. A fourth volume is promised, which will include Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and their precursors in Boccaccio's *Decameron* and elsewhere, and romances by Petrarch, Aeneas Sylvius, and others, together with an Appendix containing MSS acquired since the publication of the previous volumes or inadvertently omitted from them. A General Index to all four volumes will also be added. If the tales could be indexed under catch-words it would indeed be a boon to students.

It is to be hoped that this volume will revive an interest in mediaeval Latin prose fiction. A knowledge of this subject is so necessary for an understanding of the mediaeval literature of Europe. The tales in this volume and the Miracles of the Virgin registered in Vol. II have profoundly influenced every class of literature in the Romance, as well as in the Germanic, languages. An interesting introduction to the study of the texts exists in Ulrich's *Proben der lateinischen Novellistik des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1906. The four great basic works: the *Vitae Patrum*, the *Dialogues* of Gregory, the

*Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, and the *Legenda Aurea*, are accessible and are most interesting reading from every standpoint. What is greatly needed is some general work on the subject; Gröber's huge *Uebersicht* in the *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, is singularly unattractive in form. An interesting and valuable work could be made on the most popular mediaeval Latin legends in their relations to the versions in the modern languages. This *Catalogue* will be helpful in this task and the student should not overlook the amazing treasure-house of parallels (for the tales of oriental origin) to be found in Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège, 1892-1909. May some American scholar find his field in some part of this vast and interesting subject.

T. F. CRANE

ITHACA, N.Y.  
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## THE GERMAN ROMANTIC "MÄRCHEN"<sup>1</sup>

It was only in the shorter narrative forms that the members of the so-called Romantic groups in Germany found success. Friedrich Schlegel, it is true, was filled with a boiling enthusiasm for Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, and proclaimed the "Roman" as the romantic form *par excellence*,<sup>2</sup> but all of the attempts of the Romanticists in this field, from Tieck's *Sternbald* to the last of the melancholy refurbishings of Fouqué, remained fragments, or lack the marrow of life. The Novelle, if not a creation of the Romanticists, was at least a form which they developed or rounded into shape; but from the formal side their accomplishments in this field seem crude when compared with the later creations of virtuosos like Keller and C. F. Meyer and Storm. In the Märchen, however, Romantic art reached its highest development, and both in their reproduction of the Volksmärchen and in the more subjective Kunstmärchen, the writers of this period developed a style which has not been equaled by succeeding generations, but has cast its spell over the entire nineteenth century and has still vigor to inspire imitation and reproduction.

In the Märchen the Romanticists found the most convenient form for the expression of their ideas and longings. Not all of them go so far as Hardenberg-Novalis, who proclaims the Märchen the canon of all poetry,<sup>3</sup> but all, program makers like the Schlegels and poets like Tieck and Brentano alike, find themselves strongly attracted by this form. "Es kann kein Zweifel darüber sein," writes Hettner in 1849, at the beginning of that decade following the Revolution which Erich Marcks has so strikingly described as *bleiern*, "es kann kein Zweifel darüber sein, dass das Märchen nicht mehr dem Wesen unserer Zeit entspricht"; but, he adds, with the Romanticists it was entirely different: whoever wishes to know them from their most attractive side must become acquainted with their

<sup>1</sup> Since the preparation of this paper, which has been completed in its present form since 1908, much new light has been thrown upon the Romantic Märchen by R. Benz in his *Märchen Dichtung der Romantiker*, Gotha, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, 2 A., II, 373.

<sup>3</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, hrsgb. von J. Minor, III, 4.

epic and dramatic Märchen. It was the free play of fancy that drew the Romanticists to this form, the subjective freedom to roam in the domain of unreality and dreams, to destroy and re-create at will a world with its own mythology and nature laws. In the Märchen, with its essentially symbolic nature, men like Novalis and Brentano found the best field for that "Vermittelung des Ewigen und Irdischen auf dem Gebiete der Poesie," which Eichendorff defines as the true aspiration of Romantic art.

No literary form, then, equaled the Märchen in popularity, and its vogue begins with the very first ironical beginnings of the new spirit that Tieck insinuated into the stale and unprofitable *Strauss-federgeschichten* which he was editing for Nicolai in Berlin. Tieck's *Volksmärchen von Peter Leberecht* appeared in 1797 as the first poetic achievement of the so-called Romantic school, standing among the publications of Nicolai's press like a Trojan horse, big with the possibilities of disaster to the prosaic spirit. The collection was greeted with joy by Wilhelm Schlegel in the *Athenaeum*.<sup>1</sup> He finds in Tieck's nature Märchen, *Der Blonde Eckbert*, a poetic prose which reminds him forcibly of Goethe's "golden Märchen," which he calls "das Märchen par excellence." Even before Novalis' *Lehrling zu Sais* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, containing his two symbolic Märchen, appeared in 1802, Clemens Brentano had already written the first of his capricious stories, *Die Rose*, and may have already begun his *Rheinmärchen*.<sup>2</sup> Three years later, in 1806, after the publication by Brentano and Arnim of their great collection, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, the enthusiasm for gathering the accessible fragments of popular poetry transferred itself almost immediately to the field of the Märchen. Even before the *Wunderhorn* had left the press, Arnim had invited his friends to send for publication any folk-tales which they could gather; upon receipt of the *Wunderhorn* and infected by this enthusiasm for popular poetry, Otto Runge wrote down the two Low-German tales, "Vom Machandelboom" and "Vom Fischer und sine Fru,"<sup>3</sup> and about the same

<sup>1</sup> I, 167. W. Schlegels sämtliche Werke, XII, 27 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps as early as 1800. Cf. O. Bleich, *Herrigs Archiv*, XCVI, 43 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. Steig, *Herrigs Archiv*, CVII, 281, discusses interestingly the importance of Runge's contribution.

time Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm began to get together the great collection which they afterward published as *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. In 1808 Arnim's *Einsiedlerzeitung* published, along with many other fragments of folklore, Runge's "Märchen vom Machandelboom," which with its simple, naïve style gave the chord for the Grimms in their rewriting of the popular stories, and drew a line at once between the Volksmärchen, a retelling in the simple narrative manner of the peasantry, and the Kunstmärchen, including the essentially original productions of Novalis and the subjective, capricious re-creations of the popular Märchen by Tieck and Brentano. In 1812, a momentous year for the history of the Märchen, appeared the first volume of Grimms' collection and somewhat earlier the collection of their rival Büsching—*Volksagen, Märchen und Legenden*—while Tieck's *Phantasia*, with its new and old stories, gave fresh impetus to the Kunstmärchen. Indeed, it is difficult to exaggerate the interest and activity in the entire field of Märchendichtung during the first and second decades of the century. Hoffmann's *Meister Floh*, appearing in 1821, shows the enthusiasm for the ironical Märchen as a vehicle for satire still at the flood; and one has but to glance into the Taschenbücher and Almanache and other periodicals of the time to find all possible varieties of the Märchen form.

What did the Romanticists conceive under this complex and variable form? The word and to some extent the idea too were an inheritance from the Aufklärung, and indeed from a much earlier period. It is necessary to take a brief glance at these sources of the Märchen, determining, as they do to some extent, Romantic practice. In the sixteenth century the Neapolitan Giovanni Battista Basile had collected and retold in his *Pentamerone*,<sup>1</sup> with coarse realism, but with real popular humor, the folk-tales of Southern Italy. In France in 1697 Charles Perrault defied the canons of the elegant age of Louis XIV by telling in a simple, childlike manner many international Märchen, such as his "Peau d'Ane,"

<sup>1</sup> Accessible to me only in the German translation by P. Haichen, Berlin. Felix Liebrecht's translation, Breslau, 1846, has an introduction by J. Grimm. Cf. also Grimm's characterisation of Basile in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, III, 276 ff.

"Cendrillon," "La Belle au Bois Dormant," "La Barbe Bleue," etc.<sup>1</sup> Perrault's are real Volksmärchen; in the hands of a contemporary of his, the Countess d'Aulnoy,<sup>2</sup> they become elegant fairy stories, closely adapted to the spirit of the age. With the advent of the *Arabian Nights*, came new motives; and with the spread of the Aufklärung, a pedagogical direction. Wieland caught the spirit of the rococo "Cabinet des Fées" and imitated them, though the satirical side-thrust is rarely ever wanting. His *Don Sylvio von Rosalba* has much the same relation to the popular Märchen as Cervantes' *Don Quixote* has to the romances of chivalry. Wieland's definition of a Märchen bears the stamp of the pedagogical Aufklärung.<sup>3</sup> He demands the free play of fancy in a world of dreams, where the strange and paradoxical conceals a deeper meaning, with all the complications of an eighteenth-century romance. For the children's fairy story, told in the natural tone of the child, he would allow no place in literature. Herder, in spite of his enthusiasm for popular poetry, arrived at no clear conception of the Märchen. He finds it deeply rooted in human nature, and claims for it a mighty influence in the education or corruption of the human soul.<sup>4</sup> Musäus in his *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, 1787, based himself in part on Perrault and Basile; and with the true spirit of a son of the Aufklärung, he makes use of the Märchen as a weapon for fighting the whining sentimentality of the tearful literary successors of *Werther* and *Siegwart*.<sup>5</sup> In part Musäus tells his stories from popular tradition, and in motive and language he weaves many popular elements into his Märchen. Wherever the motives come from, even if, as has lately been denied by Erich Bleich,<sup>6</sup> some of the stories were invented out and out by Musäus, there is in him no trace of the *naïveté* of the Volksmärchen, nor any trace of the exuberant freedom of fancy belonging to the Kuntsmärchen of Romanticism. Our delight in his stories is clouded by the fact

<sup>1</sup> Perrault, *Les contes de ma mère l'Oye*, edited by P. L. Jacob, Paris, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Lothelassen, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur im 17. Jahrh.*, III, 260.

<sup>3</sup> Wieland, *Werke*, XIX, 254.

<sup>4</sup> Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, XXIII, 373.

<sup>5</sup> "Er fasste die glückliche Idee, durch seine Volksmärchen das Gewimmel und Gewinnsele der Siegwartianer zu übertönen."—Tieck, "Peter Leberecht," *Schriften*, XIV, 165.

<sup>6</sup> *Herrige Archiv*, CVIII, 4.



that the author never lets us forget that he himself does not believe in talking animals or dancing gnomes and fairies. Even in the cleverly told "Melechsala" and in the "Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth" the extraordinary events suggest obligato witticisms *à la Voltaire*. In addition, Musäus draws no line of distinction between Mythus, Sage, Märchen, Märe, Fabel, etc., and includes among his Volksmärchen stories, like "Melechsala," which contain merely a few legendary motives, or others, like "Libussa," which are nothing but witty Novellen.

An epoch-making event in the development of the Märchen was the appearance of Goethe's "Märchen" in the *Unterhaltung deutscher Ausgewanderten* in 1796-97. With the exception of *Wilhelm Meister*, no work of Goethe's met with such extravagant praise from the members of the Jena group of Romanticists. "Das Märchen par excellence" is Wilhelm Schlegel's opinion, already referred to. "Eine erzählte Oper" is Novalis' picturesque description;<sup>1</sup> only Tieck, in the conversations in *Phantasus* fifteen years later,<sup>2</sup> criticizes its lack of intelligible content, "Es verfliegt und zersplittert noch mehr als ein Traum," and regards Klingsohr's Märchen in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* as much more intelligible. That the obscure symbolism of Goethe's story was as difficult to his contemporaries as to us is apparent from the reviews of that time: what attracted Schlegel and Novalis was the glitter and music of the poetic prose, the profound symbolism of the conception of nature, and, above all, the freedom of fancy, the *pro ratione voluntas* so sympathetic to Romantic art canons. Goethe's symbolic conception of nature, as it were the creation of a new mythology, discovered a fresh possibility in the Märchen, which one member of the Romantic group, Novalis, was not slow to adopt and enlarge upon. Of the half-dozen or more Märchen which Goethe in a letter to Schiller claims to have had in mind in 1798,<sup>3</sup> only two, "Die neue Melusine" and "Der neue Paris," were written down eventually, and they do not appear until years later, too late to be of influence on the Romantic Märchen, which had ere this turned away from the symbolic to

<sup>1</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, III, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Tieck, *Schriften*, IV, 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Goethe an Schiller, 3 Feb. 1798, *Briefwechsel* (Cotta), 4 A. 2, 24.

other forms. Indeed, the debt is rather on the other side, at least in "Der neue Paris," where Goethe is strongly influenced by Romantic mediaeval motives.

We need not expect to find among the program makers of the Romantic School any such sharp characterization of the nature of the Märchen as would answer the demands of modern philology. The very nebulousity of style which marks the Romantic theorists, with the exception of W. Schlegel, would stand in the way of such definition, and a sharp delimitation of any literary genius was diametrically opposed to Romantic art theories. To attempt to classify *Wilhelm Meister*, says Fr. Schlegel, "das ist als wenn ein Kind Mond und Gestirne mit der Hand greifen und in sein Schächtelchen packen will."<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere the same critic says that there is only one poetry and that the only permissible question is, whether it be beautiful—"nach der Rubrik könne nur der Pedant fragen."<sup>2</sup> Even with this bumptious admonition in mind, we can still find enough that is definite in romantic theories of the Märchen to repay our search.

In the same "Gespräch über die Poesie" from which the last quotation is taken Fr. Schlegel himself concedes that there do exist certain original forms which do not overlap, and of these the Märchen and Novelle seem the exact contrast of each other: of the Märchen he demands in one of the *Athenaeum* fragments<sup>3</sup> an unending wealth of fancy, for its aim is not merely to entertain the imaginative faculty, but to throw its magic power over the intellect and excite the emotions as well. Indeed, no other form of literature fulfils so completely the definition of true poetry as set forth in Schlegel's impassioned plea for a new mythology: "Denn das ist der Anfang aller Poesie, den Gang und die Geetze der vernünftig denkenden Vernunft aufzuheben und uns wieder in die schöne Verwirrung der Fantasie, in das ursprüngliche Chaos der menschlichen Natur zu versetzen."<sup>4</sup>

With more enthusiasm, but with equal indefiniteness, Novalis places the Märchen before us as the canon of all poetry. Fr. Schlegel had called the Roman *the* literary form of Romanticism: Novalis

<sup>1</sup> *Jugendchriften*, II, 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 374.

<sup>3</sup> No. 429, *Jugendchriften*, II, 284.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 362.

rates Roman and Märchen equally high.<sup>1</sup> From his ninth year on the reading of Märchen had been his favorite amusement,<sup>2</sup> the paramount freedom of fancy and the play of the supernatural and miraculous appealed to him in this literary form because they coincided with his philosophical theories. The boundless freedom of the human will, which as with a magic touch transforms the possible into the impossible, he found already existent in the Märchen, where miracles and wonders play hide and seek with the realities of life. To his mystic vision the outer world of reality had already been superseded by an inner Märchenwelt, to him the real world, and in the Märchen of literature he finds a reflection of his own inner life. He exhausts himself in efforts to find a satisfactory characterization of the Märchen—a definition one can hardly call it. It is to him a dream vision without inner coherence, a mixture of wonderful things and events, a musical fantasy, a harmonious succession of chords from an Aeolian harp; it is nature itself. In the course of time all history must become a Märchen, as it was in the beginning.<sup>3</sup> In the *Jugendhefte* we find numerous attempts to get nearer to the inner nature of this puzzling form. "Alle Romane, wo wahre Liebe vorkommt, sind Märchen."<sup>4</sup> He classifies Goethe's *Werther* and *Wilhelm Meister* as Märchen;<sup>5</sup> and finally exclaims, "Alles ist ein Märchen."<sup>6</sup> The real Märchen must be a prophecy; the writer must be able to read the future. It is due, he says, only to our own weakness that we cannot look into a fairy world. "Alle Märchen sind nur Träume von jener heimatlichen Welt, die überall und nirgends ist."<sup>7</sup> With somewhat greater definiteness he sketches the characteristics of a sort of higher Märchen, which, without losing the freedom of the Märchen, is to contain a symbolic ground tone, in other words, a Märchen like Goethe's.<sup>8</sup> We shall see presently that it is just this kind that Novalis represented most clearly among the Romanticists.

Schlegel and Novalis were struggling for a definition of the genus, with the quite correct feeling that here was a literary form new and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Haym, *Romant. Schule*, 379.

<sup>2</sup> Kreisamtman Justin Minor, *Novalis' Schriften*, I, III; also Tieck, *ibid.*, xxi ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Schriften*, II, 308 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment aus der Nachlese von Bülow, *Schriften*, III, 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 309.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 327.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 310.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 20.

unique. They failed to reach a definition because, with the buoyant enthusiasm of the creative period of Romanticism, they were unwilling to accept any limits. Tieck, the less original but more consistent spirit, was scarcely more successful. In the art discussions of *Phantastus* (1812), the company seek to analyze the nature of the Märchen, but get no further than the discovery that there is in all Märchen a common chord, "jener wundersame Ton, der in uns anschlägt, wenn wir das Wort Märchen nennen hören."<sup>1</sup> The author finds in the Märchen a mingling of the charming and horrible, of strange and childlike traits, a confusion, which in some cases drives our imagination to poetic madness.<sup>2</sup> How far the connotation of the vague term goes is evidenced by an exclamation of Rosalis, one of the characters in *Phantastus*, who calls the beautiful sunset "ein Märchen."<sup>3</sup>

E. T. A. Hoffmann, in the *Serapionsbrüder*, demands that the Märchen bear a firm kernel in spite of all of its fluttering fancy and freedom, in itself a plea for the Märchen of ethical tendency. "Das Märchen muss nachtönen, nachgeniessen."<sup>4</sup>

It is evident that all of the romantic theories of the Märchen thus far examined do little more than emphasize this form as a romantic form *par excellence*, a form in which unrestrained freedom of imagination and wealth of fancy may riot, without excluding a deeper, symbolic undertone. A further step in the direction of clearness came with the publication of Grimms' *Deutsche Sagen* in 1816. Fr. Schlegel had set the Märchen over against the Novelle; the Grimms drew a deep line between Märchen and Sage, in that the Märchen is the more poetical and stands as an entity in itself, independent of time and place, a bit of nature poetry. In order to accept this definition, however, one must first accept the Grimms' distinction between nature poetry and art poetry, and that brings us to an examination of the Romantic *practice* in the Märchen.

The first of the Romanticists to make use of the Märchen form was Tieck, who had begun to create a romantic literature ere Fr. Schlegel had developed his romantic program. A distinction must

<sup>1</sup> Tieck, *Schriften*, IV, 119 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 129 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, hrsgb. von E. Grisebach, VI, 250 ff.

be made between the earlier Märchen of Tieck and those written after his return from Italy which appeared for the first time in *Phantasmus*. The former show, besides the satirical-ironical fantasies of "Blaubart" and the coarse-drawn woodcuts of the "Heymonskinder," such simple and yet powerful Naturmärchen as "Der blonde Eckbert" and "Der Runenberg"; the latter are in part Novellen, with merely remarkable episodes, like "Der Pokal" and "Liebeszauber," or incline rather toward the Sage, like "Die Elfen," showing the unconscious influence of the rising tide of interest in folklore. Tieck was in no sense a clear-cut theorist, and his use of the term Märchen is inconsistent enough to satisfy any Romantic foe of sharp classifications. The earliest work of his to bear this title, so far as I have been able to discover, is "Die Versöhnung," written in 1795, a story of a ghostly apparition with a background of rival brothers, in the best style of Vulpius & Company, only that here the setting is not a mediaeval castle, but a deep forest glade, and we observe already the mysterious nature spell which later on is so remarkable a feature of Tieck's nature Märchen. Strikingly enough, it appears to be just this gloomy nature background that prompts the use of the title "Märchen," for "Der Fremde," another ghost story, 1796, without the gloomy nature surroundings, bears no such subtitle. Furthermore, the collection entitled *Volksmärchen von Peter Leberecht*, which appeared in 1797, contains such widely divergent species as the consciously naïve re-telling of the old Volksbücher, like "Die Heymonskinder" and "Die schöne Magelone," the satirical fantastic dramatizations of old tales, such as "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart," and "Der gestiefelte Kater," and gloomy stories of nature, like "Der blonde Eckbert." The difficulty of finding a definition broad enough to fit so widely divergent a group is increased when we include later Märchen, like "Der Runenberg" and "Liebeszauber." In the earlier group, as in "Der blonde Eckbert," the chief motive is a certain demoniacal element which grows in man's bosom amid gloomy nature surroundings until it finally overmasters him; in the *Phantasmus* group there is scarcely a trace of the supernatural in the horrible events which lead the heroes to insanity and suicide.

Musäus used the Märchen as a vehicle for his mockery at super-

stitution and at belief in the Märchen itself: Tieck seizes it as a means of making sport of the self-conceited Aufklärung; and it is a clever remark of Köpke's that the title "Kindermärchen" applied to such satirical dramas as "Der gestiefelte Kater" is in itself a mocking shaft at the overwise pedantry of the Nicolais.<sup>1</sup> The manner of attack and the form both came from the Venetian Carlo Gozzi. In his *Fiabe Teatrali*, thirty years before, Gozzi had put the old stories of the Commedia del' Arte on the stage as a part of his campaign against the Frenchified comedies of Goldoni.<sup>2</sup> These mask dramas of Gozzi's were enthusiastically received by Wilhelm Schlegel,<sup>3</sup> and Tieck found in Gozzi a kindred spirit. In place of the puppet-like insipidities of the Italian's mask dramas, however, the German poet gives us much more serious content and treatment, the keen-tipped irony of "Blaubart" and the ethical ground tone of "Der gestiefelte Kater" contrasting sharply with Gozzi's loose, operetta-like dramatization.<sup>4</sup> This deeper meaning, which Tieck partly admits in theory as an essential element in the Märchen, is indeed present in all of his riper works, reminding us that the poet never entirely freed himself from the ban of the Aufklärung, as represented by Wieland and the Cabinet des Fées. In some cases one can write in below the moral of the story; in others, like the "Runenberg," Tieck's best Märchen, the ethical ground tone rings continually. More and more, as the years go by, Tieck's Märchen tend toward the Novelle, as the freedom of fancy of the earlier period yields to the chastening of ill health and advancing age.

Novalis' mystic words regarding the Märchen take form and shape when we examine the two which we have from him, that of Hyacinth and Rosenblüt in the *Lehrlinge zu Sais* and Klingsohr's Märchen in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Both are "higher" Märchen

<sup>1</sup> Rud. Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck* (Leipzig, 1855), 208 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Memoirs of Carlo Gozzi*, translated by J. A. Symonds, London, 1890, Vol. II, where the author gives a minute account of his dispute with Goldoni and Chiari, and the production of his mask comedies. Gozzi's influence on the Romanticists has never been properly treated: the best résumé is to be found in Köster's *Schiller als Dramaturg*, 217 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, V, 365.

<sup>4</sup> "Ohne Gozzi nachahmen zu wollen, hatte mich die Freude an seinen Fabeln veranlasst, auf andere Weise und in deutscher Art ein fantastisches Märchen für die Bühne zu bearbeiten."—Tieck, speaking of the writing of "Blaubart," *Schriften*, I, vii; cf. also XV, 301.

in the sense indicated above;<sup>1</sup> that is, both have a deep, symbolical character. The former is rather in the style of Tieck; the latter is directly dependent on Goethe. In that profound nature rhapsody, the *Lehrlinge zu Sais*,<sup>2</sup> the author sees in the Märchen an attempt on the part of primitive man to explain the meaning of the world. As an illustration of the close alliance between poetry and nature he tells the story of Hyacinth, who sets forth to find Isis, the mystery of nature, and finds her at last in the person of his childhood love, Rosenblüt. The allegory, which contains something of Tieck's ethical basis, is almost lost sight of in the mystic beauty of Novalis' language. The romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* itself is saturated with the spirit of the Märchen, as the poet understands it. Dream and reality merge into each other with scarcely perceptible boundaries. The hero Heinrich meets a number of wonderful persons, each of whom is the allegorical representative of some phase of human experience, wonderful events crowd upon his senses, and we know from Novalis' notes that he intended that the Märchen world should reveal itself much oftener in the unwritten second part than it did in the first.<sup>3</sup>

Klingsohr's Märchen, which closes the first part of the romance, owes much to Goethe's Märchen. Both point to the setting-free from an enchantment and the beginning of a new era. With Goethe, this is probably accomplished through the union of the German people with the true ideals of art and beauty; with Novalis the enchantment is brought to an end when Eros (Love) and Freya (Longing) are united in the realm of poesy. This mystic allegory was to have its fulfilment in the union of Heinrich and Mathilde in the second part. Aside from the main idea, numerous minor motives hark back to Goethe, such as the lapidary style of the questions and answers in the colloquies. The brilliance and music of Novalis' language surpass even Goethe's, and the sense of a concealed and difficult allegory is no greater.<sup>4</sup> Forms are clearly drawn,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Novalis, *Schriften*, III, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Paralipomena*, *Schriften*, IV, 254, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Haym, *Romantische Schule*, 383 ff., certainly exaggerates when he says, "Von einem unbefangenen Genuss dieser Dichtung kann nicht die Rede sein." In general, the difficulties of interpreting Klingsohr's Märchen are not nearly so great as is supposed, if one accepts certain mystic flourishes merely as decorative material. "Einzelne Züge sind bloss als Arabesken zu betrachten."—Novalis' letter to Fr. Schlegel, Raich, *Novalis' Briefwechsel mit Fr., etc., Schlegel*, S. 139.

events clearly told. What torments the reader here is just what Novalis emphasized as the innermost essence of the Märchen: absolute freedom of imagination and an absolute lack of a logical succession of events. "Der Dichter betet den Zufall an"<sup>1</sup>—the lack of motivation is, indeed, just that reflection of the Zufällig in nature which the poet sought. In the magical illumination of Novalis' rich imagination the wonderful or miraculous does not strike us as impossible, or even unusual. The real world has been completely replaced by the world of fancy: "Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt." To explain the genesis of Klingsohr's Märchen one must take Fichte and Jacob Boehme in hand as well as Goethe.

Not symbolical, but in many cases having a deep ethical basis, are the Märchen of Clemens Brentano.<sup>2</sup> In the charming "Kommanditchen" Brentano tells of his childhood enthusiasm for Märchen, and describes with pathetic beauty the tiny fairy kingdom of Vadutz, built out of an empty hogshead by himself and his sister in the attic of the old house in Frankfort. Doubtless it was this memory that gave his Märchen in the first instance the childlike tone, which remains the ruling tone, in spite of all the ironical fancies of the author and the additions and changes made in later years, when he had given himself up to a mystic view of life. In part he uses literary originals, as in the six stories based on Basile's *Pentamerone*,<sup>3</sup> in part the Märchen are his own invention, as in "Müller Radlauf" and in "Das Märchen vom Hause Schaarenberg"—everywhere his imagination runs riot. From Basile's book, which he found in his father's library,<sup>4</sup> he had probably already begun to draw the outlines of some of his stories,<sup>5</sup> when, in 1808, J. Grimm invited him to join

<sup>1</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, III, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hrgb. von Guido Görres, 2 Bde. Cf. H. Cardauns, *Die Märchen Clemens Brentanos* (Köln, 1895).

<sup>3</sup> There are seven stories taken from Basile, if we include "Das Märchen von den Märchen," which corresponds to the introduction in Basile. It was Clemens probably who first called J. Grimm's attention to Basile. Cf. *Briefwechsel zwischen J. und W. Grimm aus der Jugendzeit* (Weimar, 1881), 153.

<sup>4</sup> Diel-Kretten, *Clemens Brentano* (Freiburg, 1877), II, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Bleich, *Herrigs Archiv*, XCVI, 43 ff., sets the origin of Brentano's fragmentary "Rose" as early as 1800; Cardauns, 59 ff., thinks that he was working on the *Rheinmärchen* as early as 1802. In 1805, in a letter to Arnim, he speaks of working over Italian Kindermärchen, meaning evidently Basile (Steig, *A. v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, 156). Interesting as an earlier instance of Brentano's free attitude toward popular tradition is "Die Geschichte des ersten Bärenhäuters" in the *Zeitung für Einsiedler* (Pfaff, 217 ff.), where he has transformed the old Märchen from *Simplicissimus* in a quaint manner.



in a collection of Volksmärchen which was to be undertaken by various scholars and to go over Germany as with a fine-toothed comb for these remnants of popular poetry.<sup>1</sup> Differences in theory as to the treatment of their findings soon arose,<sup>2</sup> however, between Grimm and Brentano, and the latter went ahead writing Märchen in his own way. Two years later, in 1810, his friends Schinkel and Savigny in Berlin beg for some of Brentano's stories for their children.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the Italian Märchen, and others re-created from literary sources, whose origin falls in these years, there may have been still others, based on popular motives, and possibly lost during the period of the poet's renunciation of literature and all its works, after his conversion in 1816. It was probably in this period of tormenting soul-struggles, which began in 1814 and terminated with the poet's return to the communion of the church three years later, that Brentano's *Rheinmärchen* were written down. They are all essentially original with Brentano, and are all localized in and about the Rheingau. Doubtless some of them go back in concept to his earliest visit to the beautiful Rheinland, but it is a fair supposition that the poet found relief from his religious unrest in the years 1814-17 in weaving into Märchen form the legends and sagas of the romantic Rhineland.<sup>4</sup>

It was not until 1837 that Brentano, emerging for the moment from the sea of mysticism in which he had become engulfed, finally published his collection of Märchen. Difficult as it is to establish the genesis of the various stories, they are all alike in one essential particular: they all are, or were originally, Kindermärchen, and this determined to some extent their contents and form. The

<sup>1</sup> Diel-Kretten, *op. cit.*, II, 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For Jacob Grimm's view of Brentano's method of procedure in his collections, cf. *Briefwechsel aus der Jugendzeit*, 98. In 1809 it had become clear that no alliance between the Grimms and the Arnim-Brentano group was possible. J. Grimm sends Clemens a little collection of Märchen, although he knows that Clemens' manner of treatment must differ from his own (*Briefwechsel*, 150). Later, while his own Märchen collection was still in the press, Jacob writes to Arnim of Clemens' Märchen: "Sein Buch erscheint mir im Voraus eine Befleckung der Kinderwahrheit" (Steig, *Arnim und J. und W. Grimm*, 236). Again in 1815 he writes of Clemens' treatment of the old stories, "Die Erdichtung des Stoffes in Romanen und Liedern ist immer sündlich" (*Briefwechsel*, 480). Brentano disapproved no less strongly of the Grimms' faithful adherence to the naïve tone of the peasant tale (Steig, *A. v. Arnim und C. Brentano*, 309).

<sup>3</sup> Diel-Kretten, *op. cit.*, II, 13.

<sup>4</sup> The chronology, especially of the *Rheinmärchen*, cannot be definitely fixed. Cf. Cardauns, *op. cit.*, 4 ff.; Diel-Kretten, *op. cit.*, II, 10.

realism and filth of Basile, the rococo-pastoral tone of some of Brentano's French originals, give place to a chaste and dreamy fancy; the rugged motivation of the Neapolitan folk-stories yields to a deeper characterization and a perfect flood of clever ideas. All are set off by those graceful verses, which particularly in the "Gockel" and the "Schulmeister Klopstock" have an unfading freshness.<sup>1</sup> The Rheinmärchen, essentially original with Brentano, show the same rioting of fancy, and the same tendency to annex and alter material wherever found. In "Müller Radlauf" he weaves in three old German sagas: that of the Ratcatcher of Hamlin, Hatto and the Mouse Tower, and the Lorelei; and here, as elsewhere in the *Rheinmärchen*, he defies Grimm's distinction between Saga and Märchen by attaching his narrative to all sorts of localities: Mainz and the Eichelstein, the Mäuseturm, the Binger Loch, etc. It was just this freedom of fancy, especially the incorporation of all sorts of local and popular sagas, historical personalities, and antique myths, that prompts J. Grimm's striking remark in a letter to Arnim in 1812: "Das Unglück für Clemens ist, dass er viel zu viel literarische Materialien kennt."<sup>2</sup>

A striking instance of the romantic freedom of Brentano's Märchen style is found in his "Märchen vom Murmeltier." He treats here an old *motif*, found in Grimms' Märchen of Frau Holle, and borrowed by Brentano probably from the French *contes* of Madame de Ville-neuve. He has taken the rococo story of the French *conteuse* and made it over into a beautiful Märchen, with the freshest of forest backgrounds.<sup>3</sup>

Both in his stories taken from literary sources and in the essentially original Rheinmärchen Brentano is always falling into an ironical strain, and satirical references to the *Zeitgeist* occur constantly. Köster<sup>4</sup> and Cardauns<sup>5</sup> both deny any considerable influence on the part of Gozzi; indeed, the ironical tone is too characteristic of the Romantic era and especially of Brentano's earlier works, like *Godwi*, to make any further explanation necessary. Not always

<sup>1</sup> O. Bleich, *Herrigs Archiv*, XCVI, 69, gives an excellent *aperçu* of the collection.

<sup>2</sup> Stelg, *Arnim und Grimm*, 236.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. Bleich, *op. cit.*, XCVI, 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Schiller als Dramaturg*, 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Märchen C. Brentanos*, 18.

is the satirical point so clear as in the "Murmeltier," where the arch enemy of the Heidelberg group, Heinrich Voss, is pilloried, or in the "Märchen vom Hause Staarenberg," where the four ancients, von der Hagen, Docen, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, are mentioned as the only ones who know the whereabouts of the Nibelungen treasure in the Rhine. In some of the Märchen, as in "Gockel" and "Fanferlieschen Schönefüßchen," a deep ethical tone is plainly audible. Here and there, as in the naming of the sons of Schulmeister Klopstock, or the ancestresses of Radlauf, or the daughters of the Lorelei in "Staarenberg," there is a personification of natural forces resting on a deeply poetical conception.

If an influence of Gozzi is doubtful in the fanciful irony of Brentano, it is certain for E. T. A. Hoffman,<sup>1</sup> both in style and in the direct borrowing of motives. His "Goldene Topf," a creation of the author's Dresden period, he calls "ein Märchen aus der neuern Zeit," and it strikes at once the note which we have heard in Tieck's "Der blonde Eckbert" and "Runenberg," more clearly still in the later Novellen-like Märchen of *Phantasmus*, "Liebeszauber" and "Die Elfen"—it seeks to introduce supernatural elements into the events of everyday life. With Tieck, however, it is a grewsome power in nature which overshadows us, and which, even in the charming story of the elves, lurks as a destructive agent in the background. Hoffman's Märchen are more cheerful; and the work of the demoniacal spirit which in its inscrutable way dominates the fates of the hero in "Der goldene Topf" and "Klein Zaches" is in the end helpful. Strikingly characteristic, and due to the author's realistic gifts, is the skilful manner in which the events are placed before the reader, so that we are never quite sure whether the author means for us to believe in a supernatural influence, or whether he is depicting merely what goes on in the diseased brain of the hero. When Anselmus, in "Der goldene Topf," is about to seize the door knocker, it changes into a grinning face—or does it? The Archivär Lindhorst transforms himself into a salamander, or is that merely

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann's works abound in references to Gozzi. In the "Seltsame Leiden eines Theaterdirectors" he translates several passages from the "Tre Melerancie" (Hoffmann's *Werke*, ed. Grisebach, IV, 93 ff.). In "Der goldene Topf," Hoffmann's most fantastic Märchen, there is abundant evidence of Gozzi's influence. Cf. Funck, *Aus dem Leben zweier Dichter*, 151; Ellinger, *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, 98 ff.

a dream vision of Anselm's fantastic poet's soul? "Das Hineinragen der unsichtbaren Welt in die sichtbare," which was so popular a canon of Romanticism, reveals itself admirably in this Märchen and in "Nussknacker und Mäusekönig," in their delicate balance on the boundary between the real and the unreal worlds. Like Brentano, Hoffmann too wrote Kindermärchen, for the children of his friend Hitzig. One of them, "Das fremde Kind," is a graceful story in the style of Tieck's "Elfen," others, like Brentano's, bear a deeper sense for adults, without forfeiting anything of their charm for children. For beneath the light, ironical style and the crowding host of fantastic events there is a serious undercurrent, the struggle of the poetic soul against the Philistine world, the undercurrent of *Sehnsucht* which is felt so strongly in Novalis' work, and which lies at the base of so many fragmentary attempts of the Romanticists.

Long before the last of Hoffmann's *capriccios* was written, the Grimms had published their collections, and had created a new Märchen style, which was to survive the Romantic era and give the tone to the Märchen writers of the future. I say created, although this statement should be qualified by recalling once more the two contributions of Otto Runge, "Vom Machandelboom" and "Vom Fischer und sine Fru," where the two stories are told in the Mecklenburg Platt, devoid of subjective elements and yet furnished with certain unconscious, naïve tricks of style, which the Grimms afterward made use of to great advantage.<sup>1</sup> This is not the place to attempt anything like a discussion of the differences between the theories of the Grimms and the other Romanticists with regard to the treatment of the Märchen, interesting as such a discussion would be in the light of the recent investigations of Steig and Hamann.<sup>2</sup> It is sufficient to recall that Jacob Grimm, in whom the philologist far outweighed the poet (with his brother the opposite was true), as early as 1808 in Arnim's *Zeitung für Einsiedler* drew a line between Kunstpoesie and Naturpoesie, as being the expression of an individual soul as against the collective poetic re-echo of deeds and events through a whole people.<sup>3</sup> Brentano's reply to this state-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Steig's very interesting discussion of the relations between the Grimms and Runge in *Herrigs Archiv*, OVII, 277 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hamann, *Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin Diss., 1905).

<sup>3</sup> Pfaff, *Tröst Einsamkeit*, 200.

ment of faith was to retell the Bärnhäuter legend from *Simplicissimus* and Hans Sachs in his own ironical and satirical manner.<sup>1</sup> To him the old tales and legends were like a kaleidoscope, and presented with changing periods, language, and surroundings an ever changing picture; to Grimm these legends were like noble animals, which became weakened and disfigured when transported to strange surroundings. On the appearance of the first volume of Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, in 1812, the line of demarkation between these hostile views was drawn tighter. Brentano refers to Grimm's naïve, popular style, with its wealth of scholarly apparatus, as "beggarly"; to Jacob Grimm the addition of poetic details in Brentano's manner was "sinful."

While time seems to have justified the philologist against the poet, it must be admitted that Wilhelm Grimm does himself and his brother an injustice when he says in a letter to Goethe regarding their treatment of the folk-tales: "Wir haben sie so rein als möglich aufgefasst und nichts aus eignen Mitteln hinzugefügt, was sie abgerundet oder auch nur ausgeschmückt hätte."<sup>2</sup> The folk-tales as he found them were not literature, and a glance at the crude collections of "Ammen- und Feenmärchen" which existed before and contemporaneously with the Grimms convinces us that no one less than a great poet could have made them literature. One must read with a careless eye indeed not to notice the numerous tricks of style, often not at all characteristic of popular speech, which give Grimms' Märchen their peculiar color and charm—the proverbial expressions,<sup>3</sup> the diminutives, the ironical tone of many Märchen, repetitions, etc. And a skeptic might compare several of the Märchen in the first and third editions, as Hamann<sup>4</sup> had done with the "Jud' im Dorn," to note how the criticisms of Arnim were reflected in the cutting-out of the crudities of popular speech, the

<sup>1</sup> Pfaff, *op. cit.*, 217 ff.

<sup>2</sup> August 1, 1816: R. Steig, *Goethe und die Brüder Grimm*, 109.

<sup>3</sup> The tendency to wind up with a wise saw is characteristic of Basile's Neapolitan Märchen, and reminds one strongly of the moral conclusion of the animal fable. With Grimm, however, proverbs and popular turns are often woven into the narrative as an attempt to reproduce the homeliness of quaint, peasant speech. That this particular trick is sometimes overworked must occur to any reader of, for instance, the "Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen."

<sup>4</sup> *Die literarischen Vorlagen*, 110.

removal of elements offensive to the taste, and in the growth of just that smoothness of tone which is the result of a developed poetic technique.<sup>1</sup> The objective Märchen style of the Grimms did not affect Brentano or Tieck or Hoffmann, whose creations were still fanciful and subjective.

✓ It is clear that the Romantic Märchen is a house with many mansions. As chief subdivisions may be mentioned again the satirical Märchen dramas of Tieck, *d la Gozzi*, the same author's Novellen-like nature Märchen, with their play of mysterious, demoniacal natural forces, the profound symbolical Märchen of Novalis, the capricious, fantastic creations of Brentano and Hoffmann, and the objective, popular Märchen of the Grimms. And yet, it is no less clear that we have one common thread running through them all. It is not merely the wonderful and miraculous which is the chief characteristic, for, as we have seen, some of Tieck's nature Märchen lack a supernatural element altogether, and of a number of Grimms' the same is true, while in Novalis' Märchen the miraculous is natural and no longer appears miraculous. That the existence of an ethical allegorical basis is a characteristic must be admitted to be sure in a somewhat less general sense than that intended by Tieck in *Phantasmus*, when he says that all fiction is allegory, inasmuch as it has the contrast between good and evil for its base.<sup>2</sup> Of none of the German Romantic Märchen can one say what Goethe says of the oriental Märchen: "Ihr eigentlicher Charakter ist, dass sie keinen sittlichen Zweck haben."<sup>3</sup> A good illustration of the general pedagogical tendency at the bottom of even the most objective Volksmärchen is found in the fact that Runge's Märchen "Vom Fischer und sine Fru" was reprinted separately in Berlin in 1814 and sold as an ironical biography of Napoleon.<sup>4</sup>

✓ At the base of all of the Romantic Märchen lies the freedom of fancy which looks upon the unreal world as coexistent with the real,

<sup>1</sup> R. Steig, *A. von Arnim und J. und W. Grimm*, 262. Cf. also Steig, *Herrigs Archiv*, CVIII, 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Schriften*, IV, 129. Novalis frankly assigns the didactic note a place in nature poetry: "Die natürliche Poesie kann oft ohne Schaden den Schein der künstlichen, der didaktischen haben. Er muss aber nur zufällig, nur frei damit verknüpft sein. Dieser Schein der Allegorie gibt ihr dann noch einen Reiz mehr."—*Schriften*, III, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Steig, *Goethe und die Brüder Grimm*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Savigny to W. Grimm, quoted by Steig in *Herrigs Archiv*, CX, 9.

which removes all barriers and permits us to pass from one into the other with equal ease. This freedom is the source of our pleasure in the Märchen, since for the time being it suspends the logical faculty and makes us children. The Romanticists excelled in this form, not because the logical faculty was dormant, but because through self-reflection the creative imagination was elevated to a point of sovereignty where all the bounds of the sensual world simply ceased to exist. In this subjective world, to quote from Novalis, "Die Poesie heilt die Wunden, die der Verstand schlägt."<sup>1</sup> Here in the domain of a liberated fancy the self-conscious Kunstmärchen of Novalis joins hands with the naïve reconstruction of the Volksmärchen by Runge and the Grimms, and we have an illustration of the eloquent Romantic theorem of Friedrich Schlegel that the harmony of art poetry and folk-poetry is the goal of all poetic development.

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<sup>1</sup> *Schriften*, III, 5.





## VARIATION IN THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND INFLECTION OF ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS IN GERMAN

Although English loan-words in German speech are not a new phenomenon, it is only in recent years that they have come to play an important rôle, a part quite similar to that played by French loan-words during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In spite of the laudable efforts of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein* and other similar organizations, which in their aims and propaganda recall the *Sprachgesellschaften* that flourished especially in the seventeenth century, it is at the present time considered good form in certain circles of German society, especially among the "upper ten thousand" in large cities like Berlin and Hamburg, to include in one's vocabulary a choice assortment of English terms, although in many instances a German equivalent would answer just as well. This mania is encountered in an exaggerated form in some of the modern hotels, which contain signs reading "American Bar," "Elevator," "Telephone Booths," "News Stand," "Theatre Tickets," "Barber and Manicure," "Grill Room," etc. Similarly almost every modern German novel or society drama teems with English words; in one of Sudermann's latest works of fiction, *Das hohe Lied* (1908), for example, we find (*es ist*) *settled, Farmen, unclean, at first sight, Terrier, Trip, Setter, Clownerie, Bobbi, Boy, Lady patroness, Whisky, american drinks, money-making, Tailor-made* (= tailor-made gown), *Dandies, Slang, stop, Flirt, Bars, streiken, Grillrooms, snobig, Swell, Tea-gown, Tips, Selfmademan, Pedigrees, managen*, etc. For a long list of similar words I would refer the reader to Max Meyerfeld's *Von Sprach' und Art der Deutschen und Engländer*, Berlin, 1903; and to an article by the author, "Englische Lehnwörter in der deutschen Umgangssprache," *N.Y. Staats-Zeitung*, August 18, 1907.

It is not my aim to discuss in this article the reasons for this influence or to enter in each case into the chronology of the borrowing or the question of the precise etymology; I merely wish to consider the variations in orthography and inflection that still exist owing in most instances to the recency of the borrowing. The

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diversity in form is particularly noticeable in the case of substantives, which constitute the large majority of the borrowed terms and to a consideration of which I shall, with a few exceptions, confine myself here. I have selected for discussion the words found in the latest (8th) edition of Duden's *Orthographisches Wörterbuch* (1906). There is, to be sure, a long list of English terms current in German that have not yet found their way into the dictionary, but they lack all stability and their forms are legion. I have seen "shampoo" spelled in half a dozen different ways in Germany and heard it pronounced in as many. The appearance of a word in the dictionary is apt to fix its form more definitely; yet in spite of this we shall observe quite extensive variations at least recognized if not officially permitted. In the lists here given are included not only words of direct English origin, but also terms of foreign origin—Indian and East Indian, for example—that have entered the German language by way of the English, although in a few instances there may be some doubt of this. I have also included words current in French or Dutch as well as English where the exact source of the borrowing is not known.

An instance of varying usage is still found in the treatment of English *c*, chiefly initial *c*, although in the majority of cases *k* and *z*, respectively, have displaced the *c*, and it is only a question of time when the former will occupy the field to the complete exclusion of the latter, not only initially, but also medially, and in the case of *z* for *ce* also finally. As late as 1902 (Duden, 7th ed.) initial *c* was permitted in words like *Cake*, *Caucus*, *Coaks*, *Cricket* and *Croquet*, and *Cinder*; whereas today *k* and *z*, respectively, are the correct forms. Among the words which had previously adopted the *k* may be mentioned *kantern*, *Karronade*, *Klosett*, *Klub*, *Komfort*, *Kommodore*, *Konstabler*, and *Kutter*, while, on the other hand, *City*, *Clan*, *Clown*, *Cold-cream*, *Collie*, *Corned beef*, *Count*, and *Curry* retain the *c* to this day, as do *Dogcart* and *Watercloset* (beside *Wasserklosett*). Medially the change is illustrated by the word *Handikap*, which in 1902 still allowed the *c*. *Receiver* has retained the *c* to this day, while in *Boykott*, *Detektiv(e)*, *Makadam*, *Mimikry*, *Mokassin*, *Rekord*, *Self-aktor*, and *Skip*, and in *Fenz*, *Spenzer*, and *Temperanz* . . . , the *c* has been displaced by *k* and *z*, respectively.

Similar fluctuation is noticeable in connection with initial *sh*, which occasionally becomes *sch*; witness *Schirting*, *schocking*, and *Schrapnell*, although on the other hand we still have *Sherry*, *Shoddy*, and *Sheriff* (but also *Scherif*). Note furthermore in this connection *Manschester*, *Scheck*, *Punsch* (= *Getränk*, beside *Punch* = *Hanswurst*), and *Anschove* and *Anschovis*, the latter being preferred to *Anchovis*, which in 1902 was the first form given. Considerable variation is also found in connection with the treatment of English initial *s* before *l* and *m*, as observed in *Schaluppe* (also *Sloop*), *Schlemm* (also *Slam*), *Schmack(e)* (preferred to *Smack*), and *Schlips*, versus *Slang*, *smart*, and *Smoking* (= Tuxedo coat), whereas initial *sp* and *st* are naturally preserved, as in *Speech* (masc., not fem.), *Spenzer*, *Spillage*, *Spleen*, *Sport*, *Spray*, *Standard*, *Start* and *starten*, *Steeplechase* and *Steepler*, *Sterling*, *Steward* and *Stewardesz*, *Stockjobber*, *Stocks*, *stoppen*, *Store* (= *Warenlager*, not *Fenstervorhang*), *Streik* and *streiken*. Similarly we have *Square*, *Squatter*, and *Squire*. A strange confusion has arisen in connection with the word *Moleskin*, which is spelled with a final *s* instead of a long *s*, although the latter form is permissible; *Buckskin*, on the other hand, is written properly with a long *s*, although in 1902 the final *s*-form was still given as a variant. The mistake of course arose through the application of the rule that when two medial consonants follow one another, the last one begins the new syllable, hence *Moles-kin*.

An attempt to arrive at a closer approximation to German forms is also seen occasionally in the doubling of a single consonant or the simplification of a double consonant, as in *Aldermann* beside *Alderman*, *Schlemm-Slam*, *Schrapnell-Shrapnel* (earlier), *Top-Topp*, *Brigg*, *Bulldogg(e)*, *Dogge*, *Waggon*, and *Wasserklosett*, and *Sheriff-Scherif*. Orthographical alterations of this nature are of course usually necessitated by the German pronunciation, the agreement between orthography and pronunciation being so much closer in German than it is in English. Thus a marked tendency exists to reproduce the English sound by its German orthographical equivalent, irrespective of the English spelling. This is illustrated by words like *Antilope*, *Biest*, *Boleine*, *Daulas* (formerly *Dowlas*), *Drän* (formerly *Drain*), *Dschungeln* (pl.), *Känguruh*, *Kanu*, *Kuli*, *Lori* (formerly *Lowry*), *Mohär* (formerly *Mohair*), *Pickels* (but *Mixed Pickles* and

*Mix-pickles*), *Plunscher* beside *Plunger*, *Puddel* . . . , and *Streik*. *Jockei* has replaced *Jockey* and *chintz* becomes *Zitz*. Note also *Pick(e)nick* (neut., not masc.). *Neuorleans*, *Neuyork*, etc., are commonly used beside *New Orleans*, etc.

The first thing to be noted in connection with the nominal inflection of English loan-words in German is the fact that a considerable number of them retain the English nominal plural in *-s* (or *-es*), although the tendency is gradually to substitute German plural forms. Among words that still take a plural in *-s* (or *-es*) may be mentioned *Bar*, *Baronet*, *Barrel*, *Beefsteak*, *Bill*, *Break*, *Brigg*, *Brougham*, *Buckskin*, *Clan*, *Clown*, *Collie*, *Count*, *Davits* (pl.), *Dingo*, *Dissenter*, *Dogcart*, *Dollar*, *Drän*, *Drops* (pl.), *Flammeri*, *Foxterrier*, *Gig*, *Gin* (= *Maschine*, besonders zur Baumwollreinigung; also *ginnen*, *die Baumwolle reinigen*), *Grog*, *Groom*, *Handikap*, *Havelock*, *Interview*, *Jockei*, *Kake*, *Kanu*, *Klub*, *Koks* (usually pl.), *Kuli*, *Lasting*, *Lord*, *Lori* (beside *Loren* as pl. of *Lore*), *Maidenspeech* (but pl. of *Speech* = *Speeches*), *Match*, *Meeting*, *Minstrel*, *Miss*, *Mister*, *Mokassin*, *Moleskin*, *Mustang*, *Mylord*, *Natives* (pl.), *Nurse*, *Oddfellow*, *Opossum*, *Paddock*, *Palaver*, *Pedigree*, *Peer*, *Pickels* (pl.), *Plaid*, *Point-laces* (pl.), *Puzzle*, *Racket*, *Roastbeef*, *Rumpsteak*, *Sandwich*, *Schrapnell*, *Selfaktor*, *Sheriff*, *Skip*, *Sovereign*, *Square*, *Squatter*, *Squire*, *Steward*, *Stocks* (pl.), *Store*, *Tandem*, *Tattersall*, *Top*, *Trade-Mark*, *Tübbings* (pl.), *Turnip*, *Velvet*, *Warrant*, *Watercloset*, *Waterproof*, *Whig*, *Wigwam*, *Yankee*, *Yard*. The change is illustrated, for example, by words like *Cinder*, *Detektive*, *Rekord*, *Sarsenett*, *Schirting*, *Tomahawk*, *Trick*, and *Waggon*—which in the seventh edition required an *-s*; whereas in the eighth the plural forms are *Zinder*, *Detektive* and *-s*, *Rekords* and *-e*, *Sarsenette*, *Schirtinge* and *-s*, *Tomahake* and *-s*, *Tricke* and *-s*, *Waggon*s and *-e*.

In the case of nouns ending in *-y*, two plural forms are found, one in *-ys*, which is the prevailing form, and the other in *-ies*. This applies to *Baby*, *City*, *Dandy*, *Jury*, *Lady*, *Paddy*, *Pony*, *Rowdy*, *Sherry*, *Tilbury*, *Tory*, and *Whisky*, while *Gully* and *Mylady* have only the plural in *-s*, and *Penny* has *Pence* beside the plural in *-s*. Where the ending is *-ay*, the plural in *-s* is naturally the sole one, as in *Essay*, *Spray*, and *Tramway*. *Gentleman* and *Midshipman* take the plural *-men*, while in the case of *Alderman* the form in *-men*

is preferred, although *-mans* is also used, and besides we get *Aldermänner* as the plural of *Aldermann*.

The first class of English nouns to lose their plural in *-s* were the words in *-er*, the great majority of which are now treated like strong nouns of the first declension so far as the formation of the plural is concerned, i.e., they take no ending. This rule holds for *Bar-rister*, *Bozer*, *Digger*, *Farmer*, *Flibustier*, *Interviewer*, *Knickerbocker*, *Konstabler*, *Kutter*, *Latitudinärer*, *Manschester*, *Nigger*, *Partner*, *Plunger*, *Porter*, *Puritaner*, *Receiver*, *Reporter*, *Revolver*, *Robber* (=rubber, as in whist), *Saker*, *Spenzer*, *Steepler*, *Stockjobber*, *Teetotaler*, *Temperänzler*, *Tender*, *Trainer*, *Trapper*, *Trimmer*, *Zinder*, the exceptions being *Dissenter*, *Foxterrier*, *Mister*, *Palaver*, and *Squatter*, which, as we saw above, take a plural in *-s*, and several variant forms mentioned in the following paragraph.

In another group of words both German and English plural forms are used side by side, as has been seen above, the tendency being to retain only the former. Thus we have in addition to a number of double forms already mentioned *Bozen* beside *Boxes*, *Docke-Docks*, *Filme-(Films)*, *Jobber-Jobbers*, *Kommodores-Kommodoren*, *Lifte-Lifts*, *Lunche(s)*, *Pick(e)nicke-Pick(e)nicks*, *(Plum)puddinge-(Plum)puddings*, *Propeller(s)*, *Rums-Rume (mehrere Gläser)*, *Schecke-Schecks*, *Schlemme-Schlemms*, *Sloopen-Sloops*, *Starte-Starts*, *Streike-(Streiks)*, *Verandas-Veranden*, *Wasserklosette-Wasserklosetts*. *Albatros*, *Joule*, *Kaukus*, and *Sassafras* take no ending to form the plural, while *Mumps* is used as a singular masculine substantive. *Boykott*, *Catgut*, *Fashion*, *Humbug*, *Komfort*, *Linotype*, *Mimikry*, *Mob*, *Sport*, *Standard*, *Trust*, and *Zitz* are employed only in the singular.

Among the words that have adopted the plural of the second class strong outright may be mentioned *Ballast*, *Flanell*, *Kiln*, *Mackintosh*, *Mohär*, *Punsch* (pl. *-e* and *-e*), *Report*, *Sarsenett*, *Schlips*, *Skalp*, *Speech*, *Sterling*, *Tank*, *Test*, *Toast*, *Trucksystem*, *Twist*, *Verdikt*, and *Warp*. *Import* sometimes follows this class and at other times is weak, while *Buttel* (=bottle, cf. *Robber* for rubber), *Fenz*, *Klubhist*, *Steeplechase*, and *Stewardesz* are always weak, as well as the following nouns in *-e*: *Antilope*, *Boleine*, *Bowle*, *(Bull)dogge*, *Gallone*, *Guinee*, *Karronade*, *Schaluppe*, and *Schmack(e)*. As we saw above

in connection with *Alderman(n)*, a variation in the form of the word is likely to affect the formation of the plural; witness furthermore *Anschoven-Anchovis* (1902), but now *Anschovis*, *Loren-Loris-Lowries* (1902), and *Mohairs* (1902)-*Mohäre*. The plural of *Biest* is *Biester*.

In the case of the genitive singular greater regularity is observed, feminine loan-words naturally taking no ending, while masculine and neuter stems add the strong -s, -(e)s, or -es. The following exceptions, however, may be noted: No ending or -s (or -es)—*Gentleman, Joule, Lunch, Mais, Standard, Tory, Yankee Doodle*; no ending—*Albatros, Corned beef, Kaukus, Lawn-Tennis, Misz, Mumps, Sassafras, Trade-Mark*. That there is a marked tendency to adopt the German genitive ending is shown by the fact that in 1902 the following words all permitted no ending or -s (or -es) in the gen. sing., whereas in the latest edition only the -s (or -es) form is permitted: *Baby, Curry, Dandy, Essay, Flammeri, Flirt, Interview, Kommodore, Mohair, Mokassin, Oddfellow, Opossum, Paddock, Paddy, Palaver, Peer, Penny, Poll, Pony, Propeller, Rowdy, Sherry, Tilbury, Teetotaler, Whisky, and Whist*. *Dogge* (masc.) and *Klubbist* are weak, while *Bulldogg(e)* (masc.) is sometimes strong and sometimes weak.

In connection with the gender, the chief variation is found between the masculine and the neuter, quite naturally, since the words of these genders are most closely allied in inflection. Thus we find *der* and *das Break* (officially only *der*), *Bumerang, Finish, Lift, Makadam, Match, Moleskin* (but notice *der Buckskin*), *Plaid, Pony, Schrapnell, Trick, Velvet, and Wigwam*. Other combinations are *die* and *das Interview*, *der* and *die Lias*, and *der* and *die Tramway*. In the case of *der* and *die Dogge* and *der Bulldogg(e)* beside *die Bulldogge*, the gender is of course influenced by the sex.

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## THE SONG OF DEOR

The most analytic of our writers, Edgar Allan Poe, cleverly portrays "the moral inapprehension by which the intellect suffers to pass unnoticed those considerations which are too obtrusively and palpably self-evident." Certainly in the region of philology it is often "the over-largely lettered signs and placards of the street that escape observation by dint of being excessively obvious." Yet seldom has the closely peering gaze of brow-knitted scholarship been guilty of a more astonishing oversight than in the failure of generations of Anglists to read aright a perfectly intelligible passage in the Old English *Song of Deor*. Fortunately a very few words will serve to set forth this missed meaning.

After narrating in the first two strophes of the lyric the tale of Weland's sufferings at the hands of King Nithhad and of the revenge of the elfin smith upon his tormentor, death to the king's sons and shame to his daughter, Beadohild—incidents well known to every reader of the *Völundarkviða*—the singer continues:

Wē þæt mæð Hilde    monge gefrūgnon:  
wurdon grundlēase    Gēates frige,  
þæt him sēo sorglufu    slæp ealne binðm.

In an interesting article in the July (1911) number of *Modern Philology* Professor W. W. Lawrence reviews the many blind explanations of these lines and reaches the conclusion that we have here a reference to the passionate love-story of Hilde and Hedin. Frankly admitting his inability to account for the application of *Gēates* to Hedin, he declares the passage to be "too brief, too corrupt, too allusive." I must differ with Dr. Lawrence, for to me the passage seems sun-clear. "Hild," about whom there has been so much pother, is obviously no other than the Beadohild<sup>1</sup> of the preceding stanza;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the identification of the enigmatic *Drýdo* (*Beowulf*, 1926 f.) with *Cyneþrýð*, and of the *Hild* of history with *Grimhild*, sister of the Nibelungen princes (Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*\*, III, 660). As Symons points out and as Lawrence himself recognises in his article on *Widsith* (*Modern Philology*, IV, 354), the second member of a compound 265]

and *þæt mæð*, as the definite article indicates,<sup>1</sup> clearly refers to her violation by Weland, of which the poet has just spoken. About the word *Gēates* there is not the least mystery. It is most aptly applied to Nithhad, a king in South Sweden, whose country of the Niars (see *Völundarkviða*) is identified as the modern district of Nerike—thus a near neighbor of Beowulf and bearing the same tribal name.<sup>2</sup> *Frīge*, "the bottomless affection," and *sorglufu*, "the sorrowing love that robbed him of all sleep," well portray Nithhad's grief at the loss of his sons. Any doubt of this explanation is immediately dispelled by the striking parallel in the *Völundarkviða* (§ 29).<sup>3</sup>

Níþuþr kvap:  
Vake ek ofvalt  
of viljalauss.  
sofna ek minst  
síz sono dauða.

name sometimes does duty for the whole in Germanic poetry, as *Hild* for *Brynhild* (*Helreid Brynhildar*, 5; *Skáldskaparmál*, chap. 41) and *Bera* for *Kostbera* (*Atlamöl en Groenlensku*, 33). Searle in his *Onomasticon* (p. xix) has noted the use of diminished forms of dithematic names, *Leoba* for *Leobgitha*, *Cutha* for *Cuthwulf* or *Cuthwine*, *Totta* for *Torhthelm*, *Hitta* for *Hildeburga*; so also the familiar *Bugge* for *Heaburg*. In my note to Dr. Gerould's article (*M.L.N.*, May, 1911) I remarked that "we often have in such cases the Latin synonym of only one member of a compound name: *Lupus* for *Wulfstan* and *Boniface's Caritas* for *Leobgyth*." Mark too Bishop Outhbert of Hereford's (A.D. 736) play upon the second syllable of his name, *berht* (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 299): "Quique gero certum Oudbert de luce vocamen." So in employing *Hild* for *Beadohild*, as his meter compelled, our singer adopted a form of abbreviation very common not only in heroic verse but in the everyday use of his age and country.

<sup>1</sup> Barnouw has abundantly illustrated (*Teutokrätische Untersuchungen*, p. 9) the use of the article to indicate a person or thing already mentioned in the course of the narrative. Thus *sēo sorglufu* is equated with *frige*.

<sup>2</sup> Convincing evidence that the *Gēatas* of the *Beowulf* are the Swedish *Gautar* of Götaland is offered by Sarrasin, *Beowulf Studien*, 1888, pp. 23 f., and by ten Brink, *Beowulf, Untersuchungen*, 1888, pp. 196 f. Our present passage gives strong support to this view, which has found large acceptance. Hans Hildebrand, *Das Heidnische Zeitalter in Schweden*, 1873, p. 156, proves by the testimony of the older *Westgötalag* (Diebsbalk, 12, 2) that Nerike was originally reckoned a part of Götaland. A king of the Nerike district would very properly be called a *Gaut* or *Gēat*, even if we limit this tribal name more narrowly than is necessary in interpreting heroic verse. May I hazard the conjecture that the hitherto unexplained *be Wurman* (*Deor*, 1) constitutes a local reference (as indeed Grimm and Kemble surmised) and designates the South Swedish district of Wermaland, which plays its part in the Old Norse sagas (cf. *Egilssaga*, chap. 74) and which is often associated in the *Heimskringla* with the neighboring Nerike and West Götaland (*Saga of Olaf the Saint*, chaps. 76, 191)? Such blendings of adjoining places and tribes is frequent in the older poetry, as may be marked in the interchange of Angles and Myrgings in the *Widsith*; and localization in the first line of the *Deor* seems quite in keeping with our poet's love of definite backgrounds (ll. 15, 19, 23, 36).

<sup>3</sup> Jónsson, *Eddalieder*, I (1888), 85.



(Nithhad said: "I am continually awake, robbed of joys; I sleep not at all since the death of my sons.")<sup>1</sup>

Thus the poet of the *Deor* recounts in his first three stanzas the story of Weland and his foes. He then turns naturally enough to the mighty figure of Theodoric (Dietrich of Bern) whose saga elsewhere in Old English (*Waldere* B. 4-10) claims as its own the son of Weland and Beadohild.

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<sup>1</sup> The student of origins should not overlook the great historical significance of this resemblance between the *Deor* version of the Weland story and that in the *Edda*—a resemblance so close that it extends to identity of names and places and even of minute details. Even those who doubt the Nerike identification cannot cavil at the application of *Gæt* to a *konungr* i *Seiðlóð*. In the later version of the saga (*Thiðrekssaga*, chaps. 57-79) Nithhad's (Nidung's) kingdom is transferred from the Swedish land of the Gauts or Gēats (Götaland) to the Danish land of the Jutes (Jutland). This change of locality is probably due to a confusion of very similar tribal names, as in the use of "Gēats" for "Jutes" in the well-known passage of the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 15, and of *Gotland* for *Jóttland* in the *Skáldskaparmál*, chap. 43.



## THEOBALD'S *DOUBLE FALSEHOOD*?

The article of Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., in *MLN* for February 1910, on the "History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare," prompts me to publish the following material, gathered some time ago, in the hope that it may serve to clear up at least a part of the mystery connected with the authorship of the play *Double Falsehood* or *the Distrest Lovers*. This play, first acted<sup>1</sup> on December 13, 1727, was first "printed<sup>2</sup> by John Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields," London, 1728. From the *same* press, "printed for John Watts," etc., was issued in the following year, 1729, a work entitled: "*A Select Collection of Novels and Histories*, in six volumes; written by the most celebrated Authors in several Languages. Many of which never appear'd in English before. All *New* translated from the *Originals*, by several eminent Hands. Second edition," etc. The editor was Samuel Croxall (the dedication is signed S. C.), who tells us in a preface that the favorable reception given to the first edition of this work (1720-22) has encouraged the publisher to reprint it with additions and improvements. One of the additional pieces is entitled: *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*, Vol. I, pp. 313-44, and the publisher adds, "This is the Novel, from which the Plan of a Posthumous Play, written originally by Shakespear, called *Double Falsehood*, was taken." The preface, however, while it praises Cervantes as a writer of novels, says nothing about his being the original author of this particular tale, although Theobald, in his preface to the play *Double Falsehood*, had stated that the plot was taken from *Don Quixote*. Was the assertion of Croxall intended to support Theobald's claim that Shakespeare was the author of the play? It seems so at first sight; yet his connection with the publication of the play, if there was any, will

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, I, p. 160; Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, New York, 1906, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> "*Double Falsehood* or *The Distrest Lovers*, etc., written originally by W. Shakespeare, and now revised and adapted to the Stage by Mr. Theobald, the Author of Shakespeare Restor'd. London, Printed by J. Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. MDCCXXVIII." Professor Lounsbury says, p. 299, that the play had been published late in December, 1727.

probably never be known. But if *Double Falsehood* and *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*, issued from the same press, are related, our first task is to state what may be known of the novel.

As far as I have been able to discover, the edition of 1729 is the first of that novel in the peculiar form of *The Adventures*, etc. It is, of course, possible, that an earlier print was recorded in some misleading manner in the Stationers' Registers; or there may be a copy concealed in the British Museum library, but I have not found any trace of it. We can therefore assume, until an earlier edition is discovered, that Croxall printed the story from a version "new translated," which meant, to judge from other novels in his collection as well as from this one, that *The Adventures* had been merely rearranged and rejuvenated to suit his purpose. For, far from being "new translated," the novel is taken from Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, but revamped and adapted to the language and taste of the whole collection. It becomes necessary to inquire at this point, first, whether this rearrangement was made specifically for Croxall, or whether he merely reprinted an old copy or edition; second, is it possible to say definitely that the play was taken from *The Adventures*, as printed by Croxall, and not from the romance of Cardenio and Luscinda as it is told in Shelton's *Don Quixote*, beginning with the third book, chap. xi, and continuing with interruptions through the fourth book, chap. ix.<sup>1</sup> The results of this inquiry will be based entirely on an examination of Shelton's *Don Quixote*, Croxall's *The Adventures*, etc., and *Double Falsehood*.

In Shelton's translation, which agrees with the Spanish original, the course of the story is frequently interrupted by the characters of *Don Quixote*, namely Don Quixote himself, Sancho Panza, the curate, the barber, and others. But Croxall's novel, in gathering all these parts together, changes the order of events as found in Shelton, shortens the whole to about two-thirds of its original length by giving a résumé of rambling portions, and, naturally, turns every first person into the third. Croxall's version may be said to relate the events in a more natural sequence, avoiding the repetition of details;

<sup>1</sup> All my references will be to *The History of the Valorous and Witty Knight Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes, translated by Thomas Shelton, 3 vols., Macmillan & Co., 1900, as this edition is more accessible; but I have given the spelling of the edition of 1612 in the excerpts.

in Shelton, the interruptions necessitated a going back to pick up the thread of the story, which, if followed through *Don Quixote* according to the order of events in *The Adventures*, would take us through the various chapters in about the following order: book third, chap. x, book fourth, chap. i, book third, chaps. x, xiii, ix, xiii, book fourth, chaps. i, ix, book third, chap. xiii, book fourth, chaps. i, ix. A few additional transfers may be found in ideas, descriptions, and the like, of little importance.

For lack of space, the following examples will have to suffice to prove how *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* were "new translated" out of Shelton. First I shall give some examples to show how Shelton was plundered with but very few changes, which could have been made only with the object of rejuvenating his Elizabethan style; they will help, moreover, in determining whether the rearrangement was specifically made for Croxall, or not.

## SHELTON'S TRANSLATION

1. "I rendred him thankses . . . and therefore departed presently to acquaint him (my father) with my desires: who, at the time which I entered into a Chamber wherein he was, stood with a Letter open in his hand; and espying me, e're I could breake my mind vnto him, gaue it me, saying, 'By that Letter, *Cardenio*, you may gather the desire that Duke *Ricardo* beares, to doe you any pleasure or fauour.'

"This Duke *Ricardo*, as I thinke you know, *Sirs*, already, is a *Grande* of Spayne, whose Dukedome is seated in the best part of all *Andaluzia*. I tooke the Letter and read it; which appeared so vrgent, as I myselfe accounted it would be ill done, if my father did not accomplish the contents thereof, which were indeed, that he should presently addresse me to his Court, to the end I might be companion (and not seruant) to his eldest sonne; and that he would incharge himselfe with the aduancing of me to such preferments as might be answerable vnto the value and estima-

## CROXALL'S NOVEL

1. "As *Cardenio* entered his Father's Chamber, he found him with a Letter open in his Hand; who espying his Son, ere he could break his Mind to him, gave it him with these Words, *By that Letter, Cardenio, you may gather the Desire that Duke Ricardo bears to do you Favour.* This Duke was a *Grandee* of the first Rank in *Spain*, and whose Dukedom was seated in the best part of all *Andaluzia*. *Cardenio* read the Letter, which was a pressing Mandate for his instantly addressing himself to Court, in Order to become the Companion of the Duke's eldest Son; and the Duke, on his Part, charg'd himself with advancing *Cardenio* to Preferments, answerable to the Value and Esteem he had for his Person. The enamour'd *Cardenio* embarrass'd with such a Summons, was struck dumb at the Contents of the Letter; but was still more confounded what to do, upon his Father's acquainting him, that he must depart within two Days to attend the Duke's Com-

[SHELTON]

tion he made of my person. I past ouer the whole Letter, and was stricken dumbe at the reading thereof, but chiefly hearing my father to say, '*Cardenio*, thou must depart within two dayes, to accomplish the Dukees desire; and omit not to render Almighty God thanks, which doth thus open the way by which thou mayest attaine in fine to that which I know thou dost merite.' And to these words added certaine others of fatherly counsell and direction. The terme of my departure arriued, and I spoke to my *Luscinda* on a certaine night, and recounted vnto her all that passed, and likewise to her father, entreating him to ouerslip a few dayes, and deferre the bestowing of his daughter else-where, vntill I went to understand Duke *Ricardo* his will; which he promised me, and she confirmed it with a thousand othes and promises." (Book 3, chap. x.)

2. "It therefore befell that, as there is no secresie amongst friends so great but they will communicate it the one to the other, and the familiaritie which I had with *Don Ferdinando* was now past the limits of fauour, and turned into dearest amitie, he reuealed vnto me all his thoughts, but chiefly one of of his loue, which did not a little molest him; for he was enamoured on a Farmers daughter, that was his Fathers vassall" (Book 3, chap. x; jumps to Book 4, chap. i). Dorothea speaks: "My parents . . . are but Farmours and plaine people, but without any touch or spot of bad bloud, and as we vsually say, Old, rustie Christians, yet so rusty and ancient as yet their riches and magnificent port gaine them, by little and little, the title of Gentilitie, yea, and of worship also; although the treasure and Nobility, whereof they made most price

[CROKALL]

mands. This unforeseen Incident made *Cardenio* think it an improper Opportunity to break the Secret of his Passion to his Father. The Term of his Departure came faster than he could have wish'd: and all that he could do under the present Circumstance, was to recount the Truth of Affairs to *Luscinda's* Father, entreat him to ouerslip a few Days, and to defer the bestowing of his Daughter elsewhere, till *Cardenio* understood Duke *Ricardo's* Pleasure. Her Father readily comply'd, and pass'd his Promise to performance of the Terms: and *Luscinda* confirm'd her Fidelity to *Cardenio* with a thousand endearing Protestations." (P. 315.)

2. "As Intimacy gradually contracts Trust and Confidence, there is no Secresie amongst Friends so great, but They will communicate it the One to the Other. The Familiarity, which *Cardenio* had with *Don Ferdinand*, was now past the Limits of Favour, and turned into dearest Amity. The young Lord reveal'd to him all his Thoughts, but chiefly one of his Love which did not a little molest him. *Don Ferdinand*, it happen'd, was become enamour'd of a Farmer's Daughter, that was his Father's Vassal. Her Parents were plain People by their Profession, but without any Touch or Stain of bad Blood: so their Riches and Port gain'd them, by little and little, the Title of Gentility, and the Dues of Worship. Their greatest Treasure, and their best Nobility, in their own Opinion, was their having such a Daughter as *Dorothea*," etc. (P. 316.)

[SHRELTON]

and account, was to have had mee for their daughter," etc.

3. "But on the fourth day after I had arriued, there came a man in my search with a Letter, which he deliuered vnto me, and by the indorsement I knew it to be *Luscinda's*; for the hand was like hers. I opened it (not without feare and assaylement of my senses), knowing that it must haue beene some serious occasion which could moue her to write vnto me, being absent, seeing shee did it so rarely, euen when I was present. I demaunded of the Bearer, before I read, who had deliuered it to him, and what time he had spent in the way. He answered me, 'that passing by chance at mid-day thorow a Streete of the Citie, a very beautifull Ladie did call him from a certain Window. Her eyes were all be-blubbered with teares, and said vnto him very hastily, "Brother, if thou beest a Christian, as thou appearest to be one, I pray thee for Gods sake, that thou doe forthwith addresse this Letter to the place and person that the superscription assigneth (for they be well knowne), and therein thou shalt doe our Lord great seruice; and because thou maist not want meanes to doe it, take what thou shalt find wrapped in that Hand-kerchiefe." And, saying so, she threw out of the Window a Hand-kerchiefe, wherein were lapped vp a hundred Rials, this Ring of Gold which I carrie here, and that Letter which I deliuered vnto you; and presently, without expecting mine answer, shee departed, but first saw me take vp the Hand-kerchiefe and Letter, and then I made her signes that I would accomplish herein her command. And after, perceyuing the paines I might take in bringing you it, so wel considered, and seeing by the

[CROKALL]

3. "The fourth Day of his Court-Attendance was now running its Course, when a Messenger arrives Post in Search of him with a Letter, the Superscription of which he knew to be the Hand-writing of *Luscinda*. He took it from the Bearer with a Fear, that almost overpower'd his Senses: He knew it must be some serious and uncommon Occasion, that could excite her to write to him at that Juncture, and address her Letter by that extraordinary Conveyance. Before *Cardenio* would venture to peruse the *Billet*, he demanded of the Bearer, Who had deliver'd it to him? He replied, that passing by Chance at Mid-day through a Street of their Village, a beautiful young Lady had call'd to him from a Window, that her Eyes were gushing with Tears, and that she had conjur'd him, as he appear'd to be a Christian, and as her Request was in the Cause of Goodness and Religion, that he would with the utmost Speed convey that Paper for her to the Place and Person, to which the Superscription assigned; and that with it she had thrown him down a Ring of Gold, and *Purse of Rials*, to purchase his Diligence in the Business. *Cardenio*, pale and trembling at this Information, thank'd the Messenger, and beg'd he would reconvey an Answer from him; after which *Cardenio* withdrew, that his Emotions might not be observable, and read the following afflicting Letter.

[SHILTON]

[CROKALL]

indorsement, that you were the man to whom it was addrest—for, sir, I know you very wel,—and also obliged to doe it by the teares of that beautifull Ladie, I determined not to trust any other with it, but to come and bring it you my selfe in person; and in sixteene houres since it was giuen vnto me, I haue trauelled the iourney you know, which is at least eighteene leagues long.' Whilst the thankfull new messenger spake thus vnto me, I remayned in a manner hanging on his words, and my thighs did tremble in such manner, as I could very hardly sustayne my selfe on foot; yet taking courage, at last I opened the Letter, whereof these were the Contents:

"The word that Don Ferdinando hath past vnto you to speake to your father, that he might speake to mine, he hath accomplished more to his owne pleasure then to your profit. For, sir, you shall vnderstand that he hath demanded me for his wife; and my father (borne away by the aduantage of worths which he supposes to bee in Don Ferdinando more than in you) hath agreed to his demaund in so good earnest, as the espousals shall be celebrated within these two daies, and that so secretly and alone, as only the heauens and some folke of the house shall be witnesses. How I remaine, imagine, and whether it be conuenient you should returne, you may consider; and the successe of this affaire shall let you to perceiue whether I loue you well or no. I beseech Almighty God that this may arriue vnto your hands before mine shall see itselfe in danger to ioyne itselfe with his, which keepeth his promised faith so ill,'" etc. (Book 3, chap. xiii.)

"The promise that false *Ferdinand* has pass'd to you to speak to your Father, that he might speak to mine, he has accomplish'd more to his own Pleasure, than your Satisfaction; for you shall understand, dearest *Cardenio*, that he has demanded me for his Wife. My Father, born away by certain Differences of Fortune, which he thinks the weightier in *Don Ferdinand's* Scale, has agreed to his Demand. The Nuptials are to be celebrated within these two Days; and that so secretly, as only the Heavens, and some Particulars of our House, are to be the Witnesses. How I remain, imagine, by what you yourself feel; and whether it be convenient you should return, you only can determine. The Success of this Affair, in all Events, shall let you perceive, whether I love you. May this reach your Hand, before mine shall be in Danger to be given away to the most perfidious of Men! As yet, I am your most disconsolate,

LUSCINDA."  
(Pp. 326-27.)



Episodes which are interrupted in the original English version are joined in a way that may be illustrated by the following: Dorothea has completed her story and we go back to find out what became of Luscinda:

4. To such Afflictions of Heart, from a State of Ease and Tranquility, and to such personal Dangers and Exigencies, from being the Care and Darling of her indulgent Parents, did the wanton Passion of *Don Ferdinand* reduce the credulous, deceived *Dorothea*. Nor did the like Intemperance of his Love cost the charming *Luscinda* much less Anxiety. He would, indeed, have married her, etc. (P. 336.)

If space permitted, a complete list of the changes of style made in Shelton for the edition of Croxall might be given at this point to help in approximately establishing the age of *The Adventures*. As it is, the examples given above may serve to indicate the manner in which the "translator" seems to have tried to bring the Elizabethan English of Shelton somewhat up to date by changing the forms which at the time of the "translation" were most apparently obsolete. It was but natural that in the cheap process to which the language of Shelton was subjected, much of its old character should have remained.

However, where the "translator" displays his talent independently, much sentimental rubbish may generally be found, and the changes made in Shelton are certainly not improvements in style. But in spite of all these defects, the novel is singularly in keeping with the taste of the age, if we are to judge by "the favorable reception" given to Croxall's collection of novels. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* was especially arranged for Croxall by some unknown "eminent hand," and that it is not likely, both from the fact that this is the first known edition of this particular tale, as well as from its revamped character, that he was merely reprinting an old manuscript. If the latter were the case, we should have the extraordinary coincidence of a play and the tale upon which it is founded surviving in manuscript, only to be printed independently, within a year of each other, by the same printer!

A few of the arbitrary changes made in the plot or situations must be mentioned, because some of them have a direct bearing upon the play which is to be considered presently.

## SHELTON

1. *Dorothea*: "For, one night as I sate in my chamber, only attended by a yong Mayden that serued me, I hauing shut the doores very safe," etc. (Vol. I, p. 260.)

2. Shelton tells the story of Don Ferdinando's and Luscinda's interrupted marriage ceremony very simply, and gives nothing but *Don Quixote*. Croxall makes a more melodramatic scene out of it, by adding a description not a word of which is in Shelton. (Vol. I, pp. 245 ff.)

3. *Dorothea* has stolen away from home: "And whilst I staide thus in the Citie, ignorant of what I might doe, . . . I heard a cryer goe about publicly, promising great rewards to any one that could finde me out, giuing signes of the very age and apparell I wore," etc. (Vol. I, p. 268.)

4. In Shelton, the curate and the barber are waiting for Sancho Panza: "Both, therefore, arresting there quietly vnder the shadow, there arriued to their hearing the sound of a voyce which, *without being accompanied by any instrument*, did resound so sweet and melodiously as they remained greatly admired, because they esteemed not that to be a place wherein any so good a Musician might make his abode," etc. The person discovered is Cardenio, who, it says, "at this season was in his right sense," etc. (Vol. I, p. 236.)

## CROXALL

1. "One Night, when this innocent young Beauty was retir'd to her Chamber, and had dismiss'd her Attendant to taste the Pleasures of Solitude," etc. (P. 318.)

2. Now blazed the Hall with Lights, a little Altar with Tapers was brought forth, close to which follow'd a reverend Priest. Mean-while *Cardenio* stood sweating with Agony; *Luscinda* wrung her Hands, and with streaming Eyes, and distracted Motions, shew'd her Aversion to the Marriage. *Don Ferdinand* was now soothing her with Courtly Gestures; and her Father urging her with Menaces to yield Obedience to his Will." (P. 329.)

3. "All the Night, she and her Attendant Swain travell'd on by the obscure Light of a clouded Moon. Early the next Morning, as she was afterwards acquainted, a Cryer went about publicly, by her Father's Order, describing her Age, Form, and Apparel, and offering great Rewards to any One that should bring her Home," etc. (P. 334.)

4. Croxall has:

"At a Season when *Cardenio* was in his right Sense, and surrounded by these willing Comforters, they heard from the inner Parts of the Rocks, the Sound of a sweet Voice, *accompanied with the Melody of a Lute*. This might well prove the Subject of Attention and Wonder, as they esteem'd not that to be a Place, wherein 'twas probable so good a Musician should make his Abode." But here it is *Dorothea* who is discovered singing and playing upon a lute. They find "the Contents of the Air to be a Virgin's Complaint for Love betray'd, and broken Friendship." (P. 338.)

Other examples could be added, notably from such passages as were penned by the hack "translator" when he was retelling or condensing parts of the original.

Let us now try to determine, if possible, why the play *Double Falsehood* was taken from *The Adventures*, etc., as printed by Croxall, and not from the romance of Cardenio and Luscinda, as it is told in Shelton's *Don Quixote*. I may add here, that the Spanish original does not enter into the question, because I have found no evidence whatsoever which would connect either *The Adventures* or *Double Falsehood* with the work of Cervantes. Moreover, Theobald, in giving the source of the play, seems to refer to Shelton's *Don Quixote*; for he asserts that *Don Quixote* "was published in the year 1611," a date much closer to the appearance of Shelton's first part, 1612, than that of the Spanish original, which was printed in 1605.

Let us begin with the *dramatis personae*, as they are printed at the head of the play, placing at their side the corresponding characters of *The Adventures*.

DOUBLE FALSEHOOD		THE ADVENTURES, ETC.	
<i>Men:</i>		<i>Men:</i>	
Duke Angelo		Duke Ricardo	
Roderick, his Elder Son		Eldest Son	
Henriquez, his Younger Son		Ferdinand, second son	
Don Bernard, Father to Leonora		Father of Luscinda	
Camillo, Father to Julio		Cleonardo, Father of Cardenio	
Julio, in Love with Leonora		Cardenio	
Citizen		Messenger	
Master of the Flocks		Master of the Flocks	
First Shepherd }		Shepherds	
Second Shepherd }			
<i>Women:</i>		<i>Women:</i>	
Leonora		Luscinda	
Violante		Dorothea	
<i>Scene</i> , the Province of Andalusia in Spain.		<i>Scene</i> , the Province of Andalusia (a Province the richest in all Spain).	

In giving the scene of the story at the outset, Shelton merely says, "the place of my birth is one of the best cities in Andalusia," Vol. I, p. 198. *The Adventures*, etc., begins: "To a delightful Village near Seville, in the Province of Andalusia (a Province the richest in all Spain etc. was good *Cleonardo* retired)."

As regards the number of characters who form a part of the novel, it will be seen that it corresponds absolutely with that of the play, while those personages, such as attendants, servants, and the like, too insignificant to be mentioned in the play's list of *dramatis personae*, occupy the same unimportant place in the thread of the story. It would seem, therefore, that such a close correspondence of actors would have been impossible if the play had been taken directly from Shelton's *Don Quixote*; there the course of the story is somewhat different: it is broken and the intervals are filled with a confusing array of outside characters, such as Don Quixote, Sancho, the barber, the curate, and others who furnish numerous irrelevant episodes. Yet even more noteworthy is the fact that the plot of the novel, shorn of all those extraneous and interrupting elements in *Don Quixote*, should present an excellent parallel to the play also; this cannot be a mere coincidence.

The construction of the play shows practically no originality whatsoever; the main additions made in it, namely, the breaking into the marriage ceremony by Julio, and the meeting of the fathers of the young people, were suggested by the novel itself, and made necessary by the paucity of episodes. The climax of the play, upon which Mr. Bradford bestows especial praise, is developed out of the close of the novel, in which all are reconciled at the inn where they have met. The particular introduction of the fathers at this place does not indicate remarkable constructive powers, for the novel tells us that everybody is looking for someone, Cardenio for Luscinda, Dorothea for Ferdinand, the fathers for their children; and the inn, therefore, became the most natural place where all was to be forgiven and everyone was to be happy once more.

In giving the order of scenes in the play, what follows is intended to emphasize, first, the fact of a similar sequence of events in the novel, and, second, the direct imitation by the play of features which do not exist in Shelton and which the author of *Double Falsehood* could have taken only from Croxall's version.

Act I, scene 1, Duke Angelo and his son Roderick speak of the absent Henriquez, the father telling his son to "bring Julio to Court." This very short scene is followed by one in a village at the house of Camillo, who appears with a letter ordering Julio to Court. The

latter enters, and after reading the mandate expresses in an aside his regret at leaving Leonora. He had intended to tell his father of his suit, but now defers it: "No moving of my Love-Suit to him now?" (p. 4). Of this there is nothing in Shelton, I, p. 200, but Croxall has: "This unforeseen Incident made *Cardenio* think it an improper Opportunity to break the Secret of his Passion to his Father" (p. 315). Leonora and her maid now enter; Julio bids the former farewell with the words: "Duke, I obey thy Summons" (p. 6), the latter word being used only in the novel of Croxall. This scene gives at length the "thousand endearing Protestations" of the novel (p. 316). Bernard, Leonora's father, enters, to whom Julio promises that he will speak to his father, Camillo, of his love. In the third scene Henriquez and some servants with lights are found under Violante's window. She appears and reproaches him for his unworthy suit. "Henr.: 'Why, this Dismission Does more invite my Staying'" (p. 12), which is expressed in the novel (p. 318): "All these Cautions on her Side but more inflamed the amorous Appetite on his." This act corresponds throughout with pp. 313-18 of the novel, which tells of Cardenio's love for Luscinda, the arrival of the letter ordering him to Court, his departure, his arrival at the Duke's palace, and the love of Ferdinand for Dorothea.

The latter is the subject of Act II, scene 1: a village; Henriquez comes from Violante's room, having possessed her by means of a promise of marriage. His monologue is overheard by some citizens who do not speak to him, and whose presence is gratuitous, since it leads to nothing. We learn that Henriquez has already transferred his affection to Leonora, though it is hard to see when he had time to meet her. Some time has elapsed before the next scene, in which we find Violante bewailing her fall. Henriquez sends her a letter: "Our Prudence should now teach us to forget" (p. 16). In scene 3, his courtship of Leonora is continued. Leonora's father gladly admits the suit of Henriquez and tries to force her to accept him: she must marry him in two days. Then follows a short scene between Bernard and Camillo, the fathers of Leonora and Julio; the former says his daughter is not for Julio, and they part quarreling. Leonora now appears at the window; a citizen enters to whom she throws a *purse* with money, saying: "I *conjure* you, Convey this *Paper* to

him, and believe me, you do Heav'n Service in't," etc. (p. 24). This episode imitates the novel more closely than Shelton, as can be seen from the third example (p. 5), quoted above. The act corresponds with pp. 319-27 of the novel, which proceeds with Dorothea's fall, and returning to Cardenio's love for Luscinda tells of Ferdinand's disloyalty to his friend and his sudden infatuation for Luscinda, of Cardenio's absence, Luscinda's anguish, and her message to him.

Act III, scene 1, continues the episode and presents Julio, who receives Leonora's letter. He curses the treachery of Henriquez and decides on an "exchange of Habit" (p. 26) with the citizen, so as to be able to enter her house unrecognized. Of this disguise there is nothing in Shelton, Vol. I, p. 244. But Croxall adds: "Disguising himself for Fear of *Don Ferdinand's* spies, he secretly approached the House of *Luscinda*" (p. 328). The next scene discloses Leonora at home; Julio enters, and she tells him: "what my Letter hath declared . . . is this Instant on th' effecting" (p. 28). In Croxall she begins: "the disastrous Moment is at Hand" (p. 328), of which there is nothing in Shelton. She conceals Julio behind the arras and the marriage ceremony follows. "Scene opens to a large Hall: an Altar prepared with Tapers. Enter at one Door Servants with Lights, Henriquez, Don Bernard and Churchman. At another, Attendants to Leonora" (p. 29). Leonora remonstrates with Henriquez and her father. This is mostly from Croxall, namely the altar with tapers, while the girl's remonstrance, the father's threats, and the like were suggested by the novel, as can be seen from the second example above (p. 8), of arbitrary changes made in Shelton. Then follows Julio's interruption, which is original with the play but may have been suggested by the novel: "Her Refusal had been a Cue for his rushing out to her Assistance; but now he remained confounded," etc. (p. 329). Julio is ejected and Leonora swoons. "Henr.: 'Bear her to her Chamber: Life flows in her again. Pray bear her hence: And tend her as you would the World's best Treasure. Don Bernard, this wild Tumult soon will cease, the Cause remov'd, and all return to Calmness. . . . Let the Priest wait: Come, go we in," etc. (p. 32). In Croxall we are told: "the intended Bride, languishing and half recover'd, was ordered into another Room, and the Priest directed by Ferdinand to wait, till Matters were better settled"

(p. 330); and "by reason of the Strength of her Fits [she] *was convey'd to her Chamber*" (p. 337), of which there is nothing in Shelton, Vol. I, p. 248 or p. 266. In the following scene Roderick appears, still troubled about his brother and "Julio's departure thus in Secret" (p. 32). Camillo enters and accuses him of complicity and then the same citizen who brought Leonora's letter announces Julio's flight. Bernardo comes in, and another quarrel ends with the reconciliation of the fathers. Violante now enters and learns, as in the novel, that the marriage was prevented. Her servant says: "Your Father makes mighty Offers yonder by a Cryer, to any One can bring you home again" (p. 37). How much nearer this is to Croxall than Shelton, may be seen from the third example above (p. 8) of the arbitrary changes made by the novel. Violante now decides to wear a shepherd's habit. This act corresponds with pp. 327-30 of the novel, the last short scene being taken from p. 334. The story continues with Cardenio's return to Luscinda, their meeting, the interrupted marriage ceremony, and the flight of Cardenio. The reconciliation of the fathers in the play is original, but was a necessary and rather obvious bit of padding in an otherwise extremely uneventful plot.

Act IV, scene 1, presents a wide plain with a prospect of mountains. Shepherds with the Master of the flock, and Violante in boy's clothes appear. Julio's madness is described. He enters and gives a demonstration of his state. Violante is recognized as a woman and assaulted by the Master. Roderick enters, looking for Henriquez, and the latter appears, in search of Leonora, who has fled to a convent. They go together to find her. In the next scene Julio and two gentlemen enter. One of the latter says: "He's calm again: I'll take this Interval to work upon Him. These wild and solitary Places, Sir, but feed your Pain; let better Reason guide you; And quit this forlorne State, that yields no Comfort." "(Lute sounds within.) Julio: 'Ha! hark, a Sound from Heaven! . . . I'm often visited with these sweet Airs, The Spirit of some hapless Man that dy'd, And left his Love hid in a faithless Woman, Sure haunts these Mountains.' (Violante sings)" (p. 47). The subject of her song is the "sorrow of a lost maid," and of a false swain who has betrayed her. That this is taken directly from the novel will be seen by comparing

Shelton and Croxall in the fourth example above (p. 8) of arbitrary changes made in the former. Then follows the effect of Violante's song on Julio, a sorrowful monologue by the forsaken girl, the meeting of Julio and Violante, after which he vows that he will not forsake her until her wrong has been atoned for by Henriquez. This act corresponds with the novel as follows: the first part of scene 1 is a fusion of different suggestions taken from pp. 330-36, the rest, and scene 2, being from pp. 336-41 of the novel. After the flight of Cardenio from the marriage ceremony, his life in the mountains and among the shepherds is depicted. Then Dorothea's plight is shown, her decision to leave her home to find Ferdinand, her experiences with her attendant, and with the Master of the flock when they discover that she is a woman, and her retreat to the wilds of the mountains. Then the narrative returns to Luscinda's escape to a convent and the pursuit by Ferdinand. Thereafter it continues the story of Dorothea and her meeting in the mountains with Cardenio.

Act V has two scenes, one a prospect of the mountains, the other an apartment in the Lodge. The fathers, in search of the children, here meet. All enter in succession, Roderick, Leonora and Henriquez, then Violante who accuses Henriquez, finally Julio, and a general reconciliation follows. This act is developed out of pp. 341-44 of the novel: Cardenio and Dorothea are "to suffer themselves to be conducted to an Inn." Luscinda, "snatched from the Convent," is brought there by Ferdinand, and after explanations, mutual forgiveness, and a reconciliation, all ends in a "sumptuous Entertainment."

If it has been possible to show that the novel entitled *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* is nothing more than Shelton furbished up for Croxall's collection at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and if it can be asserted that *Double Falsehood* is a slavish dramatization of the novel, it has become unnecessary to insist that there is not the remotest probability that Theobald had a lost "History of Cardenio" either by Shakespeare or Fletcher as a basis for his play *Double Falsehood*. The names of the cast must have been conceived with the original construction, for it seems incredible that Theobald should have rewritten a play in verse to the extent of putting *Julio* for *Cardenio*, and the like, in every verse in which one of the many



names occurs. And what reason could he have had for changing the names? It is impossible to discover one. He does not seem to have been acquainted with that hazy and ill-founded tradition which attributes a "History of Cardenio" to Shakespeare and Fletcher, or he would have left the names of the original story. He may have heard that there was once a play taken from this episode in *Don Quixote*, and so was impelled to try his hand at one, attributing it to the writer he knew better than did any of his contemporary critics.

The story of the origin and character of the manuscripts of *Double Falsehood* is unconvincing from beginning to end. Theobald tells us in his Preface:

It has been alleg'd as incredible, that such a Curiosity should be stifled and lost to the World for above a Century. To This my Answer is short; that tho' it never till now made its Appearance on the Stage, yet *one* of the Manuscript Copies, which I have, *is above Sixty Years' Standing* [the italics are mine] in the Handwriting of Mr. Downes, the famous Old Prompter; and, as I am credibly inform'd, was early in the Possession of the celebrated Mr. Betterton, and by Him design'd to have been usher'd into the World. What Accident prevented This Purpose of his, I do not pretend to know: Or thro' what Hands it had successively pass'd before that Period of Time. There is a Tradition (which I had from the Noble Person, who supply'd me with One of my Copies) that it was given by our Author, as a Present of Value, to a Natural Daughter of his, for whose Sake he wrote it, in the Time of his Retirement from the Stage. Two other Copies I have, etc. . . . . Another Objection has been started . . . . that the Tale of this Play, being built upon a Novel in *Don Quixot*, Chronology is against Us, and *Shakespeare* could not be the Author. But it happens that *Don Quixot* was publish'd in the Year 1611, and *Shakespeare* did not dye till April 1616, a sufficient Interval of Time for All that We want granted.

What a collection of old wives' tales! Three manuscript copies of an unknown play by Shakespeare: as if one were not wonderful enough, Theobald goes out and buys more copies; a tradition graciously supplied by an unmentioned "noble person" together with one copy; the play was given to a natural daughter by Shakespeare, as a present of value, the former being as improbable as the second is impossible, considering the worth of *Double Falsehood*. Downes, the prompter, d. 1710, in whose handwriting one of the copies was preserved, had been dead some seventeen years when the play appeared, and there is no evidence that the handwriting was submitted for

examination to those who doubted Theobald's word. Nor would any such examination have been conclusive, since even experts on handwritings disagree on the authenticity of a specific hand. Besides, there is a curious absence of other names connected with the story of these manuscripts; the whole legend of *Double Falsehood* has rested upon Theobald's assertion, and he mentions in connection with it only men like Downes and Betterton, long in their graves.

Now all critics of Shakespeare have always agreed that there is nothing of his in this play, and Theobald asserted (and perhaps he ought to know) that Fletcher had no hand in it. And how can we believe that three manuscript copies, based wholly or in part upon *The Adventures*, survived to be furbished up by Theobald for the stage, with all this hazy evidence about the manuscripts and the disagreement between Theobald and subsequent critics? Perhaps the conclusion of Churton Collins is the nearest to the truth after all, and the play was for the most part "from Theobald's own pen." He was certainly capable of writing a piece which is a manifest attempt to reproduce Shakespeare's language. What else are such absurd lines as: "Marry, now there is some Moral in his Madness" (p. 41), not to mention several others? If Croxall wanted to back Theobald's claim by printing the actual source of the play, in the hope that people would be led to believe that *Don Quixote* and not *The Adventures* was the real source, he made a mistake. Even the change of all of the names of the original could not always prevent people from comparing the three productions upon which this article is based.

The result of all our comparisons is, then, that *The Adventures* is directly taken from Shelton. When? Hardly immediately, else there would not have been the linguistic change; that in all probability it was done for Croxall, because the changes in incident and language are such as to make the story conform more closely to the taste of the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Moreover, to have been used by Fletcher, it must have been done before 1625, a thing so improbable that it may almost be called impossible. Therefore either the play is neither by Fletcher nor Shakespeare, or the play is not taken from *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*.

But it has been shown that there is a definite relation between the novel and the play, namely that the latter is based on the former, and thus belongs to the early eighteenth century. Against this there is nothing but Theobald's story, which convinces no one. And if Theobald hoodwinked the public, would he do it for the sake of someone else? That seems most unlikely. Therefore, in conclusion, if it cannot be proved that the revamped version of the romance of Cardenio entitled *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* was known at least sixty years (the age of the Downes manuscript) before the first appearance of the play, according to the evidence which remains, Theobald must have obtained a manuscript copy of the novel, possibly from the printer Watts. At all events, his name is the only one that can be definitely connected with the authorship of *Double Falsehood*.

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## NOTE ON *DAS* AND *WAS*

In the "Decennial Publications" of the University of Chicago (1902) there appeared an article by Professor Starr Willard Cutting "Concerning the Modern German Relatives *Das* and *Was*, in Clauses Dependent upon Substantivized Adjectives." Professor Cutting investigated the usage of Hauptmann, Heyse, Keller, Meyer, Nietzsche, Raabe, Schopenhauer, Spielhagen, Sudermann, and Wildenbruch, in all 7,368 pages of text.

In connection with some other investigations of Heine's grammatical usage the writer of the present article has also recorded his usage of *das* and *was* in clauses dependent upon substantivized adjectives, and offers the article as a contribution to the study of this question. All of Heine's prose works as contained in the Elster edition, in all 2,360 pages of text, have been examined and all the instances of his usage of *das* and *was* recorded.

Heine is above all a careful writer and a glance at his manuscript as prepared for the publishers shows very careful and painstaking correction. All through his writings we feel that he uses words with a full realization of their exact value and, in a question such as the one we are considering, we have good reason to believe that he reflects very well the usage of the first half of the nineteenth century.

For convenience in reference and comparison the cases found in Heine are divided as in Professor Cutting's article into the following groups:

### I. *Was*-clauses:

- a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- b) After positives or comparatives.

### II. *Das*-(*welches*-) clauses:

- a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- b) After positives or comparatives.

On pp. 20 and 21 of his article Professor Cutting states in summarized form the chief results of his investigation. As the usage of Heine does not in all respects agree with these results it will be interesting to study and note the exceptions which follow.

A condensed table is here given showing the number of instances of the usage in question in the authors investigated by Professor Cutting in comparison with the instances found in Heine.

	<i>Was</i> Sup. Ia	<i>Das</i> Sup. IIa	<i>Was</i> Pos. and Comp. Ib	<i>Das</i> Pos. and Comp. IIb
Nietzsche.....	9	10	4	33
Schopenhauer.....	15	10	18	97
All the remaining.....	29	4	22	26
Heine.....	18	4	12	22

	<i>Was</i> Sup., Comp., and Pos. Ia and Ib	<i>Das</i> Sup., Comp., and Pos. IIa and IIb
Nietzsche.....	13	43
Schopenhauer.....	33	107
All the remaining.....	51	30
Heine.....	30	26

Of the sixteen authors examined by Professor Cutting, in all 7,368 pages of text, two authors, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, furnish 4,413 pages—more than half of the material investigated. Professor Cutting himself states that these statistics suggest a correspondence of cause and effect between the critical analytic habit of mind and a strong preference for the relative *das*. While it is true that both of these men are good stylists, still they are first and last exact writers and would hardly hesitate to sacrifice a customary usage, if, by the use of some other relative word, they would be able to express their thought with greater precision and clearness.

If then we omit Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, the reverse ratio of almost 2 to 1 in favor of *das*-(*welches*-) as given in Professor Cutting's results will be changed again in favor of *was* by a ratio of 51 to 30. As the table shows the ratio in Heine is 30 to 26 in favor of *was*.

The superlative category alone shows a very decided preference for *was*, 29 to 4 in authors examined by Professor Cutting (omitting Nietzsche and Schopenhauer) and 18 to 4 in Heine.

In view of what has been noted here there hardly seems to be any justification in changing the rules of usage ordinarily accepted.

These rules are summarized very well in Professor Curme's *German Grammar* and are practically as follows:

If the antecedent is a substantivized adjective in the superlative degree, the relative usually employed is *was*. Earlier, *das* and *welches* were also used here. This older usage is still found, especially in more elevated diction. If the antecedent is a positive or comparative, *was* may be used, though *das* is in these cases usually employed. It is very possible that in these cases there is a difference between *das* and *was*, *das* referring to something more definite—more definite at least to the author. We cannot in these cases determine absolutely whether *das* or *welches* is used as a survival of the older usage to indicate something general or indefinite or whether it is used to refer to something definite.

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## THE SISTER'S SON AND THE CONTE DEL GRAAL

In my article on the "Fisher King"<sup>1</sup> I drew attention to the fact that the ancient mysteries speak ritualistically of the tribal god as *πατήρ*<sup>2</sup> and suggested that a similar concept underlay the Grail story. I propose now to consider this question more fully, and incidentally to show its bearing on the plot of Crestien's romance.

<sup>1</sup> *PMLA*, XXII (1909), 385-398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., especially, Farnell, *Culte of the Greek States*, IV, 36 ff. In addition to my previous references, see H. Zimmer, *Der babylonische Gott Tammuz*, Teubner, 1909; Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, especially pp. 263, where possible matriarchal aspects of the Demeter-Kore cult are brought out; R. Pischel, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischesymbols*, Berlin, 1905; especially, I. Scheftelowits, "Das Fisch-Symbol im Judentum u. Christenth.," in the *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XIV (1911), 1-53; 321-392; J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Basel, 1897; though B.'s theory of matriarchy as a political system is not accepted by ethnologists, his work contains an unusual wealth of classical material bearing on our subject. Thus he observes the association of the male principle with the water, Poseidon, Dionysos, Osiris, Orpheus; see pp. 39 ff. "So erscheinen [p. 43] zu Dodona Dione-Venus und Zeus-Acheloois, jene die stoffliche Erde, der Früchte Mutter (Apollod. apud Schol. *Od.* 3, 91, ll. 5, 370, 16, 233 sq; *Ser. Aen.* 3, 466; *Cic. N.D.* 3, 23; Hesiod *Theog.* 353, etc., etc.), dieser die zeugende Wasserkraft, die erst in der Geburt, also in der mächtigen, hochgewipfelten Eiche, zur Darstellung gelangt"; further, pp. 239 ff.

On the grail problem itself additional matter is adduced by L. von Schroeder in his *Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral* (Vienna Academy, Vol. CLXVI)—cf. also "Der arische Naturkult" in the *Bayreuther Blätter*, July, 1911. S. equates the Fisher King with the Norse Hymir: "Es ist [p. 66] Thörr, der Gewittergott, der den Bierkessel der Götter von Hymir erobert, wie Indra, der Gewittergott, es ist, der den Soma oder die Somakufe dem Vrita, Vala, Vivasvant usw. abgewinnt." S. also mentions the caldron of Odherir (cf. my remarks, *op. cit.*, 406, on Mimir, to whom it belongs), of which he says: "Man wird Hymirs Kessel und den Odherirs niemals verwechseln und kann doch erkennen, dass beide auf dieselbe Grundvorstellung zurückgehen." I am not qualified to discuss the crux of Schroeder's theory that the fundamental idea which underlies these parallels is "altärische Sage [p. 92]—in der uralten Vorstellung von Sonne und Mond als wunderbaren himmlischen Gefäßen." One is naturally skeptical about such generalizations. Certainly, it is a bold leap from Crestien's silver trencher to the moon, and from the grail to the sun (p. 91), and yet I do not wish to prejudge the case. On the whole, I am more inclined to agree with the statement: "nicht nur mythische, sondern auch 291]

## I

Perceval, whose name is not revealed until after the grail-visit, is called by Crestien in vs. 74<sup>1</sup> (Pot. II, vss. 1920 ff.): *li fi(l)z a la veve dame* (the term is repeated in *Perlesvaus*, p. 156). In accordance with her general theory of mystical origin, Miss Weston saw<sup>2</sup> in the term a proof of ritualism. Modern mystics informed her that "*Sons of the Widow* is a very wide-spread synonym for Initiates"; and its occurrence in ancient Egypt and among the sect of the Manicheans would give probability to this suggestion. But without following Miss Weston into the hazy realm of modern mysticism, we must admit that the term is striking and whether mystical or not is a suitable appellation for one concerned, that is, in Crestien, with the affairs of his mother's kin. This fact will appear clearly as we proceed.

In the passage following vs. 340 the hero says: "J'ai nom biax fi(l)z." This corresponds to Wolfram<sup>3</sup> (*Parzival*), § 140, 6: "bon fîz, scher fîz, bêâ fîz, alsus hat mich genennet der mich dâ heime erken-net"—and whatever other significance it has, illustrates well the hero's ingenuousness, for thus any child might be called by its parent.<sup>4</sup> Directly after the first grail-visit, the hero's cousin germane (Wolfram's Sigune) again asks his name, and there follows this passage (vss. 3534 ff.):

E cil qui son nom ne savoit  
Devine et dit que il avoit

kultliche Wurzeln, die in die urarische Zeit zurückreichen, werden wir daher im Hintergrunde der mannigfachen keltischen Erzählungen von Zaubergefässen und ihrer Gewinnung vermuten müssen." Most important is the *Rig-Veda* (8, 86) version of Indra's conquest of the celestial Soma, the guardians of which are the Gandharven, in whom Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, I, 427, note) had seen the "genius of fertility." Without denying this feature, S. considers the Gandharven as the soul awaiting incarnation and compared him to Lohengrin (on whom, see Pestalozzi, *Habilitationsschrift*, 1908). In any case, he it is who opposes Indra, who shoots him with his arrow "und durchbohrt den Gandharven im bodenlosen Luftraum." The Soma-offering was an invocation for rain (*Regenzauber*) and Indra's conquest liberated the streams and rivers (cf. *PMLA*, XXIV [1909], 395 ff.). But it is incorrect to say that the rain-making feature of the grail ceremony is "ein bisher ganz dunkel gebliebener Zug der Graldichtungen."

<sup>1</sup> I cite from the Balst text throughout.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Perceval*, II, 306 ff. "Perceval's title, perfectly natural given the *données* of the legend, suggested that he was an Initiate, and he stepped into Gawain's shoes."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the *Bel-Inconnu* group of poems, which I intend to consider in a separate article.

<sup>4</sup> On the use of *biaus freres*, see W. A. Stowell, *Old French Titles of Respect*, 147 ff., and Tappolet, *Verwandtschaftsnamen*.

Percevaus li galois a non,  
 E ne set s'il dit voir ou non,  
 E il dit voir si ne le sot.

That is, he divines or guesses his real name. Whereupon the cousin informs him that the Fisher King

"eüst regaaigniez  
 Les membres e terre tenist,  
 E[i]nsi granz biens an avenist,"

if Perceval had asked about the lance and the grail. She explains further that his failure to ask was due to the sin he committed in deserting his mother:

"Por le pechié ce saches tu  
 De ta mere t' est venu." (Vss. 3555 ff.)

Now, lest the fact escape us, it should be noted at once that Perceval, simple-minded as he is in the poem, is yet fully conscious of his duty toward his mother. The neglect of this filial obligation, owing to his enthusiasm for chivalry (Perceval's *desmesure*), is one of the romantic situations of the Perceval legend which has not always been brought out by the commentators. Having been invested with

La plus haute ordre avoec l'espée  
 Que Deus a faite e comandée  
 C'est l'ordre de chevalerie,

Perceval is first of all desirous:

Que a sa mere venir puisse  
 E que sain[ne] e vive la truisse. (Vss. 1676 ff.)

And later, when Blanchefleur has wooed and won him so that he vanquishes Clamadeus and his seneschal, the excuse he gives for his sudden departure is that he must seek his mother:

"Que ge ma mere veoir vois." (Vss. 2915 ff.)

But his absence is to be temporary; he will return with his mother:

il lor met an covenant  
 S'il trueve sa mere vivant  
 Que avoec lui l'an amanra  
 E d'iluec [an] avant tanra  
 La terre, ce sachiez de fi;  
 E se ele est morte autresi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last line is significant as indicating the conclusion of the story.

Again, he is imploring God for a glimpse of her (vs. 2944: *Qu'il doint veoir sa mere*) when he meets the fisherman who directs him to the Castle of the Grail.

Yet, as we saw, the fact that he deserted her sealed his lips in the presence of the grail, and as a consequence great suffering will befall mankind ("enui an avandra toi e autrui"; cf. vss. 3553 ff.). It appears then that the return to the mother (the *motif* of desertion) is of more than incidental importance. Later romances of the Perceval cycle, such as the *Perlesvaus* and even *Syr Percyvèle*, bear out this conclusion. The "return" is an obligation the hero is bound to fulfil, since failing to fulfil it he fails *ipso facto*—in *Crestien*—in his most important adventure. The dramatic interest of our poem lies between these two poles of action: the obligation to the mother and the visit to the Grail Castle, and it seems improbable that a genuine Perceval tale ever existed without them. In *Syr Percyvèle*, which to be sure some scholars have considered primitive, the bond which united Perceval to the Fisher King seems to me to have been transferred to King Arthur, in my opinion, probably a later development.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Good Friday episode, that is, the interview with the hermit-uncle, is now seen to be the necessary consequence of what has preceded. The mother having died, Perceval is obliged to atone for her death if the curse for which he is responsible is to be removed. Hence the hermit's solicitude, expressed in the words:<sup>2</sup>

"Or te vuel anjoindre e doner  
Penitance de ce pechié."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 26. In *Crestien* the connection with Arthur's court appears loosely knit. At the same time, the connection may antedate *Crestien*; he mentions Perceval as an Arthurian knight in his *Erec*, vs. 1525. The Arthurian portion of the *Conte del Graal* repeats virtually the technique of the *Isain*: (1) *motif* of vengeance; (2) fight with a red knight; (3) wooing of the hero—"otherworld" visit; (4) search of the hero by the Arthurian court; (5) unhorsing of Keus; (6) return of the hero to court; (7) messenger denounces the hero; (8) hero departs and wanders distraught.

<sup>2</sup> Vss. 1394-1395. In Wolfram, Book IX, the motive for the question is pity, a feeling still foreign to the youthful Parzival's heart. Cf. § 473, 15:

daz er niht zem wirt sprach  
umben kumber den er an im sach.

According to Wolfram's ethical interpretation the hero thus commits a fresh sin, since he was evidently free to ask. Cf. § 473, 18:

doch muoz er sünde engelten,  
daz er niht frâgte des wirtes schaden.

This sin he atones for, together with that of his mother's death, at Trevrizent's cell. But Wolfram no longer makes the mother's death responsible for the hero's failure. At

But why, we ask, should the success of the grail ceremony and the welfare of its two kings depend on Perceval's conduct toward his parent? For the simple reason, I believe, that Perceval, like Gawain in the main Arthurian tradition, is a *sister's son*.

In the English ballad<sup>1</sup> Arthur says to his nephew:

"Come here, cuzen Gawaine so gay,  
My sisters sonne be yee."

With less emphasis but implying as much, the hermit<sup>2</sup> explains to the remorseful Perceval:

"Cil cui l'an sert fu mes frere,  
Ma suer e soe fu ta mere."

In other words, the Grail King is our hero's maternal uncle, and a closer male relative Perceval could not have had. This concept is, I think, the basis of Crestien's plot. Through youthful ardor Perceval neglects his kin—that same kin, in the person of his maternal uncle, stands in the way of his final success until the former misdeed has been duly expiated. Not only was the success of the grail-visit to benefit the kin, but its failure prolongs the suffering of its chief representative, and inflicts positive harm on those connected with it. Therefore the messenger proclaims to Arthur's court in vss. 4640 ff.:

"Dames an perdront lor mariz,  
Terres an seront esilliées,  
E puceles desconseilliées  
Qui orfelines remandront,  
E maint chevalier an morront,  
E tuit avront le mal par toi."<sup>3</sup>

the same time the kinship ties are essentially those mentioned by Crestien (see below). Trevrizent calls Parzival, § 475, 19: "Heber swester suon," and adds a significant detail not found in Crestien; namely, that in killing the Red Knight (Ither, according to Wolfram) Perceval has slain his own kin ("din eigen verch erslagn"), for Ither is Parzival's cousin (on the paternal side, § 498, 13), himself the sister's son of Uther Pendragon, § 145, 12. His death Parzival is also to requite. Thus Wolfram has complicated further the bonds of relationship, whether on his own initiative or not is impossible to tell, making the connection between the Arthurian court and the Grail dynasty more intimate than in Crestien. On the other hand, his hero has advanced a step in that the motive of his silence is no longer an external "taboo" but a youthful lack of human, Christian sympathy.

<sup>1</sup> *King Arthur and King Cornwall*; see Sargent and Kittredge, *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads* (Boston, 1904), p. 50. Compare the interesting article of Professor Gummere in the *Furnivall Miscellany*, where additional instances may be found.

<sup>2</sup> Vss. 6377 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Parzival*, §§ 316 ff., where there is no trace of this general effect in the messenger's imprecation. See above, p. 4, note.

Indeed, the messenger's reference to Fortune:<sup>1</sup>

"Ha! Percevaus fortune est chauve  
Derriers e devant chevelue,  
E dahez ait qui te salue!"—

which the author of the *Perlesvaus*<sup>2</sup> elaborated, is singularly appropriate to this dramatic moment. There is almost a touch of Greek feeling in the manner in which the poet here portrays the inexorableness of fate.

In agreement with this fundamental notion of the sanctity of kinship, we find that the poem carefully explains all the kinship ties, and that with one exception these are all on the maternal side. Like the Grail King, the hermit to whom Perceval does penance is a maternal uncle, the Fisher King is a cousin germane, likewise the damsel whom Perceval meets outside the Grail Castle (vs. 3562). Blanchefleur, of course, belongs to a different *gens*, but her uncle is Gornemanz,<sup>3</sup> whose brother germane was slain by Anguinguerron (vs. 2270), their common enemy. The exception is found in the account given of the hero's father by Perceval's mother (vss. 398-468; Pot., II, vss. 1607-1682). The father was feared *An totes les isles de mer*; the son may boast, says the mother:

"Que vos ne descheez de rien  
De son lignage ne del mien,  
Car je fui de chevaliers née  
Des mellors de ceste contrée.  
*Es isles de mer n'ot lignage*  
*Meillor del mien an mon aage.*" (Vss. 401-406.)

The passage I have italicized shows where the emphasis is placed; that is, although the mother is speaking of her husband she stresses her own lineage.<sup>4</sup> Besides, it would have been unusual had Crestien made no reference to Perceval's father (cf. his other romances, especially *Cligés*). As I have stated elsewhere the manner of the father's wounding (*parmi les hanches*) is so similar to that of the Fisher King that it possesses little originality.<sup>5</sup> While, then, I see

<sup>1</sup> Vss. 4608 ff. Cf. *MLN*, VIII (1893), 230-33, for the history of the expression.

<sup>2</sup> Pot., I, 24 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In *Peredur* Gornemanz is confused with the hero's own uncle; see Loth, *Mabinog.*, II, 59; Hertz, *Paris*, 479.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Perlesvaus*, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> *MLN*, XXV (1910), 249. See, also Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, XI, 1-2, where Arthur himself is wounded *letaliter* and carried to Avalon to be healed. I tried

no reason for agreeing with Newell<sup>1</sup> that "the passage, intended to emphasize the woes of the widow seems . . . obviously to be the work of a later hand," nevertheless Wolfram's statement that the mother was already a widow at the time of her flight to the woods appears to me closer to the original situation. To what apparent absurdities the uncertainty as to Perceval's father could lead is seen in the *Perlesvaus*,<sup>2</sup> where the father is still living when the son leaves home. The other references Crestien makes—in this connection—to Uther Pendragon (*pere le bon roi Artu*), the King of (Es)cavalon, and Ban de Gomeret,<sup>3</sup> are perhaps inspired by the desire to connect the tale more intimately with the Arthurian setting, though it is well not to affirm this too strongly. In any case, since Crestien has not given the father a name, and does not so much as mention him again, we may assume that to all intents and purposes he was nameless, and that his having once existed is a fact of no genuine importance to the plot of the romance. Thus it follows that a primary condition of the story is kinship, and that this kinship is matrilinear or matriarchal.

The full significance of this I shall bring out presently. It may be noted first that the outline of the story conforms entirely to this situation: A youth of uncertain fatherhood fares forth into the world to win renown, and an inheritance. His ignorance of life appears in various foolish or ill-advised acts he commits. But he is valiant and strong, and obtains assistance (instruction) from those who require his support. He frees a luckless maiden from oppressors and then weds her. The maiden virtually offers herself to him. He comes within reach of his goal, and is on the point of being recognized and established by his nearest kin (the maternal uncle), but fails at first because his mother has died through his neglect.

to make clear in my "Fisher King" that the Grail King, and not his son, seems to have been originally the "important" person. In Crestien he is still the uncle, though it is his son (i.e., his earthly representative) who is to be cured. Cf. the reviews of my article: F. Lot, *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, LXX (1909); A. Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XXI (1910), 112 ff.; E. Brugger, *ZfS.*, XXXVI (2-4) (1910), 71-74; L. Jordan, *Literaturbl.*, XXXII (1911), 335-37.

<sup>1</sup> *King Arthur and the Table Round* (Boston 1897), II, 252.

<sup>2</sup> Pot. I, 19. In *Perlesvaus* the hero is descended through his father from Glais (patronymic of Glastonbury, see *MP*, I [1903], 248) and through him from Nicodemus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Erec*, vs. 1811: *l'usage Pendragon mon pers . . . doi je garder e maintenir*; vs. 1975: *vint li rois Bans de Gomeret*; on Escavalon, see the Gawain part of the *Conte del Graal*.

As is well known, Crestien did not complete his romance. In fact, in MS 794 the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence. But from what has been said it is sufficiently clear that having atoned for his fault, Perceval was doubtless to return to the Grail, perhaps to be initiated into its mystery,<sup>1</sup> probably to succeed the Fisher King, and of course to be reunited to Blanche fleur. Any other plan on Crestien's part seems to me precluded. The continuation of the poem found in MS Bern 113—the so-called *Rochat Perceval*<sup>2</sup>—practically ends in this way:<sup>3</sup> the Fisher King before dying says:

“Ore, biaux niés, si est bien drois,  
ains que vos avant en sacois,  
que vos corone d'or portés,  
sor vostre cief, et rois serés,  
car ne vivrai mais que tier ior,  
ensi plaist il a creator.”

So much for the problem presented to us. The matriarchal idea is evidently the *Leitmotiv* of Crestien's work in contradistinction to Wolfram and the later romancers, whose hero is actuated by Christian ideals—in Wolfram by “pity,” in the Quest-versions by “purity,” to which the author of the *Perlesvaus* adds the Augustinian idea of grace (“Sire, fit li hermites, or n'oubliez pas à demander, se *Diez le vos veust consantir*, ce que li autres chevaliers oubliat<sup>4</sup>).

Let us now inquire into matriarchy as a system, the evidence of its survival in the territory from which Crestien's work may have come, the references to the idea in other story-material of the twelfth century, and the significance of Crestien's *Conte del Graal* as an illustration of the system.

## II

Generally speaking, matriarchy is the system of tracing family descent through the mother's line, and is not to be confused with

<sup>1</sup> See my “Fisher King,” *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 365 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Rochat, *Ueber einen unbekannten Percheval le Gallois*, Zurich, 1855, p. 91; in this version the Fisher King is P.'s uncle; see Heinzel, *Französ. Gräromane*, 58 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also the ending of the *Parsival*, §§ 781 ff.: Parsival joins his wife and two sons at the Grail Castle, asks the question, thus releasing Amfortas, and becomes ruler of the Grail kingdom. Also *Didot-Perceval*, Hucher I, 484-485; Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, 84.

<sup>4</sup> Pot., I, 83; cf. also 130: “Et Damediez li doint tel volenté et vos autres; que vos puissies fetre la volenté au Sauvêor”; also 5, 89 ff. “Pity” Gawain has in *Perlesvaus*, 89: “si an a grant pitié, et ne li souvient d'autre chose que de la douleur que cil rois soufre”—yet this does not suffice.



gynocracy or the supremacy of women. It is defined with German precision by Schrader<sup>1</sup> as "jene, wie die Völkerkunde lehrt, noch heute bei gewissen Völkern des Erdballs übliche Familienordnung, die zwar den Begriff des Ehemanns (auf längere oder kürzere Dauer) nicht aber den des Vaters kennt, weil eben die Kinder nicht dem Vater, sondern der Mutter gehören und nicht den Vater oder Vaterbruder, sondern die Mutter, bezüglich den Mutterbruder oder mütterlichen Grossoheim beerben." Essentially then, matriarchy is a law of descent based on "the larger social fact, including the biological one, that the bond between mother and child is the closest in Nature."<sup>2</sup> In recent writers on this subject it is made clear that while the expression of the male power is obscured, the principle of male authority is always in force, and the tribal matriarchal group may be defined as "a fighting male organization living in a group of females."<sup>3</sup> Hence it is not inconsistent to find in the Perceval story man physically and politically supreme and yet filiation taking place on the side of woman.

While power is thus vested in the male, the leader of the group is not the blood father but the mother's nearest male relative, usually her oldest brother.<sup>4</sup> This necessarily resulted from the ephemeral nature of primitive marriage and from the custom that the husband during the period of cohabitation resided with his wife's kin.<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> *Indogermanen* (1911), pp. 75 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society* (Chicago, 1907), p. 66. The sociological literature on the subject is large and is constantly growing. In the main, I have followed the following authorities: E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 39-100 ff.; L. von Dargun, *Mutterrecht u. Raubeke*, Breslau, 1883; *idem*, *Mutterrecht u. Vaterrecht*, Leipzig, 1892; J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861; E. W. Hopkins, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, XIII, 56 ff.; B. Delbrück, "Indogermanische Verwandtschaftsnamen," *Saxon Academy of Sciences*, XI, 586 ff.; O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People* (tr. Jevons), (London, 1890,) pp. 395 ff.; G. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, Leipzig, 1884; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885; H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, II, 379; E. B. Tylor, "Matriarchal Family System," *Nineteenth Century*, 1896, p. 89; M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem* (London, 1902), pp. 107 ff.; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), I, chap. iv, "Motherright." I was unable to procure Otto Hoffmann, "Die Verwandtschaft mit der Sippe der Frau," in the *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität zu Breslau*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 69, note. Perhaps it is safer to say, instead of "a group of females," a group of which the female is the unit of descent. I would guard against the danger of overstating the case. See, for example, in reference to the Greeks, Farnell, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII (1904), 70 and H. J. Rose, *Folk-Lore*, XXII (1911), 277.

<sup>4</sup> Dargun, *op. cit.*, 56-57; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, I, 99.

<sup>5</sup> Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 59 ff.

this way the *sister* gains great prominence in the social system<sup>1</sup> since it is her son who succeeds to the *potestas* of the family. "The practice of the Wamoima [in Africa]," says Thomas,<sup>2</sup> "where the son of the sister is preferred in legacies, because 'a man's own son is only the son of his wife,' is typical." Examples have been gathered from almost every part of the world which establish the correctness of this statement. Wherever matriarchy prevails or prevailed, and its occurrence is exceedingly widespread, the tendency constantly is to accord the nephew or niece more importance than the direct offspring. A few striking cases may be cited; for others I refer to the authorities cited in the footnotes.

On the island of Efate in the New Hebrides a kindred or family reckoning descent from the same mother in female line is called *nakainanga*. . . . Hence it was the duty of a man to instruct his sister's son, not his own son, because he was not of the same *nakainanga* and the father would not be responsible for him. The chief of a village has the right to appoint his successor. He appoints not his own son, "*but in preference to all others his sister's son, who by the law of the NAKAINANGA is considered nearer and dearer to him than his own son, and to be his proper heir.*"<sup>3</sup>

Among the Tahl-tan of British Columbia "kinship so far as marriage or inheritance of property goes, is with the mother exclusively; and the father is not considered a relative by blood."<sup>4</sup> The Wyandot Indians, according to J. W. Powell,<sup>5</sup> recognize four groups: the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe.

The gens is an organized body of consanguineal kindred in the female line. "The woman carries the gens" is the formulated statement by which a Wyandot expresses the idea that descent is in the female line. Each gens has the name of some animal, the ancestor of such animal being its tutelary god. . . . Each gens is allied to other gentes by consanguineal kinship through the male line, and by affinity through marriage. . . . Children, irrespective of sex, belong to the gens of the mother."

<sup>1</sup> See J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, I, 144-209, for the intimate ties between brother and sister.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 62; from J. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, II, 57.

<sup>3</sup> See Hartland, I, 291, from Rev. D. Macdonald, *Rep. Austr. Assoc.*, IV, 722-23.

<sup>4</sup> Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 280, from Dawson, *Am. Rep. Geol. Survey Canada*, 1887, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, I, 59 ff.

In northeast India "the son does not succeed his father, but the raja's neglected offspring may become a common peasant or laborer; the sister's son succeeds to rank, and is heir to the property."<sup>1</sup>

In Loango [in Africa] the uncle is addressed as *Tate* (father). He exercises paternal authority over his nephew, whom he can even sell. The father has no power; and if the husband and wife separate the children follow the mother as belonging to her brother. They inherit from their mother; the father's property, on the other hand, goes at his death to his brother (by the same mother) or to his sister's sons.<sup>2</sup>

Possible traces of the system are found in the Bible: Sarah is related to Abraham only on the paternal side (Gen. 20:12); Tamar could have become the wife of Amnon, her half-brother (II Sam. 13:13); Laban tells Jacob: "These daughters are my daughters, and these children are my children" (Gen. 31:43), and the well-known marriage injunction is: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife" (Gen. 2:24). The laws of Solon in Athens also permitted the marriage of brother and sister who were not of the same mother.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus<sup>4</sup> says: "Ask a Lycian who he is, and he will answer by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line." According to W. Robertson Smith<sup>5</sup> the ancient Arab sentiment held the sanctity of women to be inviolate, the greatest of insults being an insult to them—an idea which he traces to female kinship.

Accordingly, the bond between brother and sister is scarcely second to that uniting mother and son.<sup>6</sup> Antigone in Sophocles endures for Polynices toil and suffering that she would not have undergone for husband or children.<sup>7</sup> The wife of Intaphernes, Herodotus<sup>8</sup> tells us, when allowed by Darius to claim the life of a single man of her kin, chose her brother, saying that husband and children could all be replaced. In this connection the student of

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 281. From A. Bastian, *Deutsche Exped. an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874-75), I, 166.

<sup>3</sup> Wilken, *op. cit.*, 41.

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson, I, 173; cf. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 64.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 100 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See especially J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, I, 1, -209, and Potter, *op. cit.*, 196.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, 65.

<sup>8</sup> Rawlinson, III, 119.

Arthurian romance is at once reminded of the significant rôle taken by Perceval's sister in the Quest-versions<sup>1</sup> and the striking passage in the *Conte del Graal* (vss. 8697 ff.) where Sir Gawain plays an important part in the affairs of his female kindred.<sup>2</sup> So, too, Professor Gummere finds in his ballad studies<sup>3</sup> that brother and sister afford older instances of confidence and affection than husband and wife or lover and sweetheart. Ballad literature records the same preference of the sister's son over a man's own child which we noted above apropos of African savages—a condition which Tacitus<sup>4</sup> posits of the ancient Germans in the words: "quidam sanctiorem artoremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmitus et domus latius teneant." Gummere cites an excellent example,<sup>5</sup> probably the best on record, of the concentration of this kinship bond, in the Danish ballad *Nilus og Hillehille*; here the marriage of Sir Nilus places in mortal conflict brother and sister, two sister's sons, and the maternal uncle.

While, therefore, the matriarchal system put the maternal uncle in an exalted place, as the chief of the clan—the juridical *πατρις* of the family—granting him control over its children, the physical father, if recognized at all, was quite a subordinate personage. This practice obtained, as has frequently been shown, as long as women controlled the marital arrangement, as long as they exercised the primary right of selection and possessed, as they did in ancient Arabia,<sup>6</sup> the privilege of dismissing their husbands and choosing others. Says Hartland:<sup>7</sup>

Where the matrilineal clan is in full force, or where the family has been formed within the larger organisation of the clan but has not yet succeeded in supplanting it for effective social government, the husband remains subordinate to the wife's male kinsmen, her uncles or her brothers.

<sup>1</sup> See Jessie L. Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, chap. v; Brugger, *ZfS.*, XXX (1904) (6-8), 126 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quant ele de fi le savra  
Qu' ele est sa suer et il ses frere  
S' an avra grant joie sa mere  
Autre que ele n' i atant. (Vss. 9034 ff.)

Cf. also Weston, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

<sup>3</sup> *The Popular Ballad*, 182 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Germ.* 20, 9.

*Op. cit.*, 183.

<sup>5</sup> J. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, 65 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Primitive Paternity*, II, 94.

And even when the family as such has become firmly established, the sons sometimes still pass at an early age to their uncle's care or must be purchased from the wife if they are to continue in the father's control.<sup>1</sup> The rise of the paternal supremacy is a moot question which cannot be discussed here. Nor does it affect our problem directly, though it may enter into the larger question of the primary *motifs* of Arthurian romance. But for the present that is neither here nor there, and it is enough to note that primitive man is averse to sudden, radical change, and even long after the triumph of the male, the social sanctions of the past obtain to a considerable extent. So that we may find "a formal elevation of woman to authority in groups where the actual control is in the hands of men."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, we should not forget that the word "clan" is essentially a sociological term. Only in a general way is it synonymous with blood-relationship.<sup>3</sup> While the blood-bond is *considered* to unite the various members of a clan, it can be acquired through ceremony, or by sucking the blood of a member of the clan, as Cuchulinn sucks that of Dervorgil, thus becoming her blood-brother.<sup>4</sup> In this way, "many savage peoples are organized as totemic clans, each clan bearing the name of an animal or plant supposed to be akin to the human members of the clan."<sup>5</sup> The clan once constituted, each member shared in the privileges and deprivations to which any member thereof was liable. He was entitled to protection, but he was compelled to guard the clan against attack and to take part in its feuds and avenge injuries to it. But his greatest restriction was "the prohibition to marry or have sexual relations with any woman

<sup>1</sup> Hartland, *op. cit.*, II, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, 73.

<sup>3</sup> See the clear distinction made between the "physiological" and the "social" by Van Gennep in his *Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909. "C'est [p. 4] le fait même de vivre qui nécessite les passages successifs d'une société spéciale à une autre et d'une situation sociale à une autre: en sorte que la vie individuelle consiste en une succession d'étapes dont les fins et commencements forment des ensembles de même ordre: naissance, puberté sociale, mariage, paternité, progression de classe, spécialisation d'occupation, mort. Et à chacun de ces ensembles se rapportent des cérémonies dont l'objet est identique: faire passer l'individu d'une situation déterminée à une autre situation tout aussi déterminée." And in speaking of initiations proper (p. 97): "Il convient donc de distinguer de la puberté physique la *puberté sociale*, de même qu'on distingue entre une *parenté physique* (consanguinité) et une *parenté sociale*, entre une *maturité physique* et une *maturité sociale* (majorité), etc." I follow in the presentation above the discussion found in Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 257 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 257.

of the kin." Consequently we find marriage taking place with women of a different kin. For obvious reasons, the theories on the origin of exogamy cannot be discussed here.<sup>1</sup> Our purpose, however, is served in recording its existence, practically the world over, in connection with the primitive clan organization. Endogamous clans there were, but the characteristic tribal life was exogamous. Upon this all ethnologists agree.<sup>2</sup>

### III

In considering now the evidence presented by Arthurian literature, we naturally look first of all to the Celts, especially as we have good reasons for considering the grail ceremony to be in the main of Celtic origin.<sup>3</sup> Relations between the French (Normans and Angevins) and the Celts of Brittany and Wales were intimate from the time of the Conqueror until the end of Henry the Second's reign, while there was inter-communication between Ireland and the Continent as well as between Ireland and Britain long before and during this period.<sup>4</sup> We have ample reason therefore to take note of what the ancient Irish law<sup>5</sup> has to say with reference to the duties of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, I, 117, on the "problem of exogamy." Frazer, J. G., in his *Totemism and Exogamy* (New York, 1910), argues for the separation of the problem of exogamy from that of totemism. See with respect to his views the discussion in *Folk-Lore*, XXII (1911), 48-81, by Westermarck, A. Lang, and Van Gennep.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer's argument (see above) is that exogamous rules sprang from an aversion to marriages of near kin. This view Lang enlarges (*op. cit.*, 84) by saying that the "aversions to such unions, through the association of ideas, led to the prohibitions of marriage between members of the same clan on account of the notion of intimacy connected with a common descent and a common name." Thomas, *op. cit.*, 57, says, "aside from its origin, exogamy is an energetic expression of the male nature. Natural selection favors the process by sparing the groups which by breeding out have heightened their physical vigor."

<sup>3</sup> See my previous articles in *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), and *Elliott-Studies* (1911).

<sup>4</sup> The evidence on the communication with Ireland has recently been put together by Dr. T. P. Cross in his study of Marie's Ynec in the *Revue celtique*, XXXI (1910), 424 ff., and it is unnecessary to repeat here. On Norman and Breton, and Norman-Welsh relationships see the historians of the period: notably Freeman, *Norman Conquest*; Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, London, 1905; J. E. Lloyd *History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, Vol. II; D'Arbols de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et comtes de Champagne*, Vol. II; Zimmer, *Göt. gel. Anzeiger* No. 20, 1890; J. Loth, *Revue celtique*, XIII (1892), 475-503; John C. Fox, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1910), 303-306; Zimmer, "Ueber directe Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Alterthum und frühen Mittelalter," *Prussian Academy*, 1910, II.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ancient Laws of Ireland (Senchas mor)*, Dublin, 1865-1901; H. D'Arbols de Jubainville, *Résumé d'un cours de droit irlandais*, Paris, 1888-92; *idem*, *Études sur le droit celtique*, Paris, 1895 (*Cours de litt. celt.*, VII, VIII); *idem*, *La famille celtique*, Paris, 1905; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, 1903; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 3 vols.

kindred. The Irish law provides that when a sister's son has been slain, the maternal uncle shall avenge him.<sup>1</sup> *Glasfine* is the technical name given him; that is, in D'Arbois' words,<sup>2</sup> "*famille grise et bleue*, parce que, dit-on, le père est un étranger qui est arrivé en Irlande sur la mer grise et bleue; il n'a par conséquent pas de famille en Irlande; il ne peut donc donner une famille à son fils, et celui-ci est considéré comme faisant partie de la famille de sa mère." In harmony with this idea we find the Irish practice of *tinnscra* or male dowry (*le douaire*), essentially a form of the bride-price. A passage in the Book of Leinster accounts for it on a legendary basis.<sup>3</sup> It is by this means that Conchobar becomes king of Ulster, for when Fergus, son of Rogh, sues for the hand of Conchobar's mother, she stipulates as a *marriage portion* that Conchobar should hold the kingdom for a year so that his children may be known as the children of a king.<sup>4</sup>

The matrilinear side of Celtic tribal life is also seen in various provisions of old Welsh law. For example, if a youth or maiden under twelve, because of the father's death, is placed under guardianship, the guardian is of the maternal kin, so that he may not be tempted to deprive his charge of his property or shorten his life.<sup>5</sup> Again, one version of the Vendotian Code<sup>6</sup> provided that in case of murder, one-third of the blood-money (*galanas*) had to be paid by the murderer and his father and mother, if living; but two-thirds fell on the kindred, which "was defined as 'from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent.'" The Welsh law, like the Irish, made provision that when a girl married a non-tribesman,<sup>7</sup> the responsibility for her sons rested with the maternal kindred, who had to provide an inheritance and pay the fine in case they committed a

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Laws*, IV, 244, ll. 20-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 187 ff. See also M. A. Potter, *op. cit.*, 125 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D'Arbols, *op. cit.*, 233; O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials of Ancient Irish History*, 501.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*; Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*; "Windisch ed. of *Book of Leinster*," *Saxon Academy*, XXXVI (1884); D'Arbols, *Épopée celtique* (*Cours de lit.*, I).

<sup>5</sup> Walter, *Das alte Wales*, § 199; also *Welsh Medieval Law* (Laws of Howel the Good), ed. Wade-Evans, Oxford, 1909.

<sup>6</sup> See F. Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales* (London, 1895), p. 79 (for a different version see p. 80). Consult also the evidence cited by Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 274; and A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 109 ff.

<sup>7</sup> According to H. Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales* (1889), pp. 56-57, 197, marriage had to be outside of the *tres* or kindred who lived in one inclosure.

crime.<sup>1</sup> "Das Wichtigste," says Walter,<sup>2</sup> "aber war dass solche Söhne ihren mütterlichen Grossvater neben den Brüdern ihrer Mutter beerbten, selbst wenn diese die Tochter des Grundherrn war, so dass dann deren Sohn der Grundherr seines eigenen Vaters wurde." Thus while the Celtic clan, at the time we can observe it in the extant law tracts, was maintained on the agnatic principle, there is ample evidence that it may have passed through the matriarchal stage,<sup>3</sup> traces of which survive until relatively late. So that we may agree with Lang<sup>4</sup> that the presumption is that Celtic tribal society developed much as the *local* tribes did elsewhere, on the basis of kinship as first reckoned in the female line.

As for the Picts there is little doubt that royal succession never went from father to son in early times. "Failing brothers," says Lang, "the succession went to the son of the sister." Not that women were politically dominant. "Im Gegentheil," says Zimmer,<sup>5</sup> "nirgends herrscht, soviel wir sehen eine Frau: die Mutter, also die Geburt, bestimmt aber die Stammeszugehörigkeit. Auf einen Piktenherrscher und seine Brüder folgt nicht etwa der Sohn des ältesten, sondern der Sohn der Schwester, auf diesen und seine eventuellen Brüder von Mutterseite folgt wieder ein Schwestersohn und so fort."

<sup>1</sup> Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 211: "If a Cymraes [i.e., a Cymric woman] be given to an alltud, her children shall have a share of land except the principal homestead; that they are not to receive until the third generation; and therefrom originate cattle without surety, because, if he commits a crime, the mother's kindred pay the whole of his *galanas*." Cf. according to Walter, the *Vendotian Code* (Peniarth MS, 29) I, 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 165.

<sup>3</sup> See J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, 284 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Scotland*, I, 78 ff. Contrast D'Arbols, *Cours de litt. celt.*, VII, 242 ff.; also S. Reinach, *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 233. "Le droit irlandais," says D'Arbols (p. 246), "conserve à la puissance paternelle la durée consacrée par la coutume primitive celto-romaine." Yet, the son of a sister, the *gormac*, "avait droit à l'usufruit de l'héritage maternelle." And: "le privilège modeste accordé au fils de la sœur par le droit irlandais nous éloigne du droit romain avec lequel s'accorde le droit gaulois quand, en règle générale, il fait durer la puissance paternelle aussi longtemps que la vie du père."

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitsch. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, XV (1894), 218-19. The ethnological theories, however, which Zimmer sets up on the basis of the above fact (see pp. 234 ff.) must be taken *cum grano salis*. See *Revue celtique*, XVI (1895), 188-20: "La loi irlandaise du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," says D'Arbols, "admet le droit successoral des neveux par les femmes." The Prussian Academy has recently published (Feb., 1911), a further article by Zimmer, "Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund in der altirischen Heldensage," which elaborates that scholar's views; on this, in turn, consult *Revue celtique*, XXXII (1911), 232 ff.



Turning now to Irish literature, we find that Conchobar is commonly known by his matronymic alone, as Conchobar mac Nessa.<sup>1</sup> This fact Nutt has discussed in an interesting manner in his treatment of the supernatural birth.<sup>2</sup> "He [Conchobar] was the son of a god who incarnated himself in the same way as did Lug and Etain; this is probably the oldest form, and it may be owing to the fact that the father's name was unknown that Conchobar is usually described by the matronymic alone." Perhaps the case is more correctly stated by saying, that here, as elsewhere among primitive peoples (with few exceptions), kinship being reckoned through the mother, the question of paternity, i.e., *actual* paternity, was little regarded, except that a great hero must naturally have sprung from a father of illustrious rank. Hence the motherhood is fixed while the fatherhood varies; and supernatural birth occurs most commonly where the principle of matriarchy prevails.<sup>3</sup>

This fact is quite evident in the birth-story of Conall Cernach—the primitive character of which is obvious. In the *Cóir Anmann*<sup>4</sup> we read:

When his *mother's brother*, Cet Magach, heard that his sister would bear a child that should slay more than half the men of Connaught, he continued protecting his sister until she should bring forth her boy. . . . Druids came to baptize the child into heathenism, and they sang the heathen baptism over the little child, and they said: "Never shall be born a boy more impious than this one toward the men of Connaught [his mother's kin]; not a night shall he be without a Connaughtman's head on his belt." Then Cet drew the little child towards him, and put it under his heel and bruised its neck, but did not break its spinal marrow. Whereupon its mother exclaims to Cet: "Wolfish [*conda*] is the treachery [*fell*] thou workest, O brother!"

<sup>1</sup> D'Arbols, *Cours de litt. celt.*, V, 4 ff. (transl. by Dottin); Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 63; Kuno Meyer, *Revue celtique*, VI (1885), 173. So, too, Lug is called Lug mac Ethlenn (the name of his mother), cf. *Revue celtique* XVI (1895), 298.

<sup>2</sup> Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 72 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hartland, *op. cit.*, II, 283 ff. H. rejects the view that motherright is founded on the uncertainty of paternity, and concludes that "whereas motherright was founded on the recognition of a common blood, fatherright was traceable to social and economic causes of a different character, that no assertion of a common blood was implied in fatherright, but that it was an artificial organization formed upon the analogy of the organization of motherright which it supplanted." I am, of course, unable to judge the extent to which Hartland's views may be accepted, but that the primitive blood-tie, and all that the term implies, was through the mother, can hardly be doubted.

<sup>4</sup> See Whitley Stokes, *Irish Texts*, III, 2 (Leipzig, 1897), summary by Nutt, *op. cit.*, II, 74.

"True," says Cet, "let Conall [*Con-feall*] be his name henceforward." And he gave her son back to her. Whence he is called wry-necked Conall.

Again, Bres,<sup>1</sup> the son of Eri, is on his maternal side a kinsman of the Tuatha Dé; for even if his mother is both the wife and the sister of Elatha, king of the Fomorians, she and Elatha are the children of Delbaeth, a king of the Tuatha Dé Danaan;<sup>2</sup> accordingly the text<sup>3</sup> speaks of her as "a woman of the Tuath Dé." And when Nuada falls ill, we find Bres succeeding him. "A contention as to the sovereignty of the men of Ireland arose between the Tuath Dé and their women; because Nuada, after his hand had been stricken off, was disqualified to be king. They said it would be fitter for them (to bestow) the kingdom on Bres, son of Elatha, on their own adopted son; and that giving the kingdom to him would bind the alliance of the Fomorians to them." But Bres maltreats them sorely and they depose him. Thereupon, with the help of his mother, he seeks the aid of the Fomorians. And thus the Battle of Moytura is brought about, in which the Tuatha Dé are victorious.

But perhaps the most notable example of matrilinear kinship in Irish is the bond which unites Cuchulinn to Conchobar. While what seems to be the earliest version of the Cuchulinn (birth) story<sup>4</sup> represents the great Ulster hero as a rebirth of Lug, the constant feature of his parentage is the name of his mother Dechtire, the sister of Conchobar—his father is variously stated to have been Lug, or an unknown or unnamed god of Faery, or Conchobar himself, or

<sup>1</sup> See "The Second Battle of Moytura" tr. by W. Stokes, *Revue celtique*, XII (1891), 57 ff.; also the comparison D'Arbols makes between Bres and Kronos, *op. cit.*, II chap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> See D'Arbols, *Cours*, II, 182 (and *passim*): "Cette parenté n'a rien qui doive nous surprendre. Bress, Fomoré, est le gendre de Dagdé, l'un des chefs des Tuatha Dé Danaan. Nous avons déjà vu que Lug, un autre des chefs des Tuatha Dé Danaan, est par sa mère, petit-fils de Balar, un des chefs de Fomoré. De même Brian, Iuchar et Iucharba, trois personnages que des textes appellent les trois dieux du génie au de Dana, *trí déi Dana*, *trí dié Danand*, c'est à dire les trois chefs principaux des Tuatha Dé Danaan, sont fils du Fomoré Bress, et c'est seulement par leur mère Brigit, fille de Dagdé, qu'ils appartiennent aux Tuatha Dé Danaan." Thus Zeus, son of Rhea, mother of the Olympians, combats Kronos, chief of the Titans. Cf. further analogues in *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 24 ff. Manifestly the principle of succession here is maternal, and Tuatha Dé and Fomorí are thought of as exogamous tribes intermarrying.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>4</sup> Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 140, 143; transl. by Duvan, in D'Arbols, *Cours*, V, 22 ff.; in German by Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 58 ff.; summary by Nutt, *op. cit.*, II, chap. xiv; Modern English version in Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain*.

finally the Ulster chief Sualtam.<sup>1</sup> When Cuchulinn is about to be born, the men of Ulster are gathered about Dechtire. They fall asleep and when they awake behold a little child having features of Conchobar. Finnchoem, Conchobar's other sister, at once loves the child and to her he is intrusted. When they have returned to Emain, Morann speaks this judgment: "It is for Conchobar to help the child to a good name, for he is next of kin to him."<sup>2</sup>

According to the *Táin bó Cúalnge*<sup>3</sup> Cuchulinn was brought up in the house of his mother at Mag Muirthemne. The people there tell him of Conchobar's court at Emain Macha and of the games that go on there among the noble youths. He longs to go to the court but his mother urges him to wait until one of Conchobar's warriors can accompany him: "pour te protéger contre les jeunes garçons ou te venger s'il y a lieu." He persists in his request, and as she tells him where the court is—"le mont Fuad est entre Emain et toi"—he sets forth to find it, taking with him "his hurling stick,<sup>4</sup> his silver ball and his little dart and spear," with which he shortens his journey.

Arriving on the plain of Emain he finds "three fifties" (*cent cinquante*) of noble youths playing games. He goes among them and with both feet hurls his ball beyond the goal at which the youths are aiming. This enrages them and led by Conchobar's son, Follo-man, they try to kill him. But he defends himself skilfully—"il

<sup>1</sup> See Nutt's discussion, *loc. cit.* The son of a brother and sister is common in mythology. Thus in the Norse Wolsung story Sinfjotli is the son of Sigmund and Signy (cf. G. Holz, *Der Sagenkreis der Nibelunge*, 15—a trait which Wagner employs in the *Walküre*); in Egypt, Horus is the son of Osiris and Isis (*Book of the Dead*, tr. Budge, *passim*); in Greece Zeus springs from Kronos and Rhea (Hesiod *Theog.* 475); Virgil (*Aen.* I, 46) says of Juno: *Jovisque et soror et coniux*; etc. This reaffirms the idea of the Rebirth, and insures the perpetuation of the divine race in a pure form. But even so the son may still take up arms against his father. A survival of this trait is the *Huth Merlin* (I, 147) account of how Arthur becomes the father of Mordred: "Mais quoi que elle fust sa suer, [si] n'en savoit elle riens. . . . Moult fist li rois Artus grant jole de la dame et moult le festia et li et ses enfans . . . en chelui terme li gut a li et engendra en li Mordrec, par cul tant grant mal furent fait en la terre de Logres et en tout li monde." Cf. also Malory, I, 64-65. On the parallelism between Mo[r]dred and Mider see Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Gregory, *op. cit.*, 6; Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, 62: "Conchobar stehe es zu, ihn den Erziehern zu übergeben, weil er *Dechtires nächster Verwandter* ist." In general, it was the Irish custom not to bring up children beneath the paternal roof. Cf. Henderson, *Survivals of belief among the Celts* (Glasgow, 1911), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by Windisch from the *Book of Leinster*; for the synopsis I have made see D'Arbols' translation in the *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 241 ff.

<sup>4</sup> "Son bâton courbe de bronze, sa boule d'argent, son javelot, son bâton brûlé au gros bout."

fit des contorsions . . . il ferma un de ses yeux qui ne fut pas plus large que le trou d'une aiguille, il ouvrit l'autre qui devint plus grand qu'une coupe d'hydromel. Il écarta tellement les mâchoires que sa bouche atteignit les oreilles. . . . Du sommet de sa tête jaillit la lumière qui atteste le héros."<sup>1</sup> Then he takes the offensive and overthrows fifty of the youths, five of whom fall between Fergus and Conchobar where they are playing chess. When the young hero comes within reach, Conchobar seizes him by the arm.

When Conchobar taunts him for his "rudeness," the boy replies: "I came as a stranger, and I did not get a stranger's welcome." "Who are you?" says Conchobar. "I am the little Setanta, son of Sualtam and of Dechtire, your sister," says the boy. Conchobar then informs him that there is a "taboo" (*magique défense*) against playing with the royal youths without their permission. So Conchobar obtains the permission for him, and he being the stronger, the royal youths are henceforth placed under his protection.<sup>2</sup>

Another instance of the same *motif* of a hero seeking the protection of an uncle's court is the Welsh tale of *Kulhwch and Olwen*. This story is probably independent of Crestien's influence, even if we grant Loth's contention<sup>3</sup> that some of its characters are "frottés de civilisation française."

Here the young Kulhwch, who is the son of Arthur's mother's sister, Goleuddydd, is left to the care of his nurse, whereas his mother, who dies as the result of his birth, instructs his father not to marry until he sees<sup>4</sup> a "briar with two blossoms on her grave." At the same time she tells her "preceptor" not to allow anything to grow on it.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Book of the Dun Cow*, 59, col. 1, 42-43, according to D'Arbols.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Gregory (p. 8) has somewhat rearranged the dialogue to read: "'You did not know then,' said Conchubar, 'that no one can play among the boy troop of Emain unless he gets their leave and their protection.' 'I did not know that, or I would have asked it of them,' he said. 'What is your name and your family?' said Conchubar. 'My name is Setanta, son of Sualtim and Dechtire,' he said. When Conchubar knew that he was his sister's son, he gave him a great welcome, and he bade the boy troop to let him go safe among them."

<sup>3</sup> See *Les Mabinogion*, I, 16, 185; contrast I. B. John, *The Mabinogion*, Nutt's Pop. Series (1901), p. 3, who says that the tale has "no affinity with any of the Arthurian romances handed down to us in French or German."

<sup>4</sup> Her words are, Loth, 188: "Ce serait cependant mal à toi de ruiner ton fils; aussi je te demande de ne pas te remarier, que tu n'aies vu une ronce à deux têtes sur ma tombe."

In the seventh year thereafter the "preceptor" having failed in his duty, the king remarries. One day the new wife learns from a "sorceress" that the king has a son. The boy is sent for, and the queen tells him about Olwen, the daughter of Yspaddaden Penkawr, whom Kulhwch accordingly craves. Then his father advises him: "Arthur is thy cousin. Go, therefore unto Arthur, to cut thy hair,<sup>1</sup> and ask this of him as a boon."

So Kulhwch fares forth; in his hands are two spears of silver, a gold-hilted sword is on his thigh, and his horn is of ivory. Before his steed go two white-breasted greyhounds: the one on the left bounds across to the right side, and the one on the right across to the left side. The porter at Arthur's palace tries to dissuade him from entering, for "the knife is in the meat, and drink is in the horn, and there is revelry in Arthur's hall."<sup>2</sup> But Kulhwch threatens to bring disgrace upon Arthur and to set up three shouts which will deprive women of their offspring and make them barren, unless he is allowed to enter. So the porter obtains permission of Arthur.

Then Kulhwch, contrary to custom,<sup>3</sup> does not dismount, but seated on his charger rides into the hall and greets the king. He comes not to eat, he says, but to ask a boon; and if it is not granted, he will carry Arthur's dispraise to the four quarters of the world. Except for certain reservations<sup>4</sup> Arthur is ready to grant this request. Kulhwch then asks Arthur to "bless his hair." Whereupon Arthur inquires who he is: "For my heart warms unto thee, and I know thou art come of my blood." When Kulhwch reveals his parentage,

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the customs which Van Gennep classes among the *rites de séparation*, prevalent in primitive societies. See *Rites de passages*, 103 ff. Cf. also Loth, I, 190, note; Lady Guest, *Les Mabinogion*, 260; Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 197 note; Keating, *History of Ireland*, II, 173-175.

<sup>2</sup> See *Conte del Graal*, vss. 2785 ff. for a passage where Arthur will not eat, "*tant qu'a ma cort novele viegne*." See references to this custom mentioned by Hertz, *Par.*, 512; also *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 349. Professor Kittredge, "Arthur and Gorlagon" (*Harvard Studies*, VIII), 210, note, calls attention to the Irish parallel in the shorter *Fled Bricrend* (Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, II, 1, 174, 188): "It is not fitting to consume this feast of mine without a brave deed of the Ulstermen in return for it."

<sup>3</sup> Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 199; Lady Guest, 211; cf. *Conte del Graal*, vs. 882: *E li vasles entre a cheval An la sale*. Consult Kittredge, *op. cit.*, for this commonplace of Arthurian romance.

<sup>4</sup> One of these, it is interesting to note, is Guenevere (Gwenhwyvar). Compare the abduction motive in the Lancelot story; cf. also the Welsh *Pwyll*, Loth, I, 45 ff., and elsewhere. Zimmer (*Prussian Academy*, 1911, p. 177) equates Guenevere with the Irish *Fíndabair*.

Arthur says: "That is true; thou art my-cousin." "Whatsoever boon thou mayest ask, thou shalt receive, be it what it may be that thy tongue shall name."<sup>1</sup>

The occurrence of the sister's son in the French romances was mentioned alike by Professor Gummere<sup>2</sup> and Mr. M. A. Potter.<sup>3</sup> Further, and no less striking, material, however, is at hand. For example, Tristan is Mark's sister's son—a fact which may throw light on the moral issue arising when Tristan yields to the charms of Isolte. As Bédier has observed, the Welsh law dealt lightly with the crime of adultery.<sup>4</sup> Yet Tristan is not, like Modred, a vile seducer—he does not abduct the queen. "Jamais Iseut ne songe à quitter le roi Marc, ni Tristan à la ravir."<sup>5</sup> "Il ne renie pas l'institution sociale, il la respecte au contraire, il en souffre et seule, cette souffrance confère à ses actes la beauté." But, Bédier continues:<sup>6</sup> "Il répugne à tout ce que nous savons des contes de Bretagne et de leur transmission de supposer que les Celtes aient possédé jamais un grand roman d'amour sur Tristan." The fatalistic love-theme, however, is by no means foreign to the Celts: witness, for example, the *Fate of the Sons of Usnech*.<sup>7</sup> And it is not only possible but probable that Tristan's conduct is influenced by the fact that he remains conscious of his intimate kinship to the king. As Bédier himself says: "Il est le neveu et le fils adoptif du roi Marc : il ne conteste pas la loi de la reconnaissance, il la viole, et souffre de la violer."<sup>8</sup> The Bérout version is too fragmentary to throw much light on the question. Yet in Tristan's repentance the true situation becomes apparent:

"Dex! tant m'amast mes oncles chiers,  
Se tant ne fus[s]e a lui mesfet!" (Vss. 2170–2171.)

<sup>1</sup> Loth. *op. cit.*, cites (p. 191) a striking example of the hair-cutting ceremony from the story of Vortigern (cf. Nennius). "Guortigern," he says, "ayant eu un fils de sa fille, la poussa à aller porter l'enfant à Germain, l'évêque, en disant qu'il était son père. Germain dit à l'enfant: 'Pater tibi ero, nec te permittam nisi mihi nosacula cum forcipe et pectine detur, et ad patrem tuum carnalem tibi dare liceat.' L'enfant va droit à Guortigern, et lui dit: 'Pater meus es tu, caput meum londe, et comam capitis mei pectis.'" See above, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sohrab and Rustem*, 193 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Roman de Tristan*, II, 163: "Le trait le plus singulier de la vie celtique, c'est la fragilité du lien conjugal."

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 165.

<sup>6</sup> P. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Windisch, *Ir. Texte* (first series), 67–82; D'Arbols, *Cour de litt. celt.*, V, 236–86; Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, II, 2, 109–78; Dottin, *Revue celt.*, XVI (1895), 426.

<sup>8</sup> P. 166.

"A Deu, qui est sire du mont,  
 Cri je merci, que il me don(s)t  
 Itel corage que je lais  
 A mon oncle sa feme en pais." (Vss. 2185-2188.)

Tristan s'apuie sur son arc:  
 Sovent regrete le roi Marc,  
 Son oncle, qui a fait tel tort,  
 Sa feme mise a tel descort. (Vss. 2195-2198.)

And in Thomas the trait appears clearly in the birth-story which the Anglo-Norman poet has prefixed<sup>1</sup> to his version. Here Blanchefleur<sup>2</sup> says to the loyal Foitenant: "Je vous confie l'enfant qui va naître de moi. Si vous avez aimé mon seigneur Rivalin, en souvenir de l'amour qu'il vous portait, prenez-le comme votre propre enfant en votre protection. Gardez cet anneau; mon père l'avait donné au roi Marke; le roi me l'avait donné; s'il le revoit un jour, il reconnaitra l'enfant né de sa soeur."<sup>3</sup>

Again, while Layamon insists that what makes Conan, the murderer of Constantine in Geoffrey of Monmouth, such an "accursed" villain<sup>4</sup> is his being Constantine's sister's son, and that for a like reason Mordred's betrayal of Arthur's confidence has no redeeming quality, we find Wace<sup>5</sup> already denouncing Mordred's crime in these words:

"Oïés quel honte e quel vilté:  
 Ses nies, fils sa soror estoit."

Of course Gawain is the exemplar of the type in its highest sense. Thus it is with clear intent that Crestien makes Cligés the sister's son of Arthur's loyal nephew. And in Wauchier's continuation of the *Conte del Graal*,<sup>6</sup> Gawain's own off-spring while ignorant of his father's name has the striking appellation of *le neveu son oncle*.<sup>7</sup> It is, as I said above, the prerogative of the nephew to guard the honor, and therefore to avenge the shame (*honte*) of the uncle, whereas the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Golther, *Tristan u. Isolde*, 145.

Bédier, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

Cf. also pp. 60-61, where Marke recognizes Tristan and knights him: "Il appelle lui Tristan par de douces paroles et l'embrasse tendrement comme son *filz d'adoption* et son *neveu*. On the moral question in the *Tristan*, see J. Loth, *Revue celt.*, XXX (1909), 270-82.

<sup>4</sup> Gummere, *op. cit.* 139

<sup>5</sup> *Brut*, vss. 13,422-13,423.

<sup>6</sup> Pot., vss. 20,671 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned by Potter, *op. cit.*, 49.

latter affords the former his protection and assistance. This mutual obligation is characteristic of Gawain, Perceval,<sup>1</sup> Cligés, Roland, etc. According to Crestien, Yvain's expedition to the fountain is motivated by a similar consideration:<sup>2</sup>

"Par mon chief," dist mes sire Yvains,  
 "Vos estes mes *cosins germaines*,  
 Si nos devons mout antramer;  
 Mes de ce vos puis fol clamer,  
 Quant vos le m'avez tant celé.  
 Se je vos ai fol apelé,  
 Je vos pri qu'il ne vos an poist;  
 Car se je puis et il me loist,  
 J'irai vostre honte vangier."

Thus, too, Aiol<sup>3</sup> is told by his own father of his claims on the Emperor Louis.

"Car vous estes li nies l'empereour,  
 Je sai bien a fiance, fiex sa serour."

Probably nowhere, however, do we find the strength of this tie more clearly brought out than in *Partonopeus de Blois*—here the hero is nephew to Clovis:

Un sien neveu avoit li rois,  
 Cuens fu d'Angieus et cuens de Blois;  
 Fils ert Lucrece sa seror,  
 Li rois l'amoit de tel amor  
*Que nis son fil de sa moillier*  
*N'avoit il de niënt plus chier.*<sup>4</sup>

Further examples can certainly be found, especially if we go outside our field into that of the epic and ballad. The *Roland* is filled with the spirit of kinship on the maternal side,<sup>5</sup> and to mention

<sup>1</sup> The trait is well brought out in the Goon Desert (Partinel) episode of *Manessier*, see Pot. V, vss. 34,935 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Yvain*, vss. 581-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Aiol*, ed. Foerster, vss. 190-91.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Crapet, I, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Richard le Vieill e sun neuld Henri. (Vs. 171.)

Tedbald de Reins e Millun sun cousin. (Vs. 173.)

"Ensurretut ai ai jo vostre soer  
 Si'n ai un filz, ja plus bels n'en estoet:

Guardes le bien." (Vss. 294-298.)

"Tenez, bels sire," dist Rollanz à sun uncle,

"De trestus reis vus present les curunes." (Vss. 387-389.)



one further striking instance,<sup>1</sup> Raoul de Cambrai is the sister's son of Louis. But the above examples are sufficient to show what a hold the matrilinear descent had on the minds of men in the twelfth century, at least as a matter of tradition. We have seen, too, that the tribal organization it represents must once have been known to the Goedelic (and Brythonic) Celts, for survivals of the system appear in their laws and in the main body of their heroic legend. As has been previously shown,<sup>2</sup> it is with this legend that the *Conte del Graal* has evident points of contact.

## IV

Reverting to the poem proper, it is noteworthy that, with the possible exception of the Gawain section, the entire work seems to bear the imprint of the primitive, tribal life. The advances that Blancheffleur makes to Perceval, which Nutt sought to explain in the light of *Minnedienst*,<sup>3</sup> are referable rather to a cruder state of society in which the wooing quite naturally fell to the part of woman. As Nutt himself says: "In the great tragic tale of ancient Ireland, . . . Deirdre takes fate into her own hands, and woos

"L'autre meitiet avrat Rollanz ses niés." (Vs. 473.)  
 E l'Algalifes sis uncles e sis fedells. (Vs. 505.)  
 As porz d'Espaigne ad laisset sun nevuld.  
 Pitiet l'en prent, ne poet muer n'en plurt. (Vss. 824-825.)

Marsile also has a nephew:

"Bels sire reis, jo vus ai seroit tant  
 Si'n ai oût e peines e ahans." (Vss. 863-864.)  
 Ço est Gualtiers ki cunquist Maëlgut.  
 Li niés Drotin, à l'vieill e à l'cadut. (Vss. 2047-2048.)  
 "Rollanz mis niés ho! cest jur nus defalt." (Vs. 2107.)  
 "Se j'ai parens, nen i ad nul si prud." (Vs. 2905.)

The Oxford text does not mention the name of Roland's mother. But it probably was Glæle or Gille (cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, 407). The pseudo-Turpin calls her Berte, and the same name occurs in Philippe Mouquet (vss. 2706 ff.):

S'ot Charles une autre sereur  
 Bertain: cele prist a seigneur  
 Milan d'Angiers, s'en ot Rollant.

For an "Enfance" story, in which the boy Roland seizes the goblet of Charles, cf. the Venice MS XIII and the *Realis di Francia* (G. Paris, *op. cit.*, 409 ff.). In certain versions, notably the *Karlsmagnus-Saga* (I, 36), Roland is the son of Charles and the latter's sister Gille. Cf. above p. 18, for other examples of this motif. On the episode itself, see G. Paris, *op. cit.*, chap. viii. In Spanish literature, Bernardo del Carpio was considered a sister's son of Charlemagne, later of Alfonso II; see Balst, *Gröber's Grund.*, II, 2, 392.

<sup>1</sup> *Garin le Loherain*, tr. Paulin Paris, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zimmer, *Göt. gel. Anzeigen* (1890), XII, 519 ff.; *Keltische Studien*, Berlin, 1884, II, 200; also articles cited above.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies on the Legend of the H. Grail*, 228 ff.

Noisi with outspoken passionate frankness." Doubtless the situation is romantic, and that may account for its late persistence, but the Fands, Viviens, and Orgueilleuses—to some extent—have counterparts among primitive peoples today.<sup>1</sup> The manner in which Lancelot becomes the father of Galaad in the *Prose Lancelot* cycle is a curious survival of this time-old custom.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the matriarchal idea is typical of the grail romances. "Das ist das Wesentliche," says Brugger,<sup>3</sup> "das den *Joseph* (und den *Didot-Perceval*) isoliert: dass der Gralheld hier väterlichseits, in allen andern Versionen mütterlichseits mit dem Gralhüter verwandt ist." The *Syr Percyvèle*, which lacks the grail adventure, retains this arrangement. Here the hero's mother (Acheflour) is the sister of King Arthur, and not of the Grail King. A priori this appears to be a substitution, since Arthur's traditional nephews are of course Gawain<sup>4</sup> and Mordred, and the names in *Syr Percyvèle* are French and not Welsh. The very instructions the hero receives from time to time, such as:<sup>5</sup> (1) to respect the advice of elders; (2) to succor women in distress; (3) to greet cordially those he meets; (4) to refrain from useless speech; though probably determined as to form by the mediaeval school learning and by their connection with chivalry (to which the poem alludes<sup>6</sup>), are characteristic of the tribal life as observed elsewhere. Thus Howitt affirms that among the southeastern Australians, before the conclusion of the initiation ceremonies (Kuringal), the

<sup>1</sup> "The practice," says Hartland, "of offering the wife or other female dependent to a guest for temporary companionship" is very widespread among various American tribes (*op. cit.*, II, 229). Cf. also Karl Schmidt, *Jus Primae Noctis*, Freiburg, 1881, *passim*. On women themselves making the advances, see Hartland, *op. cit.*, II, 129 ff., also the examples gathered by Potter, *op. cit.*, 172 ff., and Zimmer, "Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund in der altirischen Heldensage," *Prussian Academy*, 1911, pp. 175 ff. In *Raoul de Cambrai* Bernier is wooed by Gerin's daughter (vs. 5896):

"Pren moi a feme, frans chevalliers calls:  
Si demorra nostre guere à toz dis."

See Hertz, *Parz.*, 502, on the *Tobiasnächte* in *Parz.*, § 203.

<sup>2</sup> Paulin Paris, *Romans d. l. table ronde*, V, 306 ff. <sup>3</sup> *ZfS.*, XXXVI (1910), 18.

<sup>4</sup> Among other examples that can be cited, Crestien's *Erec* contains a clear instance of the reliance Arthur placed on Gawain:

"Biaus niés Gauvains! conselliez m'an  
Sauve m' enor et ma droiture!  
Car je n'ai de la noise cure." (Vss. 308-310.)

A recent attempt to prove the primitive character of the *Syr Percyvèle* has been made by R. H. Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Galles* (University of Chicago diss.), 1911.

<sup>5</sup> See vss. 510, 1610, 6360 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Vs. 1612. The instructions given by Gornemanz, vss. 1610 ff., should be compared with those found in the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, printed by Méon, *Fab.*, I, 59 ff.

youth is not invested with the man's belt until he has been told: (1) to heed the advice of the old men; (2) to share the fruits of the chase with others; (3) not to interfere with the women of the tribe; (4) not to injure his kindred by means of evil magic.<sup>1</sup> "The intention of the ceremonies," continues Howitt, "is evidently to make the youths of the tribe worthy members of the community, according to their lights. . . . Before the novice is permitted to take his place in the community, marry, and join in its councils, he must possess those qualifications which will enable him to act for the common welfare." Gillen and Spencer writing<sup>2</sup> of the central Australians observe that in the initiations of the natives along the Finke River there is fastened around the initiate's waist a large *uliara*, "that is, the human hair girdle worn by the men, the girdle being provided by an *Oknia* of the boy." Previously an *Unkulla* man had twined round the youth's hair "strands of fur string, until it looked as if his head were enclosed in a tight-fitting skull cap." The *Unkulla* man is "the brother of the boy's mother," and the fastener of the girdle is the latter's son. During the ceremonies which follow the boy is told that he must be obedient, must never reveal any of the tribal secrets, must not speak unless spoken to. The final rites are "a long series of ceremonies concerned with the totems, and terminating with what may be described as ordeals by fire." The object of the ceremony as a whole is, "firstly, to bring the young men under the control of the old men . . . ; secondly, to teach them habits of self-restraint and hardihood; and thirdly, to show the younger men who have arrived at mature age, the sacred secrets of the tribe which are concerned with the *Churinga*<sup>3</sup> and the totems with which they are associated." "Every Australian native," they affirm, "so far as is known, has in the normal condition of the tribe to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation before he is admitted to the secrets of the tribe, and is regarded as a fully developed member of it." This shows, especially when taken together with my previous remarks on the Eleusinia,<sup>4</sup> what a close connection there is between Perceval's entire career and the ceremony at the Grail Castle, if the latter is,

<sup>1</sup> *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (Macmillan, 1904), pp. 231 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (Macmillan, 1901), pp. 210-86; 347-73.

<sup>3</sup> Sacred emblems.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

as I believe, an initiation. Obviously Nutt was correct in affirming that the questing initiate was always a part of the grail story: the Perceval and the grail stories are essentially one, and any attempt to separate them is, I believe, a mistake. Not that the initiate need always have been called Perceval: Crestien may well have given him the name, which he first mentions in *Erec* (vs. 1526)—*et Percevaus li Galois*. But even that is conjectural.<sup>1</sup> The essential fact, however, is that the youth's training or education is of a piece with the grail adventure, which is, as we have seen, its culminating point.<sup>2</sup> And while other works outside the Arthurian pale, and within it, deal with the sister's son as a recognized personage, none of them treats, as does Crestien's work, his particular problem, *per se*, as characteristic of tribal life.

This does not signify that Crestien was aware of the fundamental import of the story he was "setting to rhyme."<sup>3</sup> He may or may not have been. Probably he grasped the "mystery" as little as we should today. Being a problem in conduct, the story would appeal at once to his scholastic temper. But let us not be misled into thinking that he was primarily bent on being consistent and clear. His *Erec* and *Charrete* show that he was not. As Baist says: "Er liebt es, seine Wunder in hellster Beleuchtung hervortreten, aber dann verdämmern zu lassen." We cannot quarrel with him for doing so—the grammarians afforded him ample justification for respecting tradition, even when it was not understood—and did not Marie de France<sup>4</sup> on the basis of Priscian extol the ancients for being obscure?

Es livres que jadis faiseient  
assez *oscurement* diseient  
par cels ki a venir esteient  
e ki aprandre les deveient  
que peüssent gloser la letre  
e de lur *sen le surplus metre*.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Baist (*Parsival u. der Gral*), 19, expresses a somewhat similar view, though without mentioning the initiatory character of the grail ceremony, when he says: "Immerhin würde mit der Natur dieser Reste sich die Annahme besonders gut vertragen, dass in der Vorlage die Weisheitslehren in viel engerer Beziehung zur Handlung standen als bei Chrestien. Dann aber wird es möglich, dass der Gral in seiner ersten Gestalt ohne jede wunderbare Eigenschaft war und nur die Regel exemplifizieren half, dass unter Umständen auch Reden Gold sei."

<sup>3</sup> Vs. 63: A rimoiel le meillor conte.

<sup>4</sup> *Lais*, ed. Warnke, *Prol.*, vs. 11 ff.; the passage is a misconstruction of Priscian, *Inst.* (beginning).

In short, Crestien interpreted his material as far as he was able; when unable, he reproduced it without sacrificing its traditional features.

The famous grail-question (*Cui l'an an sert?* or *Quel riche home l'an an seroit?*) is, I believe, such a feature. The *riche home* is the Grail King; besides if asked, the question will heal the suffering Fisher King, and when not asked, it actually brings harm to the knights and ladies of Arthur's court.<sup>1</sup> I thus explained its function<sup>2</sup> as ritualistic, and the conclusions reached in the present study bear out this interpretation. To argue, as Heinzel does,<sup>3</sup> that this aspect of the "question" is secondary, seems to me to ignore the *raison d'être* of the whole story. Yet those who derive the grail legend from the Byzantine Mass must resort to some such reasoning. Admitting that there is danger here for considerable mutual misunderstanding and that it behooves us to keep an open mind on such intricate matters, nevertheless we should remember that the grail legend tends toward, and not away from, Christianity. The *later* not the earlier versions are the most Christian. Says Martin:<sup>4</sup> "Stufenweise geht die Verchristlichung weiter; immer stärker tritt der mystisch-asketische Zug hervor, bis er zuletzt in der tōrichten Vorstellung gipfelt, dass nicht Perceval, der, wenn auch Mensch, doch vermählt war, sondern der völlig jungfräuliche Galaad den Gralzauber löst und zwar nachdem er den Gral hat suchen müssen, obschon er selbst im Hause des Grals aufgewachsen ist." Furthermore, why should Robert, whose orthodoxy is not his strongest point, nevertheless distinguish the grail ceremony from the Christian mass? "Nicht das Messopfer," says Heinzel,<sup>5</sup> "aber etwas dem Messopfer Aehnliches stellt sich der Dichter vor." Or was Robert honestly actuated by the desire to conform to Roman usage by rejecting any contamination from the East? Certainly, the Byzantine theory must be at a loss to explain that Robert himself does not so much as mention the bleeding lance. Personally I cannot conceive how then the Byzantine material could be the immediate basis of the grail romances in the twelfth century. What may have happened in Ireland at an earlier date is another question. But even so, ritualism is so general among primitive societies, that the assump-

<sup>1</sup> See, above, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See *Elliott-Studies*, 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 185.

<sup>4</sup> *Parzival u. Titirel*, II, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 87.

tion of eastern borrowings on the part of the Celts does not seem to me materially to alter our discussion.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, assuming as we do that Robert is mainly responsible for the Christianization of the grail material, it requires no argument to see that having removed the grail from its primitive setting, and explained it *ex post facto* on a Christian basis, in the manner somewhat of the *enfances* of an epic hero, he naturally missed the central motive of the original grail story, represented in the tribal organization.

If then the "question" is primarily ritualistic, as a part of a pagan ceremonial, and probably involved an explanation of the rite in which the initiate had shared (the so-called "secrets" of the grail), it was instrumental also in establishing the kinship, the "blood-tie," so to speak, which bound the neophyte to the head of the clan, and made him a recognized member of the social group. To use Heinzel's words it was "eine Erkennungsfrage," though we do not share Heinzel's view that it was accidental (*zufällig*). A similar procedure is found in stories of the father-and-son combat type. In *Sohrab and Rustem*, the son says to his father: "One question I desire to ask you, and do you answer that truthfully. Tell me frankly, what is your birth?" Likewise, Hildebrand<sup>3</sup> asks his son "wer sein vater waere in der menschen volke, 'oder welches geschlechtes kind du seist.'" Again, we found Conchobar saying to the youthful Cuchulinn: "What is your name and your family?" In this way the question would naturally serve as a method of identification, as a recognition-formula. This has long been observed by scholars. Of all Arthurian stories, that of the grail depends most on the principle of adequate identification. How will the hero of destiny make his presence known? Why, by a question he will ask. Or, if for some reason, this is not sufficient, by a special seat which he will occupy. Thus we get the *Siege Perilous*, so similar, as I have pointed out,<sup>4</sup> to the Irish Lia Fáil or Stone of Destiny, which like the lance and the sword of Lug, and the Caldron of Dagda, was one of the "four jewels" of

<sup>2</sup> On syncretism, frequently overlooked by the reviewers, see my "Fisher King." See the view expressed by Kittredge, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII: "The mere fact that a story is oriental in its ultimate origin is no reason for refusing to regard it as Celtic if it once made its home among the Celts and came from them, charged with their peculiar genius, to fructify the literature of France and of the world."

<sup>3</sup> See *Das Hildebrandslied*, ed. Al. Vollmer and K. Hofmann, 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliott-Studies*, 42.

the Tuatha Dé Danaan, and therefore the most accessible prototype for a poet dealing with the grail. In at least one of the grail romances, however, the hero establishes his identity by "opening" a tomb, the top of which rises to his touch. This happens in the *Perlesvaus*,<sup>1</sup> and it is known thereby that Perceval is the son of the *Veve Dame* and also *li miaudres chevaliers del monde*.

Now, the Cymric hearth was the symbol of family ownership and inheritance.

The right of the son on succession was to uncover the hearth of his father or ancestor. The legal term for the recovery by an ejected son of his patrimony was *dadenhudd*, or the uncovering again of the parental hearth. The term was a graphic one. The fire-back-stone, set up against the central pillar of the hut supporting the roof (*pentanvaen* = head-fire-stone), was a memorial or witness of land and homestead (*tir a thyle*), because it bore the *mark of the kindred* upon it. And the covering and uncovering of the fire had a picturesque significance.<sup>2</sup>

It took four generations of occupancy to establish a claim to a Welsh family hearth, which thus became, "in a very literal sense, the *focus* of the rights of the kindred."<sup>3</sup> If, then, we consider that in Crestien, where the tribal concept is strongest, the grail ceremony takes place about the central fireplace of the Grail Castle, and that the word which Crestien uses, *cheminal*, probably points to a primitive hearthstone<sup>4</sup> (Wolfram's *fierrame* of marble), the Welsh custom is doubly interesting, especially as a ceremonial fire is not a phenomenon confined to the Welsh. Still, Crestien does not give us the slightest inkling that the hearth at the Grail Castle bore the mark of the kindred. At the same time, it is after his visit to the Grail Castle that Perceval mysteriously divines his real name,<sup>5</sup> and our evidence has shown that ultimately the grail ceremony was the means of instating him in his inheritance. For want of further material we must leave the problem at this point without coming to a fixed conclusion.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pot., I, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Seebohm, *op. cit.*, 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliott-Studies*, I, 30 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> The problem indicated here might repay further investigation. Note, above all, what Van Gennep has to say on the "rites de dénomination" in his *Rites de passages*, pp. 88 ff.; also chap. vi on the "rites d'initiation," where a summary is made of the various initiations known up to 1909—a chapter which corroborates our conclusions on the initiatory character of the grail material. On names the following points may be noted in addition:

In the Australian Kuringal ceremonies (cf. Howitt, *op. cit.*, 526-641) among the things which the novice learns from his Kabos is the *Budjan* or totem name. "These

But the material adduced has, I hope, thrown some light on the means by which the tribal hero may have won official recognition.

And now, in conclusion, the name *πατρις* given to the tribal god in the ancient mysteries seems to me paralleled by the *riche home* (the Grail King; according to Nutt, the Mikado of the myth), the [Celtic] tribal ancestor, the religious and juridical head of the clan, the maternal uncle of the sister's son. And, taken all in all, does not the *Conte del Graal*, even after the adaptation it underwent to meet the demands of twelfth-century society, still furnish an example, more primitive than anything handed down elsewhere in Arthurian literature, of the tribal myth in the sense in which Van Gennep<sup>1</sup> has recently defined that dubious word?

Si [une] . . . histoire est accompagnée d'une pantomime représentant les personnages et les phases successives du thème; si les acteurs qui représentent les héros sont revêtus d'une qualité sacrée ou si ce sont des magiciens . . . si certains personnages se retrouvent dans d'autres récits ou cérémonies où l'on explique la formation du monde, le renouveau de la végétation, les origines de la tribu; si toute cette représentation n'a lieu qu' à un moment solennel de la journée, n'a pour spectateurs que des hommes adultes et initiés aux mystères, et qui se sont soumis d'abord à des rites de purification, qui enfin seraient punis de mort s'il racontaient aux femmes, aux enfants et aux étrangers ce qu'ils ont vu—dans ce cas, l'histoire considérée n'est plus un simple conte: c'est une partie essentielle du système religieux, un drame sacré, un mythe.

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names are not much used, and a person does not know much of the *Budjans* of others. It is the personal name which is used, not the *Budjan*. The personal name is a tribal one given to an individual in childhood, and the use of the totem name is avoided, lest an enemy might get hold of it and do him an injury by evil magic." In some tribes it is the totem name which is used and the other which is kept secret. Mr. Potter (*op. cit.*, 211), adduces the practice of certain Indians of calling each other brother, sister, father, etc., in order to avoid any danger of allowing others to know what their real name is. Cuchullain is named after Culann's hound, and therefore cannot eat the flesh of his namesake (cf. Stokes, *Revue celtique*, III [1882], 176); and Gwalchmei (the French Gawain) according to Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, 168, resolves itself into *Gwalch-mei*, "the Hawk of the month of May." Gawain is always ready to tell his name (see *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 37 ff.); in the *Conte del Graal* (vss. 5583 ff.) he says:

"Sire Gauvalns sui apelez  
Onques mes nonz ne fu celez  
An leu ou il me fust requiz,  
N'onques ancores ne le dis  
S'aincois demandez ne me fu."

On naming after an ancestor or divining names, see Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 211 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *La formation des légendes* (Paris, 1910), pp. 306-307.



## SOME SOURCES OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF GOWER'S *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*

John Gower has not given much of a clue to the source of the seventh book of his *Confessio Amantis*, of which the subject may be called "The Education of Alexander." At the outset he makes the general statement:

Forthi, my sone, unto thin Ere,  
Though it be noght in the registre  
Of Venus, yit of that Calistre  
And Aristotle whylom write  
To Alisandre, thou schalt wite. (18-23.)<sup>1</sup>

The mention of Callisthenes as an authority is a gratuitous one, suggested, perhaps, by the statement in *Li Tresors* of Brunetto Latini that Alexander "avoit por ses maistres Aristote et Calistere"<sup>2</sup> a statement of which Gower had already made use:

And Alisandre his name is hote,  
To whom Calistre and Aristote  
To techen him Philosophie  
Entenden and Astronomie. (VI, 2273-76.)

He cannot be referring to the romance of Alexander, of which the authorship is attributed to Callisthenes by two or three manuscripts of the Greek original,<sup>3</sup> as this attribution is not found in either of the versions of that work, the *De praeliis* of Leo, or the *Roman de toute chevalerie* of Eustache de Kent, of both of which he made use in the preceding book.<sup>4</sup> Toward the end of the seventh book Gower

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Macaulay.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Chabaille, 37. I adopt the reading of seven manuscripts which contain this variant of "Calistenes," a reading confirmed by *Il Tesoro* de B. L. Versificato; "Aristotle, Varone e Calistro" (D'Ancona, *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, stor. e filol.*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, 136). In the earliest form of the version of the *De praeliis* Alexander's teachers are not named (*Die Vita Alexandri Magni des Archipresbyter Leo*, ed. G. Landgraf, Progr. Schweinfurt [1885], 39, n. 16), but they are added in the later form "didicerat enim pleniter liberales artes ab Aristotele et Callistene" (ed. Zingerle, 140, 19). W. Hertz has noted the older classical tradition of Callisthenes as a teacher of Alexander (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 6, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française*, I, 3-4, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Works of Gower*, III, 519-21.

acknowledges the subsidiary sources he has used with his prime authority, Aristotle:

Mi Sone, as we tofore spieke  
 In schrifte, so as thou me seidest,  
 And for thin ese, as thou me preidest  
 Thi love throgthes forto lisse,  
 That I thee wolde telle and wisse  
 The forme of Aristotles lore,  
 I have it seid, and somdiel more  
 Of othre ensamples, to assaie,  
 If I thi peines myhte allaie  
 Thurgh eny thing that I can seie. (5398-5407.)

Finally in the Latin account of his works which Gower gives at the end of the *Confessio Amantis*, the subject of that book is noted as one of the chief themes of the poem, and its chief authority is named:

Tractat eciam secundum Aristotilem super hiis quibus rex Alexander tam in sui regimen quam aliter eius disciplina edoctus fuit.<sup>1</sup>

Students of Gower have generally accepted his statement in regard to his source, and have undertaken to point out the specific works to which he was indebted for his conception of Aristotelian philosophy. Warton in his *History of English Poetry* after speaking of the first part of the book continues:<sup>2</sup> "Our author closes this course of the Aristotelic philosophy with a system of politics, not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first chapter of a spurious compilation entitled, *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*. . . . It might also be proved that Gower, through this detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the *Secretum Secretorum*. . . . It is evident that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical stones<sup>3</sup> mentioned above."<sup>4</sup> Although Warton cites other incidents from the *Secretum*—those of the stentorian horn of Alexander, and of the poison-maiden<sup>5</sup>—and speaks of Lydgate's and Hoccleve's versions,<sup>6</sup> how little he knew the text of the original is shown by the way he refers to the story of the Jew and the Pagan, which Gower unquestionably took from it: "But I believe Gower's

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Gower*, III, 480.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. 1840, II, 230.

<sup>3</sup> *C.A.*, IV, 2531 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 228.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 231; I, cxlv. and n. v.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 231; 282, n. h; 259.

apology<sup>1</sup> must be that he took this narrative from some Christian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpose at the expense of all probability and propriety."<sup>2</sup> Again in his analysis of the *Gesta Romanorum* he states of chap. xxxiv, "Aristotle's Seven Rules to His Pupils": "This, I think, is from the *Secretum Secretorum*."<sup>3</sup>

Pauli in his Introductory Essay to his edition of the *Confessio Amantis* has done nothing but misinterpret Warton's statement, in making a more general statement about the source:<sup>4</sup> "The seventh book contains an exposition of a great portion of Aristotle's philosophy, chiefly his physics, ethics, and metaphysics, not taken from the original, but very likely borrowed from the pseudo-Aristotelian compendium, known under the name of the *Secretum Secretorum*." Henry Morley in his *English Writers*<sup>5</sup> in an analysis of the *Confessio Amantis* considered the seventh book as "chiefly a digest from the *Secretorum*, . . . which is here popularized in easy verse by Gower as an outline of what Alexander learnt from Aristotle," and gives an analysis of Gower's version as if it were that of his Latin source. ten Brink in his *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*<sup>6</sup> found in the seventh book an exposition of the "aristotelisch-arabische Philosophie" which destroyed the unity of the plan of the poem, and considered its chief source the *Secretum*.

The statements of Jusserand<sup>7</sup> that "after the deadly sins the mists and marvels of the *Secretum Secretorum* fill the scene"; of Courthope<sup>8</sup> that "the seventh book is occupied with an abstract of the *Secretum Secretorum*"; and of G. E. and W. H. Hadow<sup>9</sup> who speak of the seventh book as "giving a rhymed digest of the political treatise called *Secretum Secretorum*" show how the combined authority of Pauli and Morley and ten Brink has been responsible for a statement which has become an integral part of the history of English literature.

Yet even as early as 1869 Knust,<sup>10</sup> in commenting on the statements of Warton and Morley, had noted that Gower had given a different

<sup>1</sup> I.e., for the anachronism of the story.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 240.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, ciii.

<sup>4</sup> I (1857), xxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, Part I (1867), 128-29.

<sup>6</sup> II, 139-40 (1893).

<sup>7</sup> *A Literary History of the English People* (1895), I, 372.

<sup>8</sup> *History of English Poetry* (1895), 312.

<sup>9</sup> *The Oxford Treasury of English Literature* (1906), I, 131. Cf. T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 392; W. Hertz, *op. cit.*, 160, n. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, X, 165.

ending to the story of the Jew and the Pagan than that found in the Latin work, and that the other stories illustrative of the duties of a king were taken from elsewhere. But it was not until 1901 that Macaulay in his notes on the seventh book did the meritorious service of stating in no uncertain terms "that the statement of Pauli and others . . . is absolutely unfounded." The *Secretum* "is not in any sense an exposition of the Aristotelian philosophy; . . . Gower is indebted to it only in a slight degree, and principally in two places, VII, 2014-57, the discussion of Liberality in a king, and 3205-3360\*, the tale of the Jew and the Pagan." Macaulay<sup>1</sup> made an important contribution to the elucidation of the seventh book, by showing the great indebtedness of Gower for both his classification of the sciences, and for many of his statements to the *Treſor* of Brunetto Latini. There is no doubt but that Macaulay has rightly stated the case in reference to the indebtedness of Gower to the Latin original of the *Secretum Secretorum*, but that at the same time Gower was indebted to a French version of this work for the material of some of his "ensamples," and for the suggestion of some others, I hope to show in this study.

The French version to which I refer, is the work of Jofroi de Watreford, assisted in some way by Servale Copale, made in the second half of the thirteenth century. This work of which there is only one manuscript known—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 1822—has not been published.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately for the purpose of showing the source of certain of the "ensamples" this lack is supplied by an English translation of this French work, made in the English Pale of Ireland in 1422 by one James Yonge.<sup>3</sup> A comparison of a passage of the original French with this English translation and Gower's version will show how closely Yonge kept to his French text, in translating those parts of which he made use in his own revision of the work, and how Gower treated his original, and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 522; cf. 527-28. Yet Gaster, writing seven years later on the Hebrew translation of the *Secretum*, calmly states: "One of the books in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is but a rhymed transcript of part of this *Secretum*" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1908], 1068).

<sup>2</sup> For a bibliography of the work done on Jofroi cf. *Romanic Review*, I, 259 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Three prose versions of the "Secretum Secretorum,"* ed. R. Steele, 1898 ("Publications of the Early English Text Society," Extra Series, LXXIV), pp. 119-248. I shall refer to this work as *T.P.V.*

why it is not necessary to cite from the French version, instead of the more accessible English translation:

Car, si com valoire conte, li rois  
cambises trouva [qu'] uns des juges qu'il  
avoit assis pour jugier le peuple, donna  
un faus jugement. por quoi comanda  
qu'il fust eschorcies, si fist couvrir de sa  
pel le siege ou seoir soloit quant juge-  
ment rendi et comanda que ses filz, qui  
juges apres lui [fu], en meisme le siege  
jugast. Si que li remembrast de la  
painne son pere sor qui pel il seoit.  
(MS B.N. f. fr. 1322, fol. 94, recto 1.)

For as valery Saythe, A kynge that  
Cambises was callid founde that oone  
of his Iuges, that he hadde y-sette to  
Iuge his Pepill, yave a fals Sentence,  
wherefor this kynge comandid that he  
were y-hilled, and did couere whyth  
his Skynne the Seete therin as he was  
woned to sitte whan that he was Iuge.  
And commandid that his Sonne, that  
Iuge was aftyr hym in the Same Cete  
shulde Sitte and deme, that he mynde  
haue sholde of the Payne of his fadyr  
wpon whos skynne he Sate. (*S.S.*, 167,  
ll. 23-31.)

In other place also I rede,  
Wher that a jugge his oghne dede  
Ne wol noght venge of lawe broke,  
The king it hath himselven wroke.  
The grete king which Cambises  
Was hote, a jugge laweles  
He fond, and into remembrance  
He dede upon him such vengeance:  
Out of his skyn he was beflain  
Al quyk, and on that wise slain,  
So that his skyn was schape al meete,  
And nayled on the same seete  
Wher that his Sone scholde sitte.  
Avisé him, if he wolde flitte  
The lawe for the coveitise  
Ther sih he redi his juise.  
(*C.A.*, VII, 2889-2904.)

Although Gower shows elsewhere in his works that he was acquainted with Valerius Maximus,<sup>1</sup> it is evident that he is not indebted here to that writer's scanty notice:

Jam Cambyses inusitate seueritatis, qui mali cuiusdam iudicis e corpore pellem detractam sellae intendi in eaque filium eius iudicaturum considerare iussit. Ceterum et rex et barbarus atroci ac noua poena iudicis ne quis postea corrumpi iudex posset prouidit.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mirour de l'omme*, 18302, 19981; *C.A.*, VII, 3181; see below pp. 336, 337. On the citation of Valerius at second hand in mediaeval literature cf. Cholevius, *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen*, I, 260; Tolscher, *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XCVII, 398.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 3, Ext. 3.

For the mere form of the story he might be indebted to the version of Helinand,<sup>1</sup> which is found in a number of collection of exempla,<sup>2</sup> and is distinguished from another version in which the name of the king is not mentioned,<sup>3</sup> but as one of several borrowings from the French *Secretum*, it is not by a mere coincidence that the same story is told in both works as an example of Justice.

For another of his "ensamples" Gower has followed his French original closely, if he adopts his common procedure, in rearranging the episodes:

To se this olde ensamplerie,  
That whilom was no flaterie  
Toward the Princes wel I finde;  
Wherof so as it comth to mynde,  
Mi Sone, a tale unto thin Ere,  
Whil that the worthi princes were  
At Rome, I thenke forto tellen.  
For whan the chances so befallen  
That eny Emperour as tho  
Victoire hadde upon his fo,  
And so forth cam to Rome ayein,  
Of treble honour he was certain,  
Wherof that he was magnified.  
The ferste, as it is specefied,  
Was, when he cam at thilke tyde,  
The Charr in which he scholde ryde

Therfor, as seynte Ierome<sup>4</sup> vs tellyth,  
in olde tymes whan the Pryncis of  
Rome retorned fro bataillis there as  
thay had victorie, the romanes makid  
thre maneres of honoures. The fryste  
was that al the pepill yede agaynes  
the Prynce with grete gladnys; the  
ije was that the Prysoneris and hos-  
tagis that were takyn in the bataille  
sholde follow the Pryncis chare on har  
fete, thare handis bounde be-hynde  
har backys; The iije was that the  
Prynce shold be clothid in lubiter  
thare godis cote, sittynge in a chare  
that iiij whyte horsyn drewe. (S.S.,  
154, 19-27.)

<sup>1</sup> As cited by Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Doctr.*, IV, 66; *Spec. Hist.*, III, 18.

<sup>2</sup> R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 378; *An Alphabet of Tales*, ed. Banks, 407.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, 29; ed. Dick, 64; *Violier des hist. rom.*, 83. On other versions cf. Oesterley, 717; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXVII, 301; *Girart de Rossillion*, ed. Mignard, 2931 ff.; Hoccleve, *Regement of Princes*, ed. Furnivall, 2675 ff.; J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 232, 244, 417. Yet Hoccleve speaks of his general indebtedness to "the Chese moralized" of Jacobus de Cessola (2108 ff.), who cites Helinand as his authority (Caxton's *Game and Play of the Chesse*, ed. Axon, 39). Lydgate has misunderstood the story wherever he found it (*Minor Poems*, Percy Society, 210).

<sup>4</sup> Jerome has only the statement in one of his letters: "in similitudinem triumphantium quibus in curru retro comes adhaerebat per singulas acclamationes civium, dicens: Hominem te esse memento" (*Ep.*, XXXIX; Migne, *Patrol.*, XXII, 468), itself a reminiscence of Tertullian (*Apol.*, cap. xxxiii; Migne, I, 511). The single phrase from Jerome, "Hominem te esse memento," on account of which the whole story is attributed to him, is not found in the version of the *Tractatus de diversis historiis Romanorum et quibusdam aliis*, cap. x (ed. S. Herzstein, 1893)—where the authority cited, "priuinus," is evidently "Hieronymus" as in the cited passage, in a version found in an anonymous preachers' manual (Herbert, op. cit., 175), and in Holkot's *Moralitates* (*Gesta Rom.*, p. 249)—nor in *Dialogus creaturarum*, cap. lx, where the account is attributed to Cicero. In his sixth voyage Sindbad comes to a kingdom where a slave rides on the monarch's chariot to remind him of the world's vanity. Burton attributes the passage to a classical source (1001 Nights, VI, 67), but compare the references cited by Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VII, 26, n. 1.

Foure whyte Stiedes scholden drawe;  
 Of Jupiter be thilke lawe  
 The Cote he scholde were also;  
 Hise prisoners ek scholden go  
 Endlong the Charr on eyther hond,  
 And alle the nobles of the lond  
 Tofore and after with him come  
 Ridende and broghten him to Rome,  
 In thonk of his chivalerie  
 And for non other flaterie.  
 And that was schewed forth withal,  
 Wher he sat in his Charr real,  
 Beside him was a Ribald set,  
 Which hadde hise words so beset,  
 To themperour in al his gloire  
 He seide, 'Tak into memoire,  
 For al this pompe and al this pride  
 Let no justice gon aside,  
 Bot know thiself, what so befall.  
 For men sen ofte time falle  
 Thing which men wende siker stonde,  
 Thogh thou victoire have nou on honde  
 Fortune mai noght stonde alway;  
 The whiel perchance an other day  
 Mai torne, and thou myht overthrowe:  
 Ther lasteth nothing bot a throwe'.  
 With these wordes and with mo  
 This Ribald, which sat with him tho,  
 To Themperour his tale tolde:  
 And overmor what ever he wolde,  
 Or were it evel or were it good,  
 So plainly as the trouthe stod,  
 He spareth noght, bot spekth it oute;  
 And so myhte every man aboute  
 The day of that solempnete  
 His tale telle als wel as he  
 To Themperour al openly.  
 And al was this the cause why;  
 That whil he stod in that noblesse,  
 He scholde his vanite repressen  
 With suche wordes as he herde.  
 (2355-2411.)

But for-als-moche as the romany  
 wolde that the Prynce for his honoure  
 hym-Sylfe sholde not foryete, thre  
 dyshonoures in the same day he most  
 Suffyre. The fryste was that there as  
 the Prynce sate in his Chare, a bond-  
 man and of fowle condycion to sig-  
 nifie that euery man of the Pepill  
 sholde haue hope to come to glorie of  
 a Prynce or of an empyre, by proesse  
 and vasselage. The ij<sup>de</sup> Dishonoure  
 was that the bonde-man that wyth the  
 Prynce Sate buffetis and Strokis hym  
 yave Saynge in gru, *Notisclotis*, that  
 is to Say, haue knowynge of thy-  
 Selfe, and be not Prute of so hey  
 vyrchipp; mynde thow how thow arte  
 dedly. The thyrd dyshonoure was,  
 that euery man myght wyth-oute  
 Payne or reproue and myssayne the  
 Prynce for that Iorney. (*S.S.*, 154,  
 27-155, 2.)

In the marginal analysis for which Gower himself seems respon-  
 sible, we find the supposedly Greek word "Notheos" with its gloss,  
 "Hoc est nosce teipsum." In only one Latin version of this story  
 does there appear an attempt to keep the Greek words (*γνώθι*

σεαῦτον),<sup>1</sup> but Gower has evidently taken his Latin translation from such a source, as well as his reference to the "Emperour."<sup>2</sup>

Macaulay is not correct in stating<sup>3</sup> that Gower attributes to Gaius Fabricius a saying properly attributed to Manlius Curius Dentatus. For if Curius tells the ambassadors of the Samnites "malle locupletibus imperare quam ipsum fieri locupletem," according to Valerius Maximus,<sup>4</sup> who tells that Fabricius only rejected gifts sent by the same people,<sup>5</sup> according to the pseudo-Frontinus,<sup>6</sup> Fabricius tells the legate from the Epirots, when refusing the proffered money, "malle se habentibus id imperare, quam habere." This story which is independent of that of Valerius, both probably having their source in the earlier collection of exempla of Hyginus,<sup>7</sup> in mediaeval collections of exempla<sup>8</sup> was attributed to Vegetius, probably because the works of Vegetius and Frontinus were often copied together in the same manuscript.<sup>9</sup> One change is found in the mediaeval versions: Fabricius refuses the offer not of the Epirots, but of the Samnites.<sup>10</sup> If the English poet's account suggests an indebtedness

<sup>1</sup> I. C. Frati, *Ricerche sul Fiore di virtù. Studi di filol. rom.*, VI, 419; "Gnoto seauton," citing a Lyons 1539 edition of the *G.R.* The Greek term, however, could not have been entirely unknown, as Hellinand preached on its meaning a sermon, which is found in the selection made by Vincent de Beauvais (*Hist. litt.*, XVIII, 99; *Les vers de la mort*, ed. Wulff et Walberg, vi, n. 3; xxvi, xxvii); and an anonymous sermon on the same subject has been noted by Hauréau, *Not. et extr.*, XXXVIII, 2, 398.

<sup>2</sup> The "emperor" is mentioned in the version of the *Gesta Rom.* (252; ed. Dick, 137), which does not mention the three dishonors, which are found in another version of the *Gesta Rom.* (30), *Tract.*, and probably of Holkot, whose source as cited was Jerome (*Gesta Rom.* 247, 249, 717), which fails to mention the "imperator." In the *Dial. creat.*, one finds "consules" instead of the "imperator," while the Lyons *G.R.* has "rex," Frati, *op. cit.* Cf. Herbert, 17, 207, 237, 242, 244, 252, 267, 642.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 530.

<sup>4</sup> *Mem.* iv, 3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iv, 3, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Strateg.* iv, 3, 2.

<sup>7</sup> A. Klots, *Hermes*, XLIV, 203-4, 213-14.

<sup>8</sup> *Tract.*, 4: "Sicut narrat Resecius libro 4<sup>to</sup> de re militari." Herzstein (37) has noted that "Vegetius should be the correct reading." *Petri Allegherii Commentarium*, ed. Nannucci, 435: "Item per exemplum Fabritii, qui secundum quod scribitur per Vegetum, de re militari in quarto libro, dum esset consul Romae, legatis Epirotarum sibi aurum multum offerentibus, renuit, etiam ut Curius," etc. Cf. *Castigos é Documentos (Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV)*, ed. Gayangos, 140a, where the authority cited is Valerius: "dijo que . . . queria haber ricos vasallos que grandes dones." On the source of the passage in this anonymous compilation of the second half of the fourteenth century in the supplementary material of Castrogeriz' Spanish translation of the *De regimine principum* of Gilles de Rome cf. Foulché-Delbos, *Revue hispanique*, XV, 368, 370, and n. 4. On the possible indebtedness of Castrogeriz, cf. *Romanic Review*, I, 264.

<sup>9</sup> Frontinus, ed. Gundermann, pp. v, x.

<sup>10</sup> The *Tract.* has the reading, "legatus Thyranorum"; Pietro Dante has kept the name found in Frontinus; cf. n. 37.



for detail to Jofroi's stories both of Fabricius and Curius, it is clear that in this instance again Gower made use of another source, where the Samnites were named as the hostile nation, as in another story about Fabricius, for which the classical authority was Aulus Gellius,<sup>1</sup> who may have been indebted to the work of Hyginus for this story.<sup>2</sup> Gower must have found this story in the form in which it appears in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury,<sup>3</sup> if his source was some collection of exempla,<sup>4</sup> in which he found many of his illustrative anecdotes. With the beginning and end of this account:

Julius Hyginus in libro sexto *De vita rebusque virorum illustrium*, quod de Fabricio sequitur, refert. . . . Venerunt ergo secundo legati Samnitum ad C. Fabricium, multas et magnas res memorantes, que bene et benivole post redditam pacem Samnitibus fecerat, offerentes dono grandem pecuniam, et orantes ut eam acciperet et uteretur. . . . Romani siquidem non curant habere aurum, sed imperare volunt habentibus aurum;

may be compared Jofroi's and Gower's accounts, while there is no hint in Jofroi of the story for which Hyginus was the original authority:

In a Cronique I finde thus,  
Hou that Gayus Fabricius,  
Which whilom was consul of Rome,  
Be whom the lawes yede and come,  
Whan the Sampnites to him broghte  
A somme of golde, and him besoghte  
To don hem favour in the lawe,  
Toward the gold he gan him drawe,

Vegesce tellyth, that a nobil con-  
saillour of Rome that Fabrice was  
callid, a wyse and a worthy man pat  
lowid not yftis to rescewe, Answarid  
to an Ambassatoure of a fere Estraunge  
contre, that hym proferid a grete  
Some of golde:

Fabricus vero planas manus ab auri-

<sup>1</sup> *Noct. Att.* i. 13, 2, ed. Hertz.

<sup>2</sup> A. Gellius elsewhere (x. 18) refers to "Hyginus in exemplis" as the source of one of his stories. Cf. Klotz, *op. cit.*, 214.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. V, chap. vii; Migne, *Patrol.*, OXCLX, 556. The version given by Benvenuto da Imola (*Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comediam*, ed. Lacaita, III, 522), is nothing but an unacknowledged borrowing from the *Policraticus* (cf. P. Toynbee, "Index of Authors Quoted by Benvenuto da Imola," *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Dante Society*, 26, 27). In the *De monarchia* (II, 5) Dante seems to refer to the version under discussion in referring to Fabricius who "auri grande pondus oblatum derisit, ac derisum, verba sibi convenientia fundens, desepxit et refutavit," although in the *Convivio* (IV, 5) he refers to the stories of Fabricius and Curius as they are found in Valerius.

<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding the similarity in certain details of John of Salisbury's version to Gower's version of this and of other stories, the English poet does not seem to have made use of the *Policraticus*. On the other hand, the English translator of Jofroi has made frequent use of it, with and without acknowledgment of his authority. Cf. *S.S.* 148, 21-31; cf. 121, 24-1223, 150, 9-19; *Pol.*, VI, 6; 524-25; *S.S.*, 148, 18-21; *Pol.*, VI, 2; 593; *S.S.*, 190, 12-16; *Pol.*, V, 10; 566.

Wherof in alle mennes lok  
 A part up in his hond he tok,  
 Which to his mouth in alle haste  
 He putte it, forto smelle and taste,  
 And to his yhe and to his Ere,  
 Bot he ne fond no comfort there:  
 And thanne he gan it to despise,  
 And tolde unto hem in this wise:  
 'I not what is with gold to thryve,  
 Whan non of all my wittes fyve  
 Fynt savour ne delit therinne.  
 So is it bot a nyce Sinne  
 Of gold to ben to covoitous;  
 Bot he is riche and glorious,  
 Which hath in his subjeccion  
 Tho men whiche in possession  
 Ben riche of golde, and be this skile:  
 For he mai aldai when he wile,  
 Or be hem lieve or be hem lothe,  
 Justice don upon hem bothe.'  
 Lo, thus he seide, and with that word  
 He threw tofore hem on the bord  
 The gold out of his hond anon,  
 And seide hem that he wolde non:  
 So that he kepte his liberte  
 To do justice and equite,  
 Withoute lucre of such richesse.  
 (2783-2832.)

bus et ad oculos, et infra, et deinceps  
 ad nares, et ad os, et ad gulam, et de-  
 inde ad ventrem et ima, deduxit, et  
 legatis in haec verba respondit: "Dum  
 omnibus his membris, quae attigi,  
 resistere atque imperare potero, mihi  
 nihil omnino deerit ideoque vobis  
 reservate pecuniam necessariam, usibus  
 vestris nec eam quibus necessaria, aut  
 grata non est ingeratis. Romani, etc."

Leuer is hit to me to comaunde tho  
 that the golde haue, than thare good  
 to have. (173, 26-30, 31-32.)

Cf. Marcus Curius hath leuer to  
 comaunde riche men than be ryche;

witte ye that y shall not be corruptid  
 by frendshup, enemyte, neyther by  
 golde, ne by Siluer. (177, 25-27.)

In neither of these instances is the story told under the same category in both works; that of the Roman triumph is told in the *Secretum* as an example of Prudence; by Gower as a warning against Flattery; the story of Fabricius is found under the heading of Fortitude in the one work, and as an example of Justice in the other. But at this point Gower has probably kept nearer to the French text than Yonge, who adapted the stories to fit the setting of his own addition to his translation. So again, under the same heading as the story of Fabricius, the English translation gives that of Codrus, while Gower, in following the French text, which has the same order as the Latin *Secretum*, gives it as an example of "Pite" or Mercy. Even if Gower has told only enough of the story to point his moral, it is evident that he used two versions of the story. To one which he found in a collection of exempla, he owed the name of the hostile people "Dor-ence," and the name of Apollo as the god he consulted, as they are

found in the version of the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>1</sup>; to his French text he was indebted for the citation of his authority and for his account of the answer of the god and his own decision, although there it appears as the reflection of the narrator:

for this Valeire tolde . . . .

For as Valery Sayth, and Seynte  
austynne hit rehersyth . . . .

Of tuo pointz that he myhte chese,  
Or that he wolde his body lese  
And in bataille himselve deie,  
Or elles the seconde weie,  
To sen his poeple desconfit.  
Bot he, which Pite hath parfit  
Upon the point of his believe,  
The people thoghte to relieve,  
And ches himselve to be ded.  
(VII, 3191-99, 381.)

For leuer hym was deth to suffyr,  
that his men had the maystri, than  
lyue and See his men to bene ouer-  
come. (*S.S.*, 173, 14, 22-24.)<sup>2</sup>

Yet another story which is found under the same rubric in both the English adaptations of Jofroi's works points to a common origin the allusion to the nobility of the lion, which appears in a chapter devoted to Fortitude entitled "of the Pite and mercy that a Prynce sholde haue" in Yonge's work, and under the rubric of "Pite" in Gower's poem. However if Gower got his suggestion for this allusion in its due order, he was indebted to a chapter of that part of the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, devoted to natural history, for some of his details:

of the natures this I finde,  
The fierce Leon in his kinde,  
Which goth rampende after his preie,  
If he a man finde in his weie,  
He wode him slen, if he withstonde.

Ci comence de la nature des Ani-  
maus.

Et jà soit lions de si haut corage et  
de si fiere nature . . . et ne sera jà

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Oesterley. cap. xl, "Dorenses," "consuluit Apollinem." In the account of Valerius Maximus (V, 6, Ext. 1) the name of the hostile people is not given, and we have the longer phrase, "ad Apollinis Delphici oraculum," which has been properly rationalized for the mediaeval mind. In the second source cited by our French author (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 19) the "peloponnensibus" appears, which appears as "Pollimensem," "Polipinses," "Polipolens." *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Dick, 124; *Tract.*, 3; Hoccleve, 3952; although Augustine is not cited as an authority in these accounts. In Hoccleve's account, which is an evident misunderstanding of the story, ll. 3956-62 were suggested by Gower's account. There is no equivalent of the "Dorrence" in the French text, *B.N.* f. 11822, 96, recto, col. 1. "Dorenses" appears in John of Salisbury's version (*Pol.*, IV, 2, 517).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Maluit enim mori, ut vincerent sui, quam suis vivere superatis" (*Tract.*, 3); "é mas quise que venciesen los suyos é moriendo, que escapar é que quedasen" (*Castigos*, cap. x); "ca quiso morir porque venciesen los suyos mas que vir é que los suyos fuesen vencidos" (*Libro de los enz.*, 282).

But if the man coude understonde  
 To falle anon before his face  
 In signe of mercy and of grace,  
 The Leon schal of his nature  
 Restreigne his ire in such mesure,  
 As thogh it were a beste tamed,  
 And torne away halfvinge aschamed,  
 That he the man schal nothing grieve.  
 (3387-99.)

correciez à home se il ne li mesfet  
 premierement; mais à merveilles est  
 piteus, que là ou il est plus correciez  
 et plus plains d'ire et de mautalent  
 contre lui, lors li pardone volentiers, et  
 plus tost se li hom se giete à terre et  
 fait semblant de crier merci. (182,  
 224.)

Anothyr ensampill I fynde writte  
 of the lyon, that thegh a man haue  
 hym Sore hurte, and than he that hym  
 hurte falle down to the Erthe, as he  
 wolde cry hym mercy, he wil hym not  
 dyassaysein nothings. (*S.S.*, 181, 24-25.)

Macaulay has noted that "the idea of the four complexions of man, corresponding to the four elements, is not due to Aristotle, but we find it in the *Trésor*, and this is a correct statement of the facts. But his further remark that "the application to matters of love in ll. 393-440 is presumably Gower's own,"<sup>1</sup> needs correction, for just this application is found in our French version of the *Secretum*. The order in which the temperaments are discussed differs in the works of Jofroi, Latini, and Gower. In the first of these the order is (1) Sanguine, (2) Phlegmatic, (3) Coleric, (4) Melancholic; in the *Trésor*, (1) Phlegmatic, (2) Sanguine, (3) Coleric, (4) Melancholic; and in the *Confessio Amantis*, (1) Melancholic, (2) Phlegmatic; (3) Sanguine; (4) Coleric. For a comparison of the two

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 523. Sundby (*op. cit.*, 102) does not discuss Latini's source. There is a suggestion of the same idea in the hygienic *enseignement* of Thomas le Bourguignon, written in 1286 to judge from the few fragments that have been published (*Bulletin de la soc. des anciens textes franc.*, XXX, 49, 51; cf. 43 ff., 91).

That this idea was not original to Jofroi, whatever was his source, is shown by the fact that it appears in a German poem of the fifteenth century, on the four temperaments published by C. von Hardenberg, *Germania*, XXVII, 413-41. In this German poem the order of complexions is Sanguine, Coleric, Phlegmatic, and Melancholic, and nothing is said of love in the case of Melancholic, as in Jofroi. But in an English version (cited by Steele, *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees*, 104) it is only mentioned in the case of Sanguine. To consider the application to Melancholic an independent addition is as dangerous as Macaulay's suggestion that in his account of Alexander and Diogenes, including the conversation about the Reason and the Will, "the incident of the messenger sent to inquire and of the answer he brought back is no doubt due to Gower" (*C.A.*, III, 1201; *Works of Gower*, II, 497). Now in an oft-repeated story, which is found in the *Gesta Rom.* (61; ed. Dick, 151) a soldier of Alexander meets Socrates, who is living as a hermit, and the same answers are given to the soldier and Alexander, as in the *C.A.* In one version found in the *Libro de los enz.* (381) one finds the nearest approach to Gower's version: Socrates lives in a tub, etc. In another version of the *Enz.* (190) the shorter version told by Burley of Socrates (*op. cit.*, 194) is attributed to Plato.

texts the order of Jofroi's work is adopted, as best showing Gower's indebtedness, and the changes he has made from his original:

What man that takth his kinde of thair,  
He schal be lyht, he schal be fair,  
For his complexion is blood.  
Of alle there is non so good,<sup>1</sup>  
For he hath bothe will and myht  
To plesse and paie love his riht:  
Wher as he hath love undertake,  
Wrong is if he be forsake. (421-28.)

The water, which is moyste and cold,  
Makth fleume, which is manyfold  
Foryetel, slou and wery sone  
Of every thing which is to done:<sup>2</sup>  
He is of kinde sufficient  
To holde love his covenant,  
Bot that him lacketh appetit,  
Which longeth unto such delit.  
(413-20.)

The fyr of his condicion  
Appreth the complexion  
Which in a man is Colre hote,  
Whos propretes ben dreie and hote:  
Of kontek and folhastifnesse  
He hath a riht gret besinesse,  
To thenke of love and litel may:  
Though he behote wel a day,  
On nyht whan that he wole assaie,  
He may ful evele his dette paie.  
(429-32; 435-40.)

Of therthe, which is cold and drye,  
The kinde of man Malencolie  
Is cleped, and that is the ferste.  
The most ungoodlich and the werste,  
For unto loves werk on nyht  
Him lacketh bothe will and myht:  
No wonder is, in lusty place  
Of love though he lese grace,  
What man hath that complexion  
Full of ymaginacion  
Of dredes and of wrathful thoghtes,  
He fret himselfen al to noghtes.  
(401-12.)

The bloode is hotte and moysti to  
the lyckenesse of the heiere . . . .  
his complexion shalbe lyght to hurte  
and to empeyre for his tendernysse  
. . . . of fayre semblaunt. The sangyne  
by kynde sholde lowe. . . . company  
of women . . . . he shal be  
hardy y-nowe, of good will. (219, 35-36;  
220, 2-3, 6; 219, 38-220, 2.)

fleume is colde and moysti aftyr  
kynde of the watyr. . . . The fleumatyke  
by kynde he sholde be slowe,  
sadde, ful stille, and Slowe of answer  
. . . . he shalbe grete and fatte. . . .  
And as touchynge maneres he shal be  
piteouse, chaste, and lytill desyre  
company of women. (219, 36; 220,  
7, 9, 10-12.)

colre hote and drye aftyr kynde  
of fyre . . . . his body is hote and  
drye. . . . Desyrous of company of  
women moore than hym nedyth.  
(219, 37; 220, 13, 17-18.)

Malencoly colde and dry aftyr  
kynde of erthe. . . . The Malencoly  
man sholde be lene of body and  
dry. . . . And as touchynge maneris,  
he sholde bene pensyfe and Slowe,  
and of stille wille, still and dredfull,  
and a smalle entremyttre. More  
latre Is he wourthe than a colerike  
man, but he holdyth longyr wreth;  
he is of sotille ymagynacion. (219, 37;  
220, 19-25.)

<sup>1</sup> *B.N.*; f. f., 1822, fol. 107: "Ce est la mieudre complexions qui soit."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, "Ence que fleume est froide et moiste et de nature d'algue et de yver, convient il que il soit lenz et oesanz . . . . et non mie bien sovenans des choses passées."

In the beginning of the section on physiognomy in the *Secretum Secretorum* is found the story of "Philomon, wyche was a maystyr of Phisnomye" (217), who gives a correct judgment of the character of Hippocrates from a portrait, to which Gower owed the information which led him to put among other discoverers of sciences:

And Philemon be the visage  
Fond to describe the corage. (C.A. IV, 2405-6.)

There is no way, however, of showing whether he was indebted for this information to the Latin version or the French translation.<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere than in the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower seems to have made use of the work of Jofroi. In his account of Vergil's wonderful mirror, which he adopted from a story of the *Roman des sept sages*, in a form represented by the prose versions published by Le Roux de Lincy,<sup>2</sup> Gower has introduced Carthage and Hannibal as the enemy who were responsible for its destruction. As a consequence of its destruction:

thus hath Rome lost his pride  
And was defouled overal.  
For this I finde of Hanybal,  
That he of Romeins in a dai,  
Whan he hem fond out of arai,  
So gret a multitude slowh,

<sup>1</sup> On versions of this story borrowed from the *Secretum* cf. Knust, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, X, 296-97; Steinschneider, *ibid.*, XII, 375. In *El Cavallero Cifar* (ed. Michelant, 185) the features of Hippocrates are merely described to Afion (Filon). Cf. O. P. Wagner, *Rev. hispanique*, X, 85. The story was originally told of Zopyrus and Socrates. The various versions in classical authorities have been collected and commented on by R. Förster (*Script. physiogn.*, I, vii-xiii). The Arabs were responsible for transferring the story to Philemon, who was for them *par excellence*, the physiognomist, and the confusion between Hippocrates and Socrates in translation is apparent. Knust has noted a number of allusions to the original story in mediaeval and modern literature (*Gualteri Burlaci Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, 114).

<sup>2</sup> 51 ff. Gower probably found this story as well as that of the *Senescalus* (V, 2643 ff.) in the version of the *Sept sages* denominated as A by G. Paris, the source of the various English versions (*Deux rédactions du roman des sept sages de Rome*, xvi ff.; *Romania*, XXVIII, 166) and not the version published by Le Roux de Lincy, as is supposed without question by Macaulay (*op. cit.*, 495, 496). In the *Mirour* (14725 ff.) Gower gives the account of the *Salvatio Romae* found in Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (ed. Wright, 310; *Gesta Rom.* 186, ed. Dick, 82) in which it is a palace, containing statues representing the different provinces. In Helinand's version, which is independent of Neckam's, in its preservation of the more primitive story (Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, 294, 296 ff.), Vergil is not mentioned, and the account in the *Historia septem sapientum* is shorter and differs in details, whatever may have been its origin (*Deux réd.*, XXXVI, 115), so that Gower does not show an acquaintance here any more than elsewhere with this version of the *Sept sages*.

That of goldringes, whiche he drowh  
 Of gentil handes that ben dede,  
 Buissshelles fulle thre, I rede,  
 He felde and made a bregge also  
 That he mihte over Tibre go  
 Upon the corps that dede were  
 Of the Romeins, whiche he slowh there (V, 2196-2208),

an anecdote he found told in close connection with those about Codrus and Fabricius, of which I have already shown he made use:

haniball the kynge of Cartage, that is Souerayne Cite of affryke, had besieged the Cite of Rome longe tyme, and so hugely slayne of the romanys that in oone day he dide fill thre bushelis of golde ryngis, that weryn of the Pryncis and of the wourthy men.<sup>1</sup>

To this source is evidently due Gower's mistake of locating this battlefield—of Cannae—under the walls of Rome, although it was not, assuredly, the source of the bridge of bodies, which is to be found in a phrase of the account of the same episode in the version also found in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury:

De caesorum cadaveribus in torrente Vergello pons solidus factus est victoris jussu.<sup>2</sup>

The detailed story of Diogenes and Aristippus (VII, 2217 f.) could have been suggested only by the account in Jofroi's work (175, 37-178, 3), which closely resembles the account of the original authority, Valerius Maximus (IV, 3, Ext. 4), who is cited by Jofroi.<sup>3</sup> Here again the story is told under different rubrics, in the English version of Jofroi as an example of Fortitude, by Gower as a warning against Flattery. Even biblical stories were suggested in their due category to Gower by his French source. So both tell the stories of David and Agag (3807 ff.; 161, 40-162, 18) and of David, Solomon, and Joab (3846 ff.; 175, 10-14) as examples of stern Justice in kings;

<sup>1</sup> "Et tant ocis des romains que un jor fist emplir trois muïs d'anias [MS anias] d'or, qui furent as princes et as hauz homs" (MS cit., fol. 96, recto, col. 2). Jofroi's source was without doubt the work of Eutropius, of which he was the translator (*H.L.*, XXI, 217, 225): "et tres modios aureorum annulorum Carthaginem misit, quos e manibus equitum Romanorum, senatorum, et militum detraxerat" (III, 11, ed. Dietsch; cf. Valerius Max., VII, 2, Ext. 16). The same episode in the narrative of Livy (xxiii. 7) so struck Dante's imagination that he refers to it twice (*Inf.*, XXVIII, 10-12; *Cons.* IV, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Lib. III, chap. x, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, CXOIX, 495.

<sup>3</sup> Knust (*Gualteri Burlaei Liber*, etc., 198) has collected instances of this story to which may be added: *Castigos*, 34; *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. De Queux de Saint-Hilaire et Raynaud, II, 38; cf. XI, 214.

and that of Solomon's choice of Wisdom (3891 ff.; 149, 20—150, 7) as an example of royal Prudence. If they are not given in the same order, it is because Gower has given his biblical stories separately and consecutively.

In his earlier work, *Mirour de l'omme* (18301—10), Gower tells after "Valeire" "en les viels gestes de romeins" how the beautiful youth Phirin—i.e., Spurius—"copa ses membres de ses mains," a rendering or misrendering of the Latin phrase "oris decorem vulneribus confudit,"<sup>1</sup> to escape the tempting offers of women. In the *Confessio Amantis* (V, 6372—84) he tells the story of Phyrins, who tore out his eyes for the same reason. This radical change in detail is not due to the story as told by Jofroi,<sup>2</sup> who follows the text of Valerius closely; but to the influence of kindred tales of great popularity of philosophers, saints, and nuns, who mutilated themselves in this way for different reasons.<sup>3</sup> One might be tempted to attribute a moralization on the greatness and death of Alexander (C.A., III, 2438—80) to a version of the sayings of the wise men at the tomb of Alexander, in Jofroi's work (150, 37—151, 31) if both authors had not had a common source in the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, in a chapter of which the influence was far-reaching.<sup>4</sup> The work of Alphonsus is doubtless the source of a similar, if briefer, reflection of Gower in the *Mirour* (22057); as in this work he refers elsewhere twice to Alphonsus as an authority from whom he quotes (2843, 13675). The variants from the Latin version, noted by Macaulay,<sup>5</sup> in the story of the Jew and the Pagan, (VII, 3207\* ff.) might be also attributed to the French version, but such is not the case,<sup>6</sup> as at

<sup>1</sup> IV, 5, Ext. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 190, 16—24.

<sup>3</sup> *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Crane, pp. 22, 158; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXIV, 95; *Dial. creat.*, cap. xi; *Alphabet of Tales*, [chaps. 659, 682—3, 732, 776; Herbert, *op. cit.*, 27—28, 72, 374, 611.

<sup>4</sup> Tolscher, *Wien. Sitzungsber. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XCVII, 381; Herzog, *ibid.*, CXLII, Part VI, 81—82; Schönbusch, *ibid.*, CLXIII, Part I, 41; Risop, *Herrigs Archiv*, CX, 128; Toldo, *ibid.*, CXVIII, 329; *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Oesterley, 9, 31; ed. Dick, 66; Herbert, 132, 232, 267. For source cf. Herts, *op. cit.*, 134 ff. For the narrative Gower seems to have been indebted to the *Roman d'Alexandre* (ed. Michelant, 506—9; 547—48; cf. C.A., III, 2453—57; *Rom. d'Alex.*, 547, 5—6; 548, 16—17. For source, P. Meyer, *Alex. le Grand*, II, 204—5; 210.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 532.

<sup>6</sup> S.S., 165—67; H.L., XXI, 222—23. In *El libro de los enzeplios* (131) the story is told without any variants from the original. On its ultimate source cf. H.L., XXI, 839; Steinschneider, *Jahrb.*, XII, 374.



this point Jofroi follows his Latin text closely, and these variants must be attributed to Gower himself.

Were it not for the consistency with which Gower tells his tales under the same categories as in Jofroi's work, to which the verbal indebtedness is sometimes apparent, the stories might have been taken from some collection of exempla.<sup>1</sup> Thus the stories of Codrus, Fabricius, and the Roman Triumph are told in close connection with other stories of the seventh book; Julius Caesar and the veteran (2061 ff.),<sup>2</sup> Antigonus and the Cynic (2115 ff.),<sup>3</sup> the emperor and his masons (2412 ff.),<sup>4</sup> as well as the story of Alexander and the pirate, told in the third book (2363 ff.)<sup>5</sup> in the *Tractatus de diversis historiis Romanorum*, which must have had a common source with Gower, as with the *Dialogus creaturarum* for these stories.<sup>6</sup> This collection was not the *Gesta Romanorum*,<sup>7</sup> which contains only four of these stories, told in a bald narrative which omits many of the details found in Gower's version. He does

<sup>1</sup> For Gower's use of exempla cf. Hamilton, *Med. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Found first in Seneca *De beneficiis* v. 24. The advocate appears in the form of the story told by John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, III, 14); the source of the story in the *Tract.*, (18), the *Dial. creat.* (23), and the *Libro de los enz.* (258), as in Gower's and Hoccleve's accounts (*Reg. of Princes*, 3270 ff.), if he does not appear in the version of the *Gesta Rom.* (87; ed. Dick, 100). In all the fuller versions Asia is where the service is performed; in Gower alone is it Africa. On various versions cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 151, 152, 193, 201, 214, 217, 224, 226, 228, 254, 566.

<sup>3</sup> The ultimate source of this story is Seneca *De ben.* II, 17; Gower's immediate source was an exemplum containing the name of "Clinichus," as in *Tract.* (7), which is not found in the account of the *Trésor* (412), which is suggested as the source by Macaulay (*op. cit.*, 529). However if it is found in Gower under the rubric of Liberality, it is due to the fact that it is given under the same caption, "Des enseignemens de Donner," in Latini's work. For analogues cf. *Moralités des philosophes* of Alart de Cambrai (*H.L.*, XXIII, 244; cf. *Trésor*, xvii); *Renart le Contrefait* (*Rom.*, XXXVII, 255), *Libro de los enz.* (255), and *El Cifar*, (236); *Alphabet of Tales* (442); Herbert, *op. cit.*, 158, 419, 435; Frati, 383.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Iohannis Eleemosynarii* (Migne, *Patrol.*, LXXIII, 343), which is cited as authority by *Tract.* (12), *Dial.* (122), *Libro de enz.* (225), and Hoccleve (2857 ff.). In the *Alphabet of Tales*, 512, Isidore is the authority cited.

<sup>5</sup> To the references given by Oosterley (*Gesta Rom.* 146), add R. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 559; P. Toldo, *H.A.*, CXVIII, 329; *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache*, XXXI, 1, 188; L. Thuasne, *Rev. des bibliothèques*, XVI, 230 ff.; *Tract.*, 1; *Libro de los enz.*, 42 (*Rom.*, VII, 509); Herbert, 159, 268; Frati, 413-15. Gower's narrative approaches most closely to the *Tract.*, *Dial.*, and *Castigos* (31).

<sup>6</sup> Herzstein, *op. cit.* In the *Dial. creat.*, *Libro de los enz.*, and in perhaps the source of Hoccleve (5439 ff.) appear the speeches of the sages at the tomb of Alexander, which are first found in the *Disc. cler.*, although the Spanish version attributes them to a book of Demosthenes. Cf. p. 337, n. 4; and Hertz, *op. cit.*, 149, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> On the wide meaning of "Gesta Romanorum" cf. S. J. H. Hertridge, *Early English Versions of the Gesta Rom.*, vii; Macaulay, *op. cit.*, 529; R. Köhler, *op. cit.*, II, 247; Tolscher, *op. cit.*, 381, n.

not refer once to the collection; "les viels gestes de romains" (*Mir.* 18301) is Valerius Maximus; "the gestes old of Rome, that Valerie told" (C.A., V, 6359-60) is a wrong citation of the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, for Jerome's *ad Joviananum*,<sup>1</sup> whose author was correctly cited in the *Mirour* (7119 ff.).<sup>2</sup>

To one of Jofroi's authorities in his version of the *Secreta Secretorum* "Eutropias in the Stories of Romanes," "L'Estoire des Romains" of "Etropias," Gower seems indebted for his curious information about some of the Roman emperors. A misunderstanding of the three chapters of the work of Eutropius on Galba, Otho, and Vitellius is the source of the queer fellowship of Galba and Vitellius, if not the authority for the account of their death (VI, 537 ff.).<sup>3</sup> The same "Chronique" is no doubt referred to as a general authority on Nero (VI, 1151 ff.);<sup>4</sup> and it was that of "the olde bokes of recorde" in which he found Trajan's definition of what sort of emperor he wished to be (VII, 3142 ff.).<sup>5</sup> Again, if he drew his account of the unnatural crimes of Caligula (VII, 199 ff.) from a source which combined details from Orosius<sup>6</sup> and the *Epitome* of Aurelius Victor,<sup>7</sup> Eutropius was the "Cronique" in which "it is yit spoke" of the lustful life of "Anthonie" "which of Severus was the Sone" (VII, 4574 ff.).<sup>8</sup> To another misunderstanding of the three chapters on the Tarquin is due Gower's identification of Tarquinius

<sup>1</sup> For the close connection of these two works cf. *Works of Chaucer*, ed. Skeat, III, 302; V, 308 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *H.L.*, XXI, 225.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 16-18. If the scene is laid in Spain by Gower (539, 569) it is because Galba, "ab Hispanis et Gallis imperator electus." Otho is not mentioned on account of a misunderstanding of the phrase, "Otho occiso Galba invasit imperium."

<sup>4</sup> VII, 14-15. On Nero in mediaeval tradition cf. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nella immaginazione da medio evo*, I, 334 ff.; II, 123, 580-81; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXVIII, 330 ff. I do not know the source of Nero's experiment in digestion: killing three men, who had taken different exercises after eating the same food, to examine their stomachs (C.A., VII, 1167-1207); on Alexander's experiment of taking out the hearts of a happy and unhappy dog cf. F. Liebrecht, *Gott. gel. Anz.*, 1866, 2027. The story of Nero in hell (*Mir.*, 24469 ff.) which is attributed to Seneca is a widely known exemplum (*Exempla of J. de Vitry*, 14, 148; Toldo, *ibid.*, CXVII, 301; Herbert, 135, 374, 431, 621), in which is cited "tragedia quadam Seneca."

<sup>5</sup> VIII, 5. For other mediaeval citations cf. R. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 247, 365; *Castigos*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Adv. pag.*, VII, 5, 9.

<sup>7</sup> III, 4.

<sup>8</sup> VIII, 19-20. Boethius refers to Caracalla as Antonius, as the name also appears in Chaucer's translation (ed. Skeat, Book III, p. 5, l. 35).

Sextus with Aruns<sup>1</sup> in his stories of the capture of Gabii (4193-4753), and the rape of Lucretia (4754-5130). With such a misunderstanding of his text, the name of Eutropius may be hidden under "Ephiloquerus,"<sup>2</sup> one of those who

The firste were of Enditours,  
Of old Cronique and eke auctours. (IV, 2409, 2411-12.)<sup>3</sup>

Only a comparison with Jofroi's painfully literal translation will show whether these misinterpretations of the Latin text are due to him.

But if Gower was indebted to the French translator of the *Secretum Secretorum* for the substance and hints of many of his stories in the seventh book and elsewhere, he has not followed him in admitting parts of the original Latin text as not authoritative. It was just these parts which Gower has enlarged upon with his own reading. For while Jofroi "écarte des rêveries fort confuses sur les propriétés occultes des corps, sur l'influence des planètes, et certaines herbes et pierres merveilleuses,"<sup>4</sup> stating, "Des propretez et qualitez et vertuz d'aucune erbes, et d'arbres, quant il dist en cest lieu de pieres et d'erbes, et d'arbres est faus, et plus ressemble fable que veritei ou philosophie; et ce sevent tous les clerks qui bien entendent le latin,"<sup>5</sup> Gower enlarges upon each of these subjects. His definition of astronomy (670-79) and in part that of astrology (679-84), with an apology for the latter (633-63) is due to the Latin *Secretum Secretorum*.<sup>6</sup> An outline of astronomy taken from the *Trésor*,<sup>7</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> VII, 12; I, 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> As noted by Macaulay, *op. cit.*, 534.

<sup>3</sup> For Eutropius in lists of mediaeval authorities cf. Meyer, *Alex. le Grand*, II, 98; Rajna, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 436; Petersen, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVIII, 174, n. On the use made of his work, see Manilius, *Philol.*, XLIX, 191, and MSS in libraries; *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVII, *Ergänzungsheft*, 88-89.

<sup>4</sup> *H.L.*, XXI, 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>6</sup> As the Latin text is not accessible to me I cite the English translation, contemporaneous with Gower, made from the Latin in *Three Prose Versions of the Secr. Secr.*, where the editor has added the numbering of the chapters of the Latin text (chap. xxxi, pp. 64-66; cf. *Kunst, Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, 287; Steinschneider, *ibid.*, XII, 372, *Heb. Uebers.*).

<sup>7</sup> As Macaulay (*op. cit.*, III, 522) expressly states that Gower's "astronomy is for the most part independent of the *Trésor*," it may be well to note just what this indebtedness was (cf. *C.A.*, VII, 685-709: *T.* 124-25; *C.* 721-27: *T.* 140, 5; 141, 3-4; *C.* 731-35: *T.* 139, 25; 410, 4; cf. 137, 8-14; 735-44: *T.* 137, 15; 140, 5; 141, 7; 139, 12-17; *C.* 774-75; 782: *T.* 129, 14-15; *C.* 865-70: *T.* 129, 11; 130, 2-3; *C.* 889-94: *T.* 129, 7; 86, 10; *C.* 909-12: *T.* 129, 4; *C.* 935-39: *T.* 125, 7; 128, 17; *C.* 973-78: *T.* 128, 8-16). As Gower refers to the "Almageste" as his authority on the phases of the moon (739) it may be well to cite the passage of the Latin translation, which is not easily accessible, to show that Gower was not directly indebted to it: "In eclipsisbus autem lunaribus nihil

the framework of a detailed account of the influence of the planets on the men and countries under their control, and a description of the signs of the zodiac, the planets in their mansions, and the months tributary to them (685-1236). This addition was suggested to Gower by a short section in the *Secretum*, advising that the course of the planets, and the signs of the zodiac be watched closely when it was necessary to take medicine.<sup>1</sup> The source of this material was the *Introductorium in astronomiam* of Abū'Ma'sar, as can be inferred from the statement of Gower,

Nou hast thou herd the proprete  
Of Signes, bot in his degre  
Albumazar yit over this  
Seith, . . . .

at the beginning of his account of the four "climates" which are governed by the twelve signs of the Zodiac (1237-80), which had its source in the same work, from which Gower drew his references to "Tholemeus" (1043, 1201). Just how Gower made use of this authority can only be shown by a comparison of his account with the complete text of the *Introductorium*,<sup>2</sup> as it is to be found in many manuscripts, instead of with the abridged composite text of the

eorum accidit quae contingunt propter diversitatem aspectuum lunarium. Aspectus enim oculorum non est causa eorum quae accidunt lunae ex eclypsi. Luna autem non illuminatur nisi a lumine solis. sol ergo semper illuminat supra totam medietatem sphaerae eius oppositam soli et in quibusdam temporibus videtur tota luna plena lumine; quam medietas sphaerae eius illuminata est tunc tota inclinata nobis: facie eius ad nos versa. Cum autem fuerit oppositio lunae et solis: in qua erit casus eius in umbra terrae pineali: culus revolutio est contraria revolutioni solis, tunc tenebrabitur et minuetur ex lumine eius suam quantitatem qua cadit in umbram ex ea: et tegit terra ex lumine solis ab ea" (cap. II, dict. 4, 2, fol. 35, verso. Venice, 1515 [cf. E. Flügel, *Anglia*, XVIII, 135]. It is to be noted that Gower's "ground" (743), is a translation of the Latin *terra* or French *terre* in the sense of "earth," "world." Sundby (*op. cit.*, 102-5) has failed to note Latin's direct use of the work of Ptolemy of which there can be no doubt. It is not surprising to find Gower using the *Trésor*, when a copy of it was in the library of the Earl of Worcester, who died in 1315 (Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, 161); and another copy was found in 1397 in the library of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the contemporary, and perhaps, the friend (cf. *Works of Gower*, ed. Macaulay, IV, 313 ff.) of Gower (Dillon and Hope, *Archaeol. Jour.* LIV, 300).

<sup>1</sup> T.P.V., pp. 85-87, capp. lxxvi-vii; cf. Knust, *op. cit.*, 290; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 373.

<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that Gower used a secondary source such as the Latin work "Judicia que resultant ex 12 domibus celi et eorum signis per existenciam 7 planetarum in ipais" (*Bibliothèque nationale; Inventaire* par L. Delisle, I [1891], 27), or the French work, "Les xij signes et les vij planettes" (Camus, *Bull. de la soc. des anc. textes franc.*, 1902, 101, 104-5).

incunabula.<sup>1</sup> The influence of the planets on herbs and precious stones is merely touched on by the *Secretum*.<sup>2</sup> A phrase in a chapter on this subject, "In aliis siquidem libris nostris plenarie de proprietatibus lapidum et viribus herbarum et naturis plantarum declaravimus,"<sup>3</sup> led Gower to attribute to Nectabaneus, who appears as an astrologer in the mediaeval legend of Alexander, a work which was the source of a long passage in the *Confessio*.<sup>4</sup> This was the popular work *Liber Hermetis de xv stellis et de xv lapidibus et de xv herbis*, which he may have translated from either Latin<sup>5</sup> or French.<sup>6</sup> Gower has, however, followed Jofroi in omitting an account of the wonder-working stones and plants, which is found in the *Secretum*, against which the French writer inveighed.<sup>7</sup> Gower's account of the Philosopher's Stone in the fourth book (2605 ff.) was not taken from any version of the *Secretum*; at the very most the accounts of the three stones, vegetable, animal, and mineral, may have been a reminiscence of the term "lapidem animale[m] vegetabile[m] et minerale[m]"<sup>8</sup> of the Latin version, which Gower probably found cited in the work of alchemy, the source for this passage in the poem.

In the Latin verses prefatory to the section on astronomy and astrology is one which reads:

Vir mediante deo sapiens dominabitur astris

<sup>1</sup> Of. Steinschneider, *Bibliotheca mathematica*, 1890, 71; *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, CXLIX, Part IV, 33, 49; K. Dyroff in F. Boll, *Sphaera*, 484-85; Ruelle, *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscriptions*, 1910, 33. Macaulay (*op. cit.*, III, 526) could not find the source of ll. 1239 ff. in the printed *Introductorium*, and did not take the opportunity to use the fuller text of an available manuscript, which he suspected was the source. The use of the complete text of the work of the Arabic astronomer would probably show conclusively that neither Dante nor Albertus Magnus was in error in citing him upon the belief that the ignition of the vapors about Mars portended the death of kings (*Convivio*, II, 14, 14; P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, 39-40).

<sup>2</sup> *T.P.V.*, pp. 87, 89-91; capp. lxxix, lxxxlii; cf. Knust, *op. cit.*, 291; Steinschneider, *Jahrb.*, XII, 374.

<sup>3</sup> I cite this phrase after Steinschneider, *Jahrb.*, XII, 370, n. 17; cf. 374; *T.P.V.*, 87, 14-16.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 1789 ff., with notes.

<sup>5</sup> Steinschneider, *Zeitschr. f. Mathematik u. Physik*, XVI, 385; 372, n.: *Die hebräische Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 937; cf. M.R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 348; Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, 639; H. Haupt, *Philologus*, XLVIII, 37 f.

<sup>6</sup> On a French translation, P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII, 115.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. lit.*, XXI, 221.

<sup>8</sup> Cited in Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrets of Old Philosophers*, ed. R. Steele.

which has been freely rendered:

Bot the divin seith otherwise,  
That if men weren goode and wise  
And plesant unto the godehede,  
Thei scholden noght the sterres drede. (651-54.)

In the *Vox clamantis* the Latin phrase is given in a variant form:

In virtute dei sapiens dominabitur astris<sup>1</sup> (II, 239),

and it is freely paraphrased in the *Mirour*:

Des elementz auçi je lis  
Q' al homme se sont obeiz. (27013-14.)

It is curious that Gower attributes this saying to an anonymous "divin," when it is generally attributed to Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> in the form "Vir sapiens dominabitur astris."<sup>3</sup> If the reference given by one<sup>4</sup> of those who cite it is "Ptholomeus in sapienciis Almagesti," it is not found in the collection of apothegms found at the beginning of one edition and some manuscripts of the *Almagest*,<sup>5</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> In Gower's source the saying may have been anonymous, or else attributed to Solomon as in Villon's *Codicille*.<sup>7</sup>

Vôy que Salmon escript en son rolet:  
"Homme sage, se dit-il, a puissance  
Sur les planetes & leur influence,"

so that Gower refers to its author as "the divin."

<sup>1</sup> Ed. reads "astra"!

<sup>2</sup> L. Thuasne has collected a number of other instances of its use by Renaissance writers, and cites as the correct form of the saying, "Vir bonus dominabitur," without citing his authority or pointing out its original source (*Epistolae et orationes Gaguini*, II, 27, n. 12). In the *Anticerbus*, the work of an anonymous Italian Franciscan of the thirteenth century it appears as—

Pert Ptolomeus, sapiens dominabitur astris,

on which Novati makes the inexplicable comment, "Non Tolomeo, bensì Euclide" (*Attraverso il medio evo*, 106). In the work of another Italian, Benvenuto da Imola, we find "secundum Ptholomaeum sapiens dominabitur astris" (*Comentum*, I, 520). Toynbee has not tried to find the origin of the phrase (*Index of Authors*, etc., 37). A French form appears in the *Almanach perpétuel* of the nineteenth century (cf. C. Nisard, *Historie des livres populaires*, 2d ed., I, 12);

Les astres peuvent l'homme incliner  
Le sage les peut dominer

(Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes français*, I, 92). In Woodward's almanac, published at London in 1690 the phrase, "Sapiens dominabitur astris," is commented on to the effect that "the stars only incline, not compel" (G. L. Kittredge, *The Old Farmer's Almanack*, 48).

<sup>3</sup> Dellsie, *op. cit.*, where it is cited in another tract in the collection of astrological treatises noted on p. 341, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> E. Flügel, *Anglia*, XVIII, 134 ff.; F. Boll, *ibid.*, XXI, 229.

<sup>6</sup> H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, 317 ff.; *Gualteri Burlaci Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, 372.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Longnon, 71-73; cf. Thuasne, *op. cit.*, and *Rev. des bibliothèques*, XVI, 224.

The description of the sun's crown was taken directly or indirectly from the work so popular in the Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, of Martianus Capella and a comparison of the Latin text will show in what corrupted forms Gower wrote the proper names, for which the most recent editor gives no variants:

The Sonne . . . is coroned  
With brighte stones environed;  
Of whiche if that I speke schal,  
Ther be tofore in special  
Set in the front of his corone  
Thre Stones, whiche no persone  
Hath upon Erthe, and the ferste is  
Be name cleped Licuchis;  
That othre tuo be cleped thus,  
Astrices and Ceramius.  
In his corone also behinde,  
Be olde bokes as I finde,  
Ther ben of worthi Stones thre  
Set ech of hem in his degre:  
Wherof a Cristall is that on,  
Which that corone is set upon;  
The seconde is an Adamant;  
The thridde is noble and avenant,  
Which cleped is Ydriades.  
And over this yit natheles  
Upon the sydes of the werk,  
After the wrytinge of the clerk,  
Ther sitten fyve Stones mo:  
The smaragdine is on of tho,  
Jaspis and Elitropius  
And Dendides and Jacinctus.  
(815-42.)

erat illi in circulum ducta fulgens  
corona, quae duodecim flammis igni-  
torum lapidum fulgurabat. quippe  
tres fuerant a fronte gemmae Lychnis  
Astrites et Ceraunos. (22, 3-6.)<sup>2</sup>

posterior autem pars coronae Hyda-  
tide Adamante et Crystallo lapidibus  
lapidibus alligabatur. (16-18.)

Aliae sex ex utroque latere rutila-  
bant quarum Smaragdus una, Scythis  
altera, Iaspis tertia uocabatur. . . .  
Hyacinthos Dendrites etiam Helio-  
tropios compacti. (9-12; 17-18.)

The reduction of the number of jewels to eleven by the omission of the Scythis suggests that Gower took his information from a secondary authority in which the sun is represented sitting in his chariot—a feature not found in Martianus—driving his four horses whose names are given. If these names and their explanations—

And forto lede him swithe and smarte  
Aftre the bryhte daies lawe,  
Ther ben ordeined forto drawe

<sup>1</sup> On its popularity in mediaeval libraries cf. Manitius, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVII, *Ergänzungsheft*, 112; especially in England; Schick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glass*, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Eyssenhardt, 1886.

Foure hors his Char and him withal,  
 Wherof the names telle I schal:  
 Eritheus the ferste is hote,  
 The which is red and schyneth hote,  
 The second Acteos the bryhte,  
 Lampes the thridde coursier hihte,  
 And Philogeus is the ferthe,  
 That bringen liht unto this erthe (848-58)—

are first found in Fulgentius:<sup>1</sup>

Huic quoque quadrigam scribunt . . . unde et ipsis equis condigna  
 huic nomina posuerunt. . . . Eryteus Grece rubeus dicitur . . . Acteon  
 splendens dicitur . . . Lampus uero ardens . . . Filogeus Grece terram  
 amans dicitur,

there is no reason to believe that Gower found them in that work,  
 with which he was probably not acquainted at first hand.<sup>2</sup> In the  
 Old High German version of Martianus, attributed to Notker, one  
 finds a Latin gloss cited<sup>3</sup> on the translation of another passage<sup>4</sup> in  
 which Phoebus is represented as the charioteer of the sun, giving  
 the names and their explanations. To such a gloss Gower was  
 probably indebted, if not to some Latin verses on the subject, which  
 were common enough.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Mitolog.*, ed. Halm, I, 12; 23, 11 ff. Macaulay gives the references as *Mythol.*, II (*op. cit.*, III, 524).

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay conjectures (*op. cit.*, II, 517) that Gower was indebted to Fulgentius for his account (V, 1518 ff.) of the beginnings of idolatry (*Mitolog.*, I, 1; II, 6; *ed. cit.*, 16, 21 ff.; 45, 22 ff.); it is more probable he found the information already put together in some encyclopedic compilation, under the heading of "Idolatria"; cf. e.g., Goetz, *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XIII, 262.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule*, I, 722-23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ed. cit.*, 13, 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schmeller, 129. Wattenbach has noted another copy with variants, *Sitzungsber. d. bayrischen Akad. Philos.-Philol. Klasse*, 1873, 710. Robert Henryson in his *Testament of Greseid* has got suggestions for his description of Phoebus (197 ff.) from Gower's account of the sun (801 ff.), but in giving the names of his horses he has approximated them to those given by Ovid (*Met.* II, 153) in the case of the first three, while the fourth he has made "Philologee," which Skeat has arbitrarily changed to "Philegoney" (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, 334, 523). In his account of the horses, he resembles the description of the Latin verses rather than that given by Fulgentius.



## SPENSER AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM

In the preceding articles in this series<sup>1</sup> it has been my endeavor to show that Spenser, like the other men of the brilliant circle with which he was connected, sought to win glory through political service. At first, he seems to have hoped to take an active part, for he wrote to Harvey in October, 1579, that he was about to be sent abroad in Leicester's service, that he had no time to think on such toys as verses, and that he looked forward to corresponding with Sidney. This hope, however, was soon dispelled, probably because of his speaking too plainly, in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, about the plot to make Alençon the king consort. At about the same time, the *Shepheards Calender* was published, and in it was a carefully constructed and cumulative argument warning Leicester and the Queen that the activities of the papal propaganda in England and Ireland, together with factional troubles in the government, would lead to Catholic supremacy and perhaps the overthrow of Elizabeth. As a result of these publications by a man not yet powerful enough to venture on such boldness, he was shipped to Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey.

Moreover, Spenser was from the first a student of theories of government. Harvey writes: "What though Il Magnifico Segnior Immerito Benivolo hath noted this amongst his politique discourses and matters of state and governmente that the most courageous and valorous minds have evermore bene where was most furniture of eloquence and greatest stoare of notable orators and famous poets," etc.,<sup>2</sup> a statement which not only recalls Sidney's theories as to the value of poetry to the state and Spenser's own lost work on the *English Poet*, but also suggests the fact that in the circle in which Spenser moved literature was an avocation, not a trade. Again, in the *Faerie Queene* is found abundant evidence that he carefully studied the chronicles of past history and that he made use of current politics for purposes of his allegory. In the *Veue of the*

<sup>1</sup> "The Influence of Machiavelli on Spenser," *Modern Philology*, October, 1909; "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.*, September, 1910; "The Shepheards Calender," *ibid.*, September, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter Book*, p. 66.

*Present State of Ireland* he showed thorough acquaintance with Machiavelli and proved that he understood the real meaning of *Il principe* far better than most of his contemporaries.

There is at first sight nothing remarkable in Spenser's allegorical treatment of national dangers in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and in the *Calender*. Such early dramas as *Gorboduc* and *Kynge Johann* contain similar warnings; Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* is another allegory of the Alençon matter, as is also his *Endimion*,<sup>1</sup> though from a viewpoint hostile to Leicester, as might be expected from a poet whose patrons were Burghley and Oxford. Gascoigne in 1575 wrote a masque for the use of Leicester in entertaining the Queen at Kenilworth, which was designed to further the ambition of the earl to gain her hand.<sup>2</sup> But most examples of this kind of work are isolated, mere attempts to gain the favor of some powerful personage or works written at the behest of some patron. Spenser differed from all other literary men of his time in that he persistently clung to that conception of a poet's function that made him a *vates*, a "seer," a man who should warn and advise, directly or through cloudy allegories, those who ruled England. Every important production of his pen, with the exception of his *Amoretti* and the *Hymnes*, is an illustration of this statement. Moreover, a study of these works in chronological order proves that he was not merely a dreamer, an idle singer in an empty day, a poet's poet, but a farsighted student of government who saw clearly the great destiny of his nation. How this element in his work persists and enlarges it is my purpose in the present paper to point out.

# I

What the feelings of Spenser were when he learned that he was to go to Ireland instead of to the Continent it is impossible to say. He may not have relished the change in plan, though his objection could not have been due to his desire to remain in London. It must be remembered that he belonged to the circle which included Sidney, Raleigh, and Fulke Greville, and that these men were not

<sup>1</sup> Tucker Brook, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI, 13.

<sup>2</sup> In the masque it is shown that Diana lost Zabeta (Elizabeth) years before and now finds her still a virgin though a queen; she begs her not to marry, but Iris, coming from Juno, entreats her not to listen to Diana, since it is possible for her in this place where she has passed a pleasant day to enjoy "a world of wealth in wedded state" and there withal to "uphold the staff of her estate." Thus plainly did the earl plan to tell the

town gallants but adventurous spirits who despised the vices and effeminacy of the courtier class. There are in Spenser's works, in the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, in *Colin Clout*, in the *Faerie Queene*, too many passages that pour contempt on those who loafed about the court, making a living by their wits, aping the gallantries and affectations of the French and Italians, to make it conceivable that he wished to be of their number. No small part of the task that confronted Elizabeth was the government of restless and eager men like Drake, Gilbert, Raleigh, Sidney, who felt the intoxication of England's dawning greatness and like Tamburlaine sought to add new realms to its domain. In 1576 Gilbert wrote the tract which first suggested the duty of England to seize and colonize the lands across the seas; two years later he received a charter authorizing him to fit out an expedition to carry his project into execution: in 1583 he sailed with five ships to plant a colony in Newfoundland. Raleigh was forbidden to accompany him on this expedition, but in 1584 Virginia was named by him and in the next few years he was ceaselessly employed in furthering the project of colonization. Sidney was sent to the Low Countries to prevent him from carrying out his project to curb the power of Spain through naval attacks and colonization; the testimony of Fulke Greville shows how persistently he warned Elizabeth of the danger from Philip and how earnest he was in urging his plan of defense and counter attack. Greville records his own dissatisfaction at being kept at court by the Queen and tells how he ran away repeatedly, only to be denied the gracious presence for months at a time when he crept back. When, therefore, Spenser, alert, young, eager, realized that his stay in Ireland meant that he was to be cut off from participation in these stirring projects, the revulsion of feeling, at first intense and terrible, found expression in his splendid protest to Leicester in *Virgils Gnat*:

Wrong'd yet not daring to express my paine,  
To you (great Lord) the causer of my care,  
In clowdie teares my case I thus complaine  
Unto yourselfe, that onely privie are.

Queen that by marriage with him she would make her position secure; moreover, a son was promised her. But apparently Elizabeth left somewhat abruptly and the masque was not presented, though Gascoigne tells us everything was ready, every actor in his garment, two or three days before she left. Therefore, Gascoigne was in the service of Leicester in 1575, as Spenser was four years later; it was the habit of the great earl to make use of poets to further his personal ambitions.

But this mood, I am convinced, was temporary. Those biographers who represent Spenser as the poet of ideal beauty whose own life was disfigured by moroseness, who see in all his later work only the vain attempts of an imprisoned bird to regain its liberty, who regard him as a servile functionary ready to give literary sanction to barbarous and inhuman practices, snarling at the estate of poets, satirizing the vices and manifold corruption of court while doing everything in his power to gain a recall, are surely unjust. The warrant for such views apparently given by the *Tears of the Muses* is inapplicable, for this poem is incontestably early work and represents such conventional complaints as can be duplicated scores of times in the literature of the sixteenth century. The references, scattered through the *Faerie Queene*, to the wild and savage country in which he was compelled to do his work are more serious, but they too reflect mainly the conventional protestations of the poets for the meanness of their verses. The later books of the epic, particularly the fourth and the sixth, indicate peace and content, not moroseness or wild despair. The tract on Ireland cannot be defended as a work of pure literature, yet it has its merits notwithstanding, while the positive evidence of *Colin Clout* proves contentment with his lot rather than bitter disappointment, and the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene* shows the poet's art at its zenith. Spenser was not to be sent as ambassador on affairs of state, he was not to be associated with his friends in the great projects that made the air electric, but he was to be the laureate of the new England, defending that national policy which, however cruel and narrow in some of its applications, was to enable her to thwart the foes that threatened her destruction.

Like all sustained poems, the *Faerie Queene* suffers from its length. One reads the first book, notes the form of its stanza, the beauty of its descriptions, the liquid melody of its verse, perhaps the intricacy of its allegory. But the poem lacks the variety of the *Canterbury Tales* and the effect of unity given the separate stories in the *Idylls of the King*. Even *Paradise Lost* possesses the advantage of presenting its most interesting and thrilling narrative in the first two books, while Spenser's poem seems academic, and the triple allegory, even though one try to follow Lowell's advice, persistently intrudes. This is partly due to the fact that at least the first book represents

early work, when the complicated allegory was the poet's chief object; it therefore suffers not only from the fact that allegory does not appeal to our naturalistic age but also because it has not the simplicity and directness of Bunyan or of Tennyson. It is in the last three books that we find a revelation of the mature thought of the poet that holds the attention. The fourth book is a complete exposition of his theory of love, supplementing admirably the *Four Hymnes*; in the fifth is presented his theory of the state, and in this his mastery of allegory is complete; while the sixth develops from all points of view a theme that runs through all his works, the praise of the simplicity and sincerity of life away from the heated atmosphere of the court, and indicates at least an intellectual reconciliation with his environment.

In the fifth book we have no longer the personified virtues and vices of mediaeval allegory, everything being subordinated to the treatment of problems of government. The book as a whole bears on the three crucial events in the reign of Elizabeth prior to the collision with Spain in 1588: the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, fomented as it was by the policy of Philip; the trial and execution of Mary, also a necessary step in repelling Spanish aggression; and the direct attack on Spain through intervention in the Netherlands. The theme of the book is the necessity for the exercise of imperial power to the utmost in putting down rebellion active and incipient, the right of a strong nation to aid an oppressed and suffering people, and, in some minor passages, the right of England to establish an empire beyond the seas. The method of the book is to tell, by means of incidents suitable to a metrical romance, the story of Grey's experience in Ireland; to present from two points of view a defense of Elizabeth's execution of her rival; and to relate the experience of Leicester in the Low Countries. But deeper than this allegorical treatment of contemporary events lies the exposition of a theory of government that makes the book one of the most remarkable productions of its time.

The greatest space is given to the Irish problem. Irena (Ireland) must be delivered from Grantorto (Spain) by that queen whose glory it was to aid all suppliants and to be the patron of all weak princes (i, 4). Artegall, who represents Justice united with sovereign Power,

on this occasion personified by Lord Grey, is deputed for the task. Then follows a series of incidents by which Spenser gives a vivid picture of the wretchedness of the country. The Squire mourning over the headless trunk of his love is a symbol of the woe wrought by murder and lawlessness (i, 13-30). The story of the Saracen and his daughter Munera (ii, 1-28) illustrates the evils of bribery and corruption in government. How directly this applied is revealed not only in Spenser's prose tract but in many of the letters and documents of the period. In the larger conception of the problem of government, it represents something more serious than lawlessness. Braggadocchio, who claims the victory really won by Artegall (iii, 14, 15; 20-22) represents those who by defamation of others and by self-seeking aim at securing credit not rightfully theirs. Here the historical reference seems to be to the quarrels among the English leaders in 1580; they plotted against each other, sought to thwart all plans for progress, and sent to England letters filled with petty jealousy and malice.<sup>1</sup> The larger significance of the story, including the account of the way in which all the people and even the knights themselves were unable to distinguish between the true Florimel and the false, is to show the danger to the government from men who are selfish and unscrupulous, a danger increased from the fact that the crowd does not accurately judge between merit and pretense. To enforce this distrust of the crowd (*vulgus*), Spenser introduces by way of parenthesis or interlude the story of the giant with scales (ii, 30 ff.), showing that socialistic theories of property and democracy are vain.<sup>2</sup>

Spenser now discusses the paramount right of the sovereign over all subjects (cantos iv ff.). The historical material is drawn from the events in the north from the uprising of the earls to the execution of Mary. The incident of the two brothers who quarrel over the treasure chest cast on the shore by the waves is somewhat obscure (iv, 4-20). At first sight, it is but another of the minor incidents scattered through the book to illustrate the simplicity of justice;

<sup>1</sup> *Carew Papers*, February, 1581.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser is not complimentary to the intelligence of the common people (stanzas 33, 48, 51, 52), who are of the type of the rabble in Ibsen's *Brand*. The giant is a demagogue who has ideas about communism and proposes to set right the world. But to his questions about the mysteries of the universe Artegall makes the reply that God gave Job.

other examples being the interesting modification of the judgment of Solomon, where Artegall discerns which of two knights truly loves a woman by proposing to cut her in half and give each a portion (i, 25, 26); the decision as to the true and the false Florimel (iii, 22-24); and the awarding of the horse to Guyon (iii, 35). But the incident is apparently founded on fact, since it refers, I believe, to the story of Northumberland's claim of treasure cast ashore in his jurisdiction in 1560, and possibly also to his claiming of the custody of Mary on the ground that she had landed in his territory.<sup>1</sup> In 1566 Parliament refused to sanction the Queen's claim to minerals wherever they might be found, thus recognizing Northumberland's objections to the attempt of the Queen to mine copper at Keswick.<sup>2</sup> Spenser probably means to assert the right of the Queen to lands, leavings of the sea, which had been discovered by her mariners, and the passage should be compared with his defense of Raleigh's projected expedition to Guiana (IV, xi, 22) and with the references, in *Colin Clout*, to Elizabeth as the Queen and to Raleigh as the Shepherd of the Ocean.

In the episode of Radigund, the great rebellion of the earls is again made use of, this time through the fact that Grey was concerned in it in some degree. Apparently Spenser attributes Grey's sympathy for Mary to the influence on him of her personal beauty (v, 12; vi, 1; viii, 1). By far the most interesting aspect of the case, however, is the application to Ireland. It will be remembered that Artegall, disarmed by the beauty of Radigund, is made to assume the dress of a woman and to perform the menial tasks of a woman (v, 23-25; vii, 37-41). With this should be compared the sad state of Turpine, found by Artegall in the power of women, his hands tied behind his back (iv, 22). Here we have an arraignment of womanish methods applied to the solution of the Irish problem; Artegall clad in woman's garments and with a distaff in his hand is a fit representative, says Spenser, of the course advised by some.

The story of Samient (viii) introduces more specifically the attempts of Philip to undermine the power of Elizabeth. She represents Ireland, and serves Mercilla, who represents Elizabeth's

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, *Polit. Hist. of Eng., 1547-1603*, 278 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

gentleness and mercy as Britomart represents her might.<sup>1</sup> Mercilla is in danger from the machinations of a mighty man

That with most fell despight and deadly hate  
Seekes to subvert her crowne and dignity,  
And all his power doth thereunto apply.

Ne him sufficeth all the wrong and ill  
Which he unto her people does each day;  
But that he seekes by traytous traines to spill  
Her person, and her sacred selfe to slay;  
That, O ye Heavens, defend! and turne away  
From her unto the miscreant himselfe;  
That neither hath religion nor fay,  
But makes his God of his ungodly pelfe,  
And Idols serves: so let his Idols serve the Elfe!

[Stanzas 19, 20.]

Here is a pretty accurate picture of Philip: his secret plotting against England; his trust in his riches, an allusion to the vast stores of gold secured from the American voyages; his idolatry. The Saracens sent to destroy Samient represent the Spanish expeditions designed to wrest Ireland from England, one of which Grey destroyed at Smerwick. The triumph of Arthur over the Soldan prophesies the end of Philip.

The allegory is continued in the next canto in the account of the capture of Guile, described like one of the wretched outcasts that continually warred on the English in Ireland (ix, 8-11); his den, his flight, his many changes of form (ix, 12-19) give a vivid picture of the difficulties encountered by those who tried to stamp out the rebellion of the natives. It is noticeable that neither here nor in the story of Irena, nor, indeed, in any of the tracts dealing with the subject do we find Ireland identified with these outcast natives. To Spenser and his contemporaries Ireland is the fair realm to be made fit for habitation as a part of the English domain; the "wild Irish" do not enter into the calculation except as they may benefit by the peace that is to follow the subjugation of the rebellious

<sup>1</sup> Cf. viii. 17:

And strongly beateth downe  
The malice of her foes, which her envy  
And at her happinesse do fret and frowne;  
Yet she herselfe the more doth magnify,  
And even to her foes her mercies multiply.



chiefs and the casting-out of Spain. But in England itself would the lower classes have received a whit the more consideration in Spenser's time? And what of Fielding's and Goldsmith's accounts of the miseries of the poor and the injustice which they found in the courts and prisons of the eighteenth century? And Dickens? Why pour vials of wrath on Spenser's head for not being two or three centuries in advance of his time in respect to the doctrine of the equality of men?

The object of this lengthy analysis of the political allegory in the fifth book has been to show how admirable is Spenser's method and how complete his interpretation of contemporary history. The remaining cantos, dealing for the most part with the execution of Mary and the intervention in the Netherlands, require no special treatment; their excellence is apparent to any reader. There is, for example, the brilliant apology for the execution of Mary. In the seventh canto, Britomart, representing Elizabeth as the sovereign power of the nation, slays Radigund (Mary the seducer) without compunction; in the ninth, Mercilla, queenly but gentle and merciful, reluctantly passes judgment upon Duessa. Again, Prince Arthur, personifying the nation as distinct from the sovereign power, is at first inclined in Mary's favor, but is convinced by the evidence against her that no other course is possible. Artegall is no longer Lord Grey, but the Justice and Power that accompany sovereignty, unswayed by prejudice, and really sentences Duessa to death, because Mercilla

Though plaine she saw, by all that she did heare,  
That she of death was guiltie found by right,  
Yet would not let just vengeance on her light:  
But rather let, instead thereof, to fall  
Few perling drops from her faire lampes of light;  
The which she covering with her purple pall  
Would have the passion hid, and up arose withall.

The Legend of Justice is a charming romance, and its moral allegory, less academic and symmetrical than that of the first book, answers to the fondness of the Renaissance for the epic of the perfect man. But it is much more. The most important events in the history of Elizabeth's development of a powerful government are treated, not baldly and incoherently as in the chronicles, but in an

allegory that unifies and interprets. It is not of our modern type of philosophical history any more than it is modern chronicle, but it illustrates in a high degree that Renaissance tendency to interpret life by means of symbols so apparent in their sonnet, pastoral, novel, and epic. Finally, it possesses a higher interest even than these. The Renaissance created the State; it also produced many treatises on the theory of the State. In England this new interest was manifested not only in such books as *Utopia* or the *Boke of the Governour*, or in the translations of Machiavelli and collections of similar political axioms, but also in romances like *Arcadia* and the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*. Fulke Greville says of Sidney's purpose in writing his novel: "In all these creatures of his making his intent and scope was to turn the barren Philosophy precepts into pregnant Images of life . . . lively to represent the growth, state, and declination of Princes." This comes very near anticipating Bolingbroke's famous saying, "History is Philosophy teaching by example," and both these aphorisms apply with surprising accuracy to this Legend of Justice. The whole book treats of the danger to England from Spanish aggression; of the need of centralization of power in the sovereign coupled with the inflexible manifestation of that power in dealing with plot and rebellion; and of the right of the Queen to rule the seas and to interfere in behalf of the oppressed people of the Netherlands. Each minor adventure leads toward the climax in the triumph of authority, showing how lawlessness, bribery, selfish quarreling and jealousy among the leaders, the danger from womanish theories of mildness, all contribute to thwart the purposes of the ministers of the sovereign. The story of Ireland's thralldom is twice told, in the accounts of Samient and of Irena; the might of the Queen and the awakened spirit of England combine to free her. Again, the story of Mary's fall is twice told, with consummate skill in its representation of Elizabeth as the personification of English sovereignty and in that other trial scene wherein Elizabeth the woman weeps that she must doom a sister to death. The story of the relief of the Netherlands is also presented in two aspects: as another illustration of the all-embracing tyranny of the Spanish monarch, and as a proof of the dawning sense in the English nation of the duty to aid a weaker people in distress. At the end of the book,

in the story of the hags Detraction and Envy and in the hint of the ravages of the blatant beast of Scandal,<sup>1</sup> the theme descends from lofty philosophy to become intimate and tender in the story of how the faithful servant of the Queen returned unhonored, unthanked, and broken-hearted. Here in truth is a turning of the barren precepts of philosophy into pregnant images of life, a life not merely of men and measures, but also breathing the spirit of the new imperial England.

## II

The *Veue of the Present State of Ireland* is the prose counterpart of the discussion of the Irish problem in the *Faerie Queene*.<sup>2</sup> I have shown elsewhere that in the main Spenser follows the theories of Machiavelli as to the subjugation of colonies foreign in language, customs, and religion.<sup>3</sup> The first part of the tract, which arraigns the life and customs of the Irish, is not materially different from other contemporary accounts; it seems to have been based as much on these chronicles as upon personal observation, or else all observers of the time are singularly agreed in their opinions and in their choice of topics. The curious poem by John Derricke, "The Image of Ireland," published in 1581, may have had some influence on Spenser's tract.<sup>4</sup> It is a fanciful description of the Irish girls as sirens and the kerns as satyrs; St. Patrick is blamed for killing the snakes instead of the kerns. There is detailed description of dress and manners, and one point in common with Spenser is the attack on the bards as aiming to incite rebellion by their songs praising the wild deeds of their forefathers. The course of action which Derricke thinks

<sup>1</sup> That the blatant beast is Scandal is indicated by a passage in the *Return from Pernassus*, (Arber ed., p. 69): "We are fully bent to be Lords of misrule in the world's wide heath: our voyage is to the Ile of Dogges, there where the blatant beast doth rule and reigne, Renting the credit of whom it please."

<sup>2</sup> Spenser indorsed it "finysse 1596" and it must have been written very near that time. There is a sarcastic reference to Stanihurst (Globe ed., pp. 632, 633), whose *Plaine and Perfect Description of Ireland* was published 1586. The reference to the founding of the "new college" indicates a date later than 1591, perhaps later than 1593 (Morley, *Ireland under Elizabeth and James*, 128). Probably Spenser wrote about 1595-96, when the fickleness of the governmental policy had driven men who had to live in the country nearly to distraction. There is a MS dialogue in the Irish State Papers, 1598, which purports to be the work of one Thomas Wilson and is dedicated to Essex. The interlocutors are Peregryn and Silvyn, suggesting Spenser's two sons, and the style is similar to that of the *Veue* (Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 302).

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, October, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted, Edinburgh, 1883, pp. 56 ff., 65 ff.

England should take is also as rigorous as that laid down in the *Veue*: "Rigour is meeteth where clemencie availeth not." The poem, which is in exceedingly crabbed verse, is dedicated to Sidney, and Harvey apparently refers to it in a letter to Spenser in which he speaks of "an uncertayne autor in certayn cantons agaynst the wylde Irishe" who used the same peculiar verse as in *Gorboduc* and the *Steel Glas*.<sup>1</sup> Much of the historical matter in the *Veue* comes from the earlier chronicles: Giraldus Cambrensis, reprinted by Holinshed with continuations by Hooker, Campion, and Stanihurst. Campion dwells on the manners and superstitions, on the Brehon laws, on the custom of redeeming crimes by composition, on the glib, etc., as well as the usual matter about the origin of the people.<sup>2</sup> This history, originally dating from 1571, was continued in Holinshed by Stanihurst, who wrote an extremely euphuistic dedication to Sir Henry Sidney. There is a dialogue on the subject of snakes which is thus described: "First therefore thou must understand, that his booke is made in dialogue wise, a kind of writing as it is used, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenaeus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts."<sup>3</sup> Stanihurst pays much attention to language, saying that "to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept," which he proceeds to illustrate by some not very apposite examples. Spenser ridicules Stanihurst's philology, but he himself makes comparisons between Irish words and some found in Chaucer.<sup>4</sup> Hooker's account approaches Spenser's in that he proposes a method of dealing with the Irish under the heads "How or by what manner the land of Ireland is to be thoroughly conquered" and "How the Irish people being vanquished are to be governed." He insists on there being a sufficient force to punish severely all who rebel and advises the English in time of peace to prepare for war; the people are treacherous and to be watched, they are "craftie and subtile"; they should be deprived of arms.<sup>5</sup>

On the whole, a comparison of Spenser's tract with the contemporary accounts and the chronicles proves him to have been a careful student of the subject, not merely a writer who gives impres-

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, I, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 25, 28 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed (ed. 1808), VI, 10 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Globe ed., pp. 639b, 676b.

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed, *loc. cit.*, 229-232.

sions of his personal observations. In none of these parallel documents is there anything approaching the thoroughness with which he worked out his plan, subordinating the archaeological matter and the "ripping up of auncient histories" to a clear analysis of the crisis presented by the ascendancy of the O'Neils and the presentation of a theory of procedure based on an accurate understanding of *Il principe*. This plan has been harshly criticized for its cruelty, but a brief statement of the situation in 1595 will show the seriousness of the crisis. Since the recall of Grey in 1582, Burghley had temporized, chiefly in order to save expense. Tyrone, while professing great loyalty, was secretly preparing for revolt. In the early nineties Fitzwilliam, the lord deputy, became alarmed at the developments; he was charged with corruption, but appears to have been a brave man, though no military strategist. He was succeeded in 1594 by Sir William Russell and almost at once the great revolt was on. Tyrone leagued with Spain; Jesuits and seminary priests swarmed into the country. The resident English army was made up of men said to be of the type impressed by Falstaff. Russell's hands were tied by the presence of a special commission. A fiery letter from the Queen complains that the more inclined to mercy she showed herself the more insolent the rebels became; the commission addressed Tyrone as "loving friend" and "our very good lord"; the Queen seemed inclined to trust his professions, though Russell said the only course was to capture him and put him to death.<sup>1</sup> Without going any more fully into the subject it is easy to see that in the conflict of authority and in the difficulties imposed by distance, to say nothing of the rabble soldiery intent only on plunder, things had got to such a pass that it is small wonder that Spenser, a student of affairs for many years, a man thoroughly conversant with the situation and alive to the fatal weakness of the English course for fifteen years of his residence in Ireland, should advise "strong medicine." Frequent changes of administration, each of them rightly interpreted by the Irish chiefs as signs of the incompetence of the government to deal with the situation; equally frequent changes of plan, blowing now hot, now cold, had brought matters to a desperate state. In the mean time the miseries of the poor were

<sup>1</sup> Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, III, 261-274.

increased, the country was not developed though a source of enormous expense to the crown, life for the English "undertakers" was not safe, Spain was more anxious than ever before to profit by English incompetence: surely these considerations ought to prove the wisdom of Spenser's advice.

Spenser recorded his convictions on the subject of administration in four lines at the beginning of the fourth canto of the *Legend of Justice*:

For vaine it is to deeme of things aright,  
And makes wrong doers justice to deride,  
Unlesse it be performed with dreadlesse might;  
For powre is the right hand of Justice truely hight.

These lines are not based on academic theory or poetic dreaming, but on actual experience with English administration in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> If it be granted that England could not allow Ireland to become the base of operations from which Philip could move directly against Elizabeth, and if it be granted that the vacillating policy that had been the rule of procedure for many years was preventing real

<sup>1</sup> Space does not permit the citation of more than one or two of the numberless illustrations of the state of affairs brought about by the constant changes of policy. Back in the seventies, a letter to Burghley protests against the delay in sending Sir Henry Sidney, who, it had been announced, was to be the new governor: "Surely, my Lord, the daily looking for a change doth great harm, for during this interim is the greatest spoil committed, because all the ill-disposed now rob and steal, hoping that the new Governor will pardon all done before his time. God send us soon a settled Governor, and such a one as is fit for Ireland, not Ireland fit for him" (Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex*, I, 75). In due course Sidney came, but he had a soldiery whose pay was constantly in arrears, necessitating pillage as a means of existence; he tried to give a vigorous government at first, and then, when he failed of support from London, extirpation of the peasants; when this failed, he begged to be relieved of duty (Innes, *England under the Tudors*, 312). Another instance may be cited, this time to prove that the same trouble extended even beyond Spenser's time: Davies, speaking in 1612 of the failure of England to solve the problem, puts the blame on the faint persecution of the war and the looseness of the civil government, and says that the country "must first be broken by a war before it will be capable of good government: and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the conquest, it will eftsonees return to the former barbarism" (ed. Morley, 218). In his summary of the reasons for the failure he included the charge that the soldiers were "governed with the worst discipline that ever was seen among men of war" (228). Thomas Lee, who wrote in 1594 a long "Declaration of Ireland," refers to one occasion when "the said traytors were entreated to accept of their pardon, and had more bestowed upon them for playing the traytors than they demanded before." He accuses Fitzwilliam of bribe-taking and graft, and says that he himself has not had ten crowns of his private pay as a soldier in ten years (*Desid. Cur. Hib.*, I, 117, 137). Froude (*English in Ireland*, I, 36) sums it up accurately when he says that England failed through inability to persevere in any one course; coercion, followed by impatience with the cost, was succeeded by condiliation, and this by anarchy; then the return to coercion and the whole wearisome course over again.

development of the country and was more cruel to the natives than to have the question settled once for all, it is difficult to see wherein Spenser should be censured for the cruelty and barbarousness of his views. The cruelty which he advised was the cruelty of Grant at Richmond and of the English colonial policy in India and of the American subjugation of the Philippines; cruelty indeed, but a cruelty that was the truest kindness if one be disposed to grant the necessity of the subjugation.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it cannot be denied that the whole problem was partially due to the religious crisis presented by the alliance between Philip and Rome. In the September eclogue of the *Calender* Spenser spoke earnestly of the danger in the Jesuit mission just then beginning; the next year saw the realization of his warning. The attack was threefold: active proselyting by the Jesuits in England, where the argument was boldly used that the patriot would consider church above nation; aid given the cause of Mary, with active efforts to free her; and the instigation of rebellion in Ireland, aided by forces sent from Italy and Spain. Campion bears witness to the fury roused in England by this triple campaign, and says it was due to the ill success of England in Ireland, the work of Spain against England, and the mission of the Jesuits.<sup>2</sup> Between 1580 and 1584 repeated efforts to assassinate Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne, instigated as they were by Parsons, Allen, and Mendoza, opened the eyes of the government to the seriousness of

<sup>1</sup> Spenser lived in an age marked by cruelty and reflects the character of his time. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of noble ideals, God-fearing, learned, valiant, had no mercy for the victims of war. Sir Henry Sidney, a man of similar type, suppressed the insurrection in Munster by the same barbarities as marked Smerwick. Raleigh aided Grey at Smerwick; Grey merely followed the orders of the Queen, and was at first rebuked by the Queen not for the slaughter but for sparing the principals. Moreover, it must be remembered that the tragedy at Smerwick came about in consequence of the landing of an enemy's forces on English territory, and that this enemy was making war not honorably but by the methods of a sneak and a coward. This is as good a place as any to point out the extreme smallness of some of the charges brought against Spenser, such as the carp against his objection to mantles and what he says about the bards. As for the mantles, cf. Davies, ed. Morley, 335; and also the curious entry in the *Dublin Assembly Roll*, 1594, II, 274, in which the wearing of mantles was forbidden; besides, who could wish to lose the sardonic humor of the reply of Eudoxus to Irenaeus (Globe ed., 632a). As to the bards, contemporary testimony is with Spenser as to the way in which they fomented strife. Of course, it seems a trifle hard that a poet should advise the extermination of brother poets, however richly they may merit destruction; it depends on the point of view however. To some people, moving-picture shows make for vice and immorality, while to others they are noble instruments for the development of aesthetic appreciation among our "lower" classes.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson, *Life of Edmund Campion*, 243, 244.

the situation; in 1586 the chain of evidence was complete. Allen was made a cardinal in 1587 and Rome promised Philip a million crowns as soon as he landed in England.<sup>1</sup> This was the result of the campaign begun as far back as 1571, when seminary priests, sent by Allen and disguised as mariners and tradesmen, began the work which Spenser had correctly characterized in the *Calender*.<sup>2</sup>

With the suppression of the Jesuit propaganda and the execution of Mary the chief theater for the operations of England's enemies was transferred to Ireland. After the defeat of the Armada, Philip placed his chief reliance on the attacks on English commerce and on stirring up trouble by the aid of Tyrone. He was back of Tyrone in the nineties as he had been back of Desmond in the earlier revolt. In all this history it is surely evident that England was itself in danger; the war was not merely a battle of religious faiths. Of course, Puritanism had been rather closely identified with Ireland for many years: Sidney was praised by Hooker for his devoutness; his "device of government" was characterized by "religion towards God, obedience to the Prince, the peace of the people, and the well-government in all things touching the commonwealth"; in his family he had "dailie exercise of praier, both earlie and late, morning and evening, neither would he have anie to serve him who was not affected to religion and of an honest conversation. Atheists and Papists he detested, dronkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide."<sup>3</sup> Grey reported his

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, pp. 386-403.

<sup>2</sup> See Blunt, *Reformation in England*, II, 458. Cf. also the letter of November 6, 1577, from Sanders to Allen (*Domestic Cal.* 1547-80, p. 565) in which it is said that the pope would send two thousand men to Ireland, "the state of Christendom dependeth on the stout assailing of England." That Leicester was convinced of the danger, perhaps in part by Spenser, is shown by his letter of September 5, 1582 (*Cal. Domestic* 1581-90, p. 69): "Her majesty is slow to believe that the great increase of Papists is of danger to the realm. The Lord of His mercye open her eyes!" Largely through Walsingham and Leicester the reprisals on the Catholics were heavy; Grey, following orders from London destroyed the Italian and Spanish forces at Smerwick in 1580; Campion reported the next year that the prisons were full of Catholics; heavy penalties were prescribed in the act of 1581 "To retaine the Queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience"; Campion was executed and Parsons, styled a "lurking wolf," was driven out. Of course it is true that some of this zeal was because of the money to be seized from the Catholics; see the note (*Cal. Domestic*, p. 566) about one William Meredith, "an horrible Papiste, and esteemed to be worth fifty pounds."

<sup>3</sup> Hollinshed (ed. 1808), VI, 401. It would be easy to multiply examples of the strong Puritan element, almost precisely like that of the seventeenth century, in the chronicles and letters dealing with the Irish question. Without doubt, many Puritans settled there. But Pollard (*Political History*, etc., 418) is wrong in saying that Burghley



victory at Smerwick: "The Lord of Hosts hath delivered the enemy to us." Hooker's style is strongly biblical: "They [the Irish] doo nothing but imagine mischief, and have no delite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickedness against the good and such as be quiet in the land. . . . The waies of peace they know not, and in the paths of righteousness they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie on among them. Their Queene and sovereigne they obeie not, and hir government they allow not; but as much as in them lieth doo resist hir imperiall estate . . . such is the hardness of their heart that with the rod it must still be chastised and subdued."<sup>1</sup> In his summary of his history he names as the special points wherein England has suffered injustice in Ireland the establishment of anti-Christian religion, the depriving of her Majesty of her imperial crown of the realm of Ireland, and the interference of Spain.<sup>2</sup> But it cannot be said that Spenser's tract betrays any Puritanical zeal; his arraignment of the wicked and illiterate priests reflects the mood of the earlier eclogues and does not indicate any conception of the war as a holy war; to him Duessa was more the plotter against the Queen than the representative of Antichrist. In fact, Spenser speaks with scorn of the Puritan predilection for plain and bare churches, and, in the *Faerie Queene*, is far from complimentary when he compares the sect to the Crab, who

Backward yode, as bargemen wont to fare  
 Bending their force contrary to their face,  
 Like that ungracious crew which faines demurest grace.<sup>3</sup>

once suggested Ireland as a resort for Puritans, desiring to rid England of a troublesome faction. He refers to the discussion on the "present state of the realm of England," an abstract of which is found in *Domestic Cal. Addenda, 1566-79*, p. 439; these proposals advised the association of the nobility and others in a society for the defense of the gospel and preservation of the state and the Queen's person; the formation of a society of one hundred "gentlemen of religion" for five years to have charge of three thousand men "in case of peril"; the sending of such Protestants as did not like the Queen's form of religion to Ireland, thus delivering the realm from the "precise ministers and their followers." Burghley indorsed this as a "Discourse sent from Tho. Cecil to me, wryten by Mr. Carleton . . . to suffer the precise sort to inhabit Ireland." But he makes no comment on it.

<sup>1</sup> Hollinshed, VI, 369. Other illustrations of the biblical influence upon Hooker's style are found at pp. 383, 460, etc., and in his dedication. This subject merits consideration from students of English prose style of the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Hollinshed, VI, 459.

<sup>3</sup> *Faerie Queene*, VII, vii, 35.

✓ The truth of the matter is that the vituperation and abuse that have been poured forth upon the *Veue* are based on two misconceptions: it is regarded as an example of religious intolerance, being due to Spenser's hatred of the Irish because they were Catholics, and it is read without proper regard to its historical setting. How far the first is from being just may be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to read what the author has to say about religion. His quarrel, he distinctly says, is not that they are Papists, but that they are such bad Papists, being "soe blindly and brutishly enformed (for the most part) as that you woulde rather thinke them Atheistes or Infidells." "I doe not blame the christening of them, for to be sealed with the marke of the Lambe, by what hand soever it be done rightlye, I hold it a good and gracious work."<sup>1</sup> He blames those priests who dwell beyond seas with the Queen's professed enemies and "converse and are confederate with other traytors and fugitives which are there abiding."<sup>2</sup> He protests against the plotting of the emissaries from Douay and elsewhere, which he says is more openly carried on in Ireland than in England, where stern measures of repression have been taken.<sup>3</sup> As to the second point, I have tried to show by reference to other tracts and documents the reality of the danger to the crown that Spenser repeatedly refers to. He praises Ireland as being goodly and commodious, but fears lest God has reserved it for some secret scourge which shall by her come into England.<sup>4</sup> His defense of Grey is based on the altogether incontestable ground that the prisoners at Smerwick were not "lawefull eneymes," being sent by enemies of England "into another Princes dominions to war."<sup>5</sup> The common people are not to blame for their course, for they are the tools of the rebel chiefs; Tyrone owes his power to the encouragement received from "the greatest King of Christendome," as well as from the "great fayntness in her Majesties withstanding him."<sup>6</sup> The advice he gives is to send tried soldiers, well paid and well commanded, to capture the rebel chiefs; then to send colonies of Englishmen to settle the country, after scattering the Irish so that they may no longer be subject to the ambitious chiefs or the comfort of Spain; this done, to give the laws and settled policy that will bring peace

<sup>1</sup> *Veue*, Globe ed., 646a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 621a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 680a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 609a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 656a.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 658a.

and prosperity to English and Irish alike. He has no hatred for the country; it is no wild and forbidding place, but rather "a most beautifull and sweet countrey as any is under heaven, seamed throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sortes of fish, most abundantly sprinckled with many sweet Ilands and goodly lakes, like little Inland Seas, that will carry even ships upon theyr waters, adorned with goodly woodes fitt for building of houses and shippes, soe commodiously, as that yf some princes in the world had them, they would soone hope to be lordes of all the seas, and ere long of all the world."<sup>1</sup> Here speaks the imperialist, longing to see so fair a land reclaimed to ancient glory,

When Ireland florished in fame  
Of wealth and goodnesse, far above the rest  
Of all that bear the British Islands name.<sup>2</sup>

### III

From her accession to the year 1588 Elizabeth's policy had of necessity been defensive. With the execution of Mary, however, and the humbling of Philip's pride, the party represented by Walsingham, Raleigh, and Drake became insistent that a bolder national course should be followed. With the great increase of interest in travel and the knowledge that rich territories might easily be brought within British dominion, to say nothing of the success Philip had attained in making his colonies pay the expenses of his wars, they found public opinion gradually coming to their views. But Elizabeth and Burghley still hesitated. The "forward school" urged that the victory over the Armada be followed up by increasing the navy and planting colonies in opposition to those of Spain. Had this course been followed, England would not have been so handicapped

<sup>1</sup> *Veue*, Globe ed., 616b.

<sup>2</sup> *Faerie Queene*, VII, vi, 36. As is well known, these cantos on mutability perhaps refer to the constant changes in the English policy, which prolonged the struggle. That Spenser here and in the *Veue* was in exact accord with so capable and farsighted a man as Raleigh is seen in the account of Raleigh by Edwards (I, 104): "He was often called into council in relation to these affairs of State and government in Ireland, and was always of one mind about them. His face was set, as flint, against piddling interferences and temporizing expedients in dealing with great evils. To cut the tap root, rather than to spend precious time in pruning the branches, was his maxim." It is also worth noting that in this respect of strong medicine both Raleigh and Spenser differed from Burghley, as they differed from him in other points. See Burghley's letter to the Queen. *Hatfield House*, II, 308-10, in which he advised extreme mildness.

in her later attempts at colonization, and the terrible expense of the Irish campaigns of the nineties, due once more to Philip's plotting, would have been saved. The most that the Queen would allow, however, was piracy under government protection; one finds nearly all the projects presented to the Queen during this period stressing the possibilities of securing rich booty. Men like Walsingham and Raleigh saw the larger possibilities in founding a new empire beyond seas, but Burghley was not a statesman of that type. After the death of Burghley, his son Robert inherited his power and his policies; madly jealous of Raleigh and Essex, he blocked all plans for progress.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the most critical years of this period, from 1579, when the Alençon marriage was imminent and the active campaign of Rome and Spain in England, Scotland, and Ireland was beginning, to 1595, when Elizabeth, confronted by the results of Spain's plotting in Ireland and by the fact that her great rival was stronger than ever on the sea and in the possession of colonies that were rich sources of supplies, became convinced of the need of a more vigorous policy, the course of Spenser was absolutely consistent. In the earlier period he stood with Leicester and Sidney; later he gave the support of his literary genius to Walsingham and defended the memory of Grey; in the nineties he agreed with the colonial policy of Raleigh and Essex. I am well aware of the danger in thus comparing the visions of the bard of fairy-land with the deeds of men who, like him, saw visions of England's destiny but who risked their lives and fortunes to make these dreams realities. In the flush of youth, when he was received into the brilliant circle at Leicester House, I am convinced that Spenser meant to be a man of action as well as a writer of verse; no doubt in the later years when far distant from the court he wrote the epic that his friends were living he often felt the ineffectiveness of his life. Like Sordello, prevented from being a man of action, he sought through the imaginative interpretation of heroic deeds to realize, in some sort, his ideal. Drake, it has been finely said, was an ocean knight-errant, smiting and spoiling in knightly fashion and for a great cause; a scourge of the enemies of his country and of his faith.<sup>2</sup> And Spenser, looking in his mirror of Shalott,

<sup>1</sup> For the facts on which this summary is based, see Innes, pp. 375-83; Pollard, pp. 414 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Innes, p. 347.

saw, in reflection it is true, the deeds of these knights-errant and interpreted them. He who reads the records in the calendars of state papers, the letters dealing with the crises and the projects of these eventful years, the journals of returned travelers, can hardly fail of the impression that most of these men had little conception of the vast significance of their work; intrigue and chicane in dealing with foreign powers, penuriousness and vacillation in dealing with Ireland, greed for gold in every charter granted Gilbert and Raleigh and Drake, marked the policy of Burghley. A few men conceived, perhaps prematurely, an England greater than any continental power, and to these men Spenser gave his genius and his pen.

Fulke Greville's account of Sidney is less a biography than a record of conversations. From these we may get an idea of the topics that were discussed when Spenser was on intimate terms with his first idol. We are repeatedly told of his sense of the danger from Spain and the folly of temporizing;<sup>1</sup> he saw that Philip's power rested largely upon the richness of his mines in America;<sup>2</sup> he advised open attack on Philip himself and indirect attack by fetching away his golden fleece;<sup>3</sup> to him Elizabeth was the Queen of the Seas, and should keep a strong fleet upon her ocean;<sup>4</sup> as a natural consequence, England should herself establish colonies abroad.<sup>5</sup> The revelation which these pages give of a man whose range of thought and knowledge and whose grasp of great problems of government were so remarkable helps to make clear how extraordinary must have been the contagion of his character. Every one of these leading ideas was reflected by Spenser. Every one of them was contrary to the settled policy of Burghley.

Next to Sidney, Raleigh had the greatest influence on Spenser's political opinions. When the company of shepherds asked Colin to tell the subjects of the songs exchanged between him and the Shepherd of the Ocean, he told a modest story of the loves of the Bregog and the Mulla, and then told of his friend's joy at being again in the good graces of that Cynthia who was Queen of the Seas:

<sup>1</sup> Reprint of the first edition by the Caradoc Press, pp. 32, 33, 62, 83, 85 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 67, 76.

<sup>4</sup> P. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 78, 81-85, 88, 89, etc. It will be remembered that Sidney was sent to Holland to prevent him from accompanying Drake.

For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve  
To have in her commandement at hand.

There is no need to outline Raleigh's great achievement, in action and in his writings, toward the making of an imperial Britain; Spenser's name for him, the Shepherd of the Ocean, is at once a stroke of genius and a proof of understanding and sympathy that outweighs any tract on colonial expansion that the poet could have written. All these men were students of government. Gilbert early gave himself to "studies pertaining to the state of government and to navigations."<sup>1</sup> In the *Arcadia* and in the conversations reported by Greville, Sidney gave proof of his interest in large problems. In the "Maxims of State" in which Raleigh summed up his conception of these same problems we have a work drawn, like Spenser's *Veue*, from *Il principe* and laying down exactly the same principles which Spenser maintained should govern the course of England with respect to Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the references in *Colin Clout*, Spenser gives other evidences of interest in the English vikings and in the development of colonies. The eloquent passage in the *Veue* has already been cited.<sup>3</sup> The allegory of the two brothers and the dispute about the treasure chest, with the conclusion that lands set apart from other lands by the power of the sea belong to him who seizes them, seems to be a justification for the right of discovery.<sup>4</sup> That Spenser read with interest the accounts of the journeys to lands formerly unknown is proved by the stanza about the "hardy enterprize" through which daily "many great regions are discovered."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, he saw in his own epic the reflection of the journeys of these travelers through uncharted seas:

Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde  
Directs her course unto one certaine cost,  
Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,  
With which her winged speed is let and crost,  
And she herselfe in stormie surges tost;  
Yet, making many a borde and many a bay,

<sup>1</sup> Hooker, in *Hollinshed* (ed. 1808), VI, 368.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford ed. of the *Complete Works*, VIII, 1 ff. Cf. also his *The Cabinet Council, Containing the Chief Arts of Empire and Mysteries of State*, published by Milton.

<sup>3</sup> At p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Faerie Queene*, V, iv, 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, proem, stanza 2.

Still winneth way, ne hath her compasse lost:  
 Right so it fares with me in this long way.  
 Whose course is often stayd, yet never is astray.<sup>1</sup>

In all this mass of literature, written through the fifteen most eventful and critical years of Elizabeth's reign, is revealed a course unswerving as it is lofty. I have elsewhere alluded to the folly of supposing that *Mother Hubberds Tale* was called in because of Burghley's jealousy of a brilliant young poet who dared resent his failure to secure a good appointment.<sup>2</sup> The present study, I think, throws further light on the reasons for Spenser's hatred of the great chancellor. To Spenser, Burghley represented Machiavellism according to Gentillet; the craft and temporizing and deceit of politicians of this school was abhorrent to his high-souled idealism as it was to Sidney's. This hatred was expressed not only in the *Tale* but throughout the *Faerie Queene* and in *Colin Clout*. In a time when references to political subjects were exceedingly dangerous, when certain passages in Holinshed alluding to Ireland were canceled and when even such a work as Drayton's metrical version of the Psalms was recalled,<sup>3</sup> it required courage of a high order to write as Spenser wrote. Moreover, he did not hesitate to rebuke Burghley in a way impossible of misunderstanding, as the splendid defense of love in the proem to the fourth book of the *Faerie Queene* proves. Artegall's censure of Burbon refers directly, of course, to Henry of Navarre, but it is noticeable that the policy that he censures,

To temporize is not from truth to swerve,  
 Ne for advantage terme to entertaine,

represents also the very element in Burghley's political philosophy that Spenser detested.<sup>4</sup> Even the sonnet addressed to the Lord Treasurer on the publication of the *Faerie Queene* contains no compliment, and is subtly defiant. Spenser's course was consistent and manly; he was not, like Dryden, ready to change his politics and his religion wherever there was hope of personal gain; his attack on

<sup>1</sup> *Faerie Queene*, VI, xli, 1. Cf. also I, xli, 1 and 42, and compare the references to his course through Faerie Land in VI, proem, 1 and elsewhere. The simile of the ship is also applied to Guyon, II, vii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXV, 560.

<sup>3</sup> Sheavyn, *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Faerie Queene*, V, xl, 56.

Burghley was due to ideals of government and conduct which he held throughout his life, not to wounded self-love.

Taken as a whole, these writings of Spenser's present an interpretation of Elizabethan political idealism without parallel elsewhere. To regard him as a "functionary" of Leicester, of Essex, or of any other man, or to regard him as a morose and disappointed applicant for the favors of the great, is wholly unjust. Those who find in him the master of a sweetly flowing verse that has made him the "Warwick of poets" shall have their reward. But he was more than this. Dreamer of dreams, Galahad of the quest for Beauty, he was also of good right a member of that little group of men who saw beyond the welter of court intrigue and petty politics the glorious vision of an imperial England. He had his limitations, it is true; at first sight he seems to fail to realize the idea of the nation in the larger sense; one does not find in him the passionate love of native land that quivers through the lines attributed by Shakspeare to the dying John of Gaunt. His loyalty is personal; he conceives the State as Machiavelli conceived it; to him the Prince is the State. Yet on the whole, the two great poets who were the glory of Elizabethan England are of one accord. The splendid lines of Faulconbridge defying a conqueror to set foot on British soil breathe the spirit that animates all Spenser's work, and the England of Gaunt's adoration was to the poet of allegory his sovereign lady queen.

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## STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSÖGUR NORDRLANDA

[Continued]

### I. THE HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GRIPSSONAR

4. *The Scandinavian ballads on Ramunder.*—That the Swedish ballad about Ramunder was related to the Hrómundar saga had already been recognized by Björner.<sup>1</sup> This opinion, called in question by Müller,<sup>2</sup> was confirmed beyond a doubt by the publication of the Norwegian version<sup>3</sup> and by Grundtvig's publication of all the Danish versions.<sup>4</sup> Of this ballad there exist in all four main versions: 2 Danish (Grundtvig's 27 and 28 which we may call A and B, respectively), 1 Norwegian (Landstad's 16 = C), and 1 Swedish<sup>5</sup> (= D). A is preserved in Karen Brahe's folio-manuscript from 1550–60 (= A1), in Rentzel's manuscript from 1560–80, varying slightly from the preceding (= A2), and in Vedel's printed collection from 1591 (= A3), which is apparently based upon A2 and may be neglected. B is known only from Anna Basse's manuscript from the beginning of the seventeenth century; C was taken from the oral rendition of Olaf Glosimot in Siljord, Telemarken, evidently in 1848 (cf. Forord); while D in the form printed by Arwidsson is from MS 122 in Bergshammar's collection. This volume, in a hand from the middle of the eighteenth century according to Arwidsson (p. viii), contains "Kämpavisor" in his opinion largely copied from printed originals.<sup>6</sup> This last version was through printed broadsides, etc., widely known, not only in Sweden, where it is mentioned by Björner as early as 1737, but also in Denmark, where printed broadsides of it from 1710 and later years are preserved, through the medium of which it also became known in Norway. There has been, so far as I know, no serious attempt critically to determine the relationships of these four versions to each other and to the older Icelandic material. Such an attempt must obviously set out from the

<sup>1</sup> *Nordiska Kämpadater*, 1737, note to Hrómundar saga, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Saga-bibliothek*, II, 550, 1818.

<sup>3</sup> Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser*, No. 16; I, 189 ff., 1853.

<sup>4</sup> *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Nos. 27, 28; I, 358 ff., 1853.

<sup>5</sup> Arwidsson, *Svenska Fornsädnger*, No. 12; I, 114 ff., 1834.

<sup>6</sup> The last number in this MS bears the date: November 20, 1700.

notes offered by Grundtvig in his introductions and critical apparatus to Nos. 27 and 28.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place the ballads may at the outset be divided into two groups: of the first group A (*Rigen Rambolt og Aller hin stærke*) is the sole representative; B, C, and D belong together. The clearest evidence of this relationship is to be found in the episode of the making of the hero's clothing, which in A follows the contest with Aller, but in the other versions forms the beginning of the ballad. Now in the Icelandic rímur (*Griplur*) the beloved of Hrómund (Svanhvít) is not introduced at all until after the contest with Dráinn (*Griplur*, IV, 8 ff.), and it may then be affirmed as certain that the episode or episodes of the Icelandic source which have given rise to this characteristic episode of the ballads were not at the beginning; i.e., that the ballad A corresponds here more closely with the Icelandic original and in so far represents more faithfully the older form of the Scandinavian ballad, while B, C, and D collectively represent a younger revision, in which the cutting of the clothing has assumed greater importance and been transferred to the beginning. If this conclusion from the contents of the ballad admitted of any doubt, this is entirely dispelled by a stylistic point of a striking and important nature. All records of A show, though the refrain of 1 differs from that of 2 and 3, at any rate a uniform refrain following all the stanzas, as is the almost invariable usage of the older Scandinavian ballad. B, C, and D agree in showing an innovation, a refrain that changes from stanza to stanza. This latter fact has not escaped the notice of Steenstrup, to whose treatment of the whole subject in his book on the Danish folksongs<sup>2</sup> I can refer. In this particular case he has unfortunately failed to note the relationship of A to the other group, though he rightly questions the age of the version represented by B. As a matter of fact the case exactly confirms the evidence of the other relatively few cases of this phenomenon found by him, that the version with the changing refrain is in all cases a younger one. Before following out this point of separation and seeking other confirmatory considerations I give in the following table a summary of the contents of the four ballads, showing their agreement and disagreement.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in addition Vol. II, 654, Vol. III, 800 f., Vol. IV, 763 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Vore Folkeviser fra Middelalderen*, 81 ff., 1891.

A1	B	C	D
<p>1-2.* The daughter of the king in "<i>Ópsaali</i>" is wise and gives instruction. Many die on her account but contrary to her will.</p> <p>3-4.* Not far away dwells a prince by name "<i>Adellgröfva</i>." He has seven sons, the youngest of whom, "<i>Rambolt</i>," insists upon riding to the king's court to receive instruction of the princess.</p> <p>5.* Taking a steel rod upon his shoulder, R. sets out.</p> <p>6*-10. The king sees war-ships approaching and recognizes that "<i>Allerhynd sterke</i>" is coming to land. The latter disembarks and demands the hand of the king's daughter.</p> <p>11-12. The king proposes a contest at "<i>Widdrike wold</i>." The challenge accepted.</p> <p>13. R. prepares his steel club for action.</p> <p>Aller leaps into the king's boat.</p> <p>14. The king becomes pale with fright.</p> <p>15-16. R. strikes down A., who springs then into a little boat and comes to land.</p>	<p>1. The king's daughter knows everything in world, present and future.</p> <p>8. The king's men are on ship-board.</p> <p>9. "<i>Ranild</i>" sees man clad in iron mail rowing toward them.</p> <p>10. Ranild reproves the steersman for steering like a "crazy man" (cf. A1, 17).</p> <p>11. R. kills 15 warriors and casts them overboard.</p>	<p>1-2. A peasant lives not far away, called "<i>Stein</i>"; he has 12 sons; "<i>Rámund</i>" surpasses all the others. Besides R. are mentioned "<i>Hemlung</i>" ("<i>Hemle</i>") and "<i>Káre</i>," as serving at the king's court.</p> <p>9-10. A troll, by name "<i>Hölgí Kvass</i>," living in mountain to north, demands hand of king's daughter. Rámund defies him.</p> <p>11-12. Hölgí Kvass, enraged, challenges R. to a contest.</p> <p>13. All the courtiers equip themselves. R. prepares his club.</p> <p>14. Hölgí Kvass strikes at king's banner. All are much frightened.</p> <p>15. R. kills H. K. with his club.</p>	<p>5. "<i>Ramunder</i>" starts with 7 ships for the land of the giants.</p> <p>6. R. sees 7 giants on strand.</p> <p>Mutual defiance.</p> <p>7. With his sword, "<i>Dymlingen dyra</i>," R. kills all 7.</p>

\* Stanzas 1-6 are lacking in A2.

A1	B	C	D
17. The king sees from his ship a "crazy man" come sailing toward him.	12. A "little warrior" requests R. to stop while he bails out the blood.  13-14. The "little warrior" says that his uncle, King "Saze," had 3 sons, "Adam, Koer, and Ranild."  15. Upon learning that R. is identical with the last, he requests him to follow him to "Thrud's" island.  16. The latter person had robbed him of gold, horse, and sword.  17-18. The "warrior" demands that R. accompany him to Thrud's island, otherwise he threatens to take his life.	16. R. sees "Trög in Öbils Hölg's sein" come rowing over fjord in iron boat.  17. T. Ö. explains that he is looking for his uncle, <i>Hölgi Kvass</i> . R. declares himself as his "relative."	
18. The latter explains that he is not crazy, but that a "dragon" has robbed him of his gold.			
19. The king asks to be directed to the dragon's land.			
20. He is informed that wind and waves make it impossible to reach the place.			
21. He proposes making a bridge of his boats (or of trees, A2).			
22. The king promises R., on condition of his overcoming the dragon, the sword " <i>Kaalle-brant</i> " and all the gold stored away by the dragon.	19-20. " <i>Thrude off Blide</i> " is on the lookout: he sees R. coming and in his anger tears up an oak tree by roots and casts it in front of ship.  21. R. steers straight through the oak, breaking it in pieces.	18-19. R. accompanies T. Ö. to mountains, where he is greeted by all the little trolls (8m & -trolli).	8. R. sees big giant standing, 50 ells broad and 100 tall.
23. The hero threatens* [Aller] with his steel rod and demands the latter's sword.			and defies him.

\* A1 is here considerably corrupted and A2 shows better the order of events. The latter (stanza 17) has, instead of "Aller," "*bjerget*," which is undoubtedly correct. The words are of course addressed to the dragon, not to Aller.

A1	B	C	D
<p>24. The latter says his sword is in the mountain and refuses to give it up as long as he is alive.</p> <p>25-26.* They fight three days; on third "Aller" is obliged to give way before R. R. strikes a hole in the rock (cf. A2, 17 and note to A1, 23).</p>	<p>22. R. ascends the mountain and secures sword.</p> <p>23. "Thrude af Blide" attacks him with steel rod.</p>		<p>9. The giant begs for his life and offers gold and wine.</p>
<p>27. R. fights three days with the dragon, killing him finally.</p>	<p>24-25. R. kills his adversary and throws remains into sound.</p>	<p>20-21. R. kills T. Ú.</p>	<p>10-12. The battle. R. tears out giant's beard by roots. They trample mountain into mud.</p>
	<p>26. R. returns to strand and finds all the war-ships gone.</p> <p>27. He blows in his horn so that it bursts.</p> <p>28. His boat hears the sound, breaks its 9 anchor-ropes and returns to him.</p> <p>29. He sails away with the gold.</p>	<p>and all the small trolls with sword,</p>	<p>Finally R. cuts off his adversary's head.</p> <p>13-14. R. goes into mountain and kills all the small trolls.</p>
<p>28. He takes as much gold as he can carry and returns to "Widriks wold," where he hears news.</p> <p>(A2, 21.† The king of "Opsai" is defeated [or slain? "slagen," cf. A3] and "Rimbolt's" 6 brothers taken prisoners.)</p>		<p>finds gold and shoves off boat into fjord.</p>	<p>15-16. R. loads ships with gold and jewels and sails to "keysarens lande."</p>

\* Stanzas 25 and 26 are lacking in A2, are obviously superfluous and appear to have been introduced in an attempt to obviate the confusion caused by the introduction of Aller into stanza 23.

† This stanza, so necessary to the context, is lost in A1.

A1	B	C	D
<p>29-30. R. becomes exceedingly angry, takes the sword, "<i>Kallebrand</i>," and after 3 days' fight kills Aller.</p> <p>31. The courtiers are playing ball. They jeer at R. because of his wretched clothing.</p> <p>32. The hero sends the princess "<i>kampeweff</i>," and requests her to make him clothes of it.</p> <p>33-34.* The princess laughs and remarks that it is not fitting for him, as he is destined to marry a princess.</p> <p>35-36. She orders for him "<i>sylike och syndall</i>" and "<i>thett skaarlagen rød</i>," which are better suited for him.</p> <p>37-38.† The hero enters and asks princess for her hand.</p> <p>39.† She declares her willingness and fers him to her father.</p> <p>40-41.† R. goes to king and asks hand of his daughter.</p> <p>42.† The king is agreeable, provided he has her consent.</p> <p>43.† The maiden declares that their betrothal was fated before her lover was born.</p> <p>44-45.‡ The two are married.</p>	<p>2. R. takes part fearlessly in tournament at court.</p> <p>3. R. complains to his mother of scornful treatment of courtiers and asks her for clothing.</p> <p>4. She produces a "<i>blorgarns weff</i>" and sends him to the "young maid" to have her make him clothing.</p> <p>5. R. proffers his request.</p> <p>6. The "maid" informs him that he does not know what fate is in store for him.</p> <p>7. She takes a piece of "<i>ifquist</i>" and cuts him clothes from it and bids him take service at her father's court.</p> <p>30. The king and queen are waiting and wondering how they shall share the gold brought by R. R. remarks in refrain that they won't share it.</p>	<p>3. R. goes out where the courtiers are playing games and is laughed at because of his scanty clothing.</p> <p>4. R. goes in to his foster-mother and asks her to cut him clothes.</p> <p>5-6. She prepares him a fabric woven of nettles ("<i>sarpið ulaf nosle-ris</i>") and willow-withes ("<i>safta 'ta viðjeren smd</i>").</p> <p>7. He goes to king's daughter and asks her to cut him clothing.</p> <p>8. She cuts him clothing of silk.</p>	<p>17-18. R. disembarks and goes where courtiers are playing ball and "<i>gulltärning</i>." All are frightened.</p> <p>1. R. has poor clothing.</p> <p>The queen gives him new clothing of "<i>bast och blagarne grofsa</i>";</p> <p>R. is dissatisfied.</p> <p>2. The princess ("<i>f'røken</i>") gives him new clothes "<i>af silke och sammeste fina</i>." R. is better satisfied.</p> <p>3-4. R. goes to tailors to have clothes cut: 50 ells are required for breeches and 15 for suspenders, and then they are tight.</p> <p>19-25. "<i>Keysaren</i>" looks out of the window and asks who this immense warrior is. R. replies defiantly and with sword, "<i>Dymlingen dyra</i>," cuts off emperor's head so that it flies 15 Spanish miles.</p>

\* These stanzas are lacking in A2.

† Stanzas 37-43 are lacking in A2.

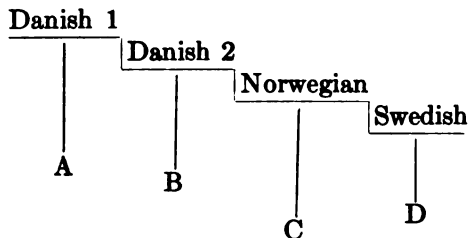
‡ A2 has only one stanza for these two.

The episodes in A follow then in this order: (1) the conflict with Aller hin stærke, (2) the conflict with the dragon and securing of sword and gold, (3) continuation of the conflict with Aller, (4) the making of R's clothing, (5) the marriage with the princess. Now if comparison be made with the Icelandic rímur, it will be noted that these episodes correspond in the same order with the following: (1) the conflict with Hrǫngviðr, (2) the conflict with Dráinn and the securing of gold and sword from his mound, (3) the conflict with Helgi enn frækni, Hrǫngvið's brother, (4) the sewing of Hrómund's wound and his convalescence, (5) the marriage with Svanhvít. In the rímur the conflict of 1 is on the sea, that of 3 on land, or rather on the ice of Lake Venern. That the two brothers have been united in the ballad in the person of Aller is apparent enough from the inconsistency in the double appearance of this personage and in the description of the fighting as of a mixed nature, partly at sea and partly on land with abrupt and unexplained transitions.<sup>1</sup> Now if we take B (*Ungen Ranild*) as representative of the second group, the episode of the making of clothes has been transferred to the beginning; then follows the sea-fight, next the trip to Thrud's island with the slaying of this monster and the securing of sword and gold, and finally the reception by the king and queen, leaving the marriage with the princess to be inferred. That is, the episodes 1-5 of A occur in B in the order 4, 1, 2; 3 has disappeared altogether and 5 may be inferred or not, as one prefers. This all confirms our thesis, that A is the more original form of the ballad, or at least gives us a more accurate idea of the contents of the original, which were essentially those of some of the main episodes of the *Griplur*.

Before comparing the group B C D further with A it may be desirable to institute a comparison among these and establish what their original contained. Of the three episodes referred to above as 4, 1, 2, all are contained in some form in each of the three versions, but with considerable variation. The making of clothes has now some added features in that the hero's request that clothes be made out of the coarse material brought by him has developed into the making of coarse clothing for him (or simply the buying of the cloth in B) by his mother (B), foster-mother (C), queen (D), the fine clothing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grundtvig, *D g F.*, I. 359.

being actually made by the king's daughter<sup>1</sup> (*fröken* in D, in which version tailors have been introduced). The sea trip remains in B, the special victim of our hero being merged in the fifteen slain (stanza 11). The Norwegian version (C) has characteristically made "troll" of the opponents, and the fact of the contest at sea is obscured (see *på leikarvollo*, stanza 12), though the iron boat of stanza 16 is not to be overlooked. Similarly the Swedish version (D) has giants (*jättar*) upon the strand, of whom the hero kills seven. The adventure with the monster in his mound is preserved in some little detail in B, but much abbreviated in C, where it is also brought more immediately into connection with the foregoing episode and decked out in genuine Norwegian fashion with the addition of the "small trolls." The Swedish version (D) has an even more immediate connection with the previous episode and retains the "small trolls," which are killed along with the big giant quite as in C. This evidence of the main episodes of the ballad seems to me to point conclusively to the fact that it had passed from Denmark to Norway and from Norway to Sweden. That in minor points each of the forms has preserved certain original features, as we shall show directly, does not necessarily invalidate this conclusion, as we must remember that neither A nor B are the original Danish versions, nor are C or D the original Norwegian or Swedish ones. Their relationship would then be expressed thus:



I shall next compare the folkeviser with the rímur, as probably representing pretty accurately the Icelandic source of the former, indicating more closely in what points they correspond collectively or individually with the rímur. The father of the hero (*Gripr* of rímur) was according to A1 a nobleman (the name "*Adell-grøffue*" is a perfectly transparent appellative), according to C a peasant,

<sup>1</sup> That the princess herself made the clothes must, in view of the symbolic meaning of the process, have been a feature of the original ballad.



called "*Stein*," living not far from the place where the story was told (A says not far from court). The king is localized only in A at "*Opsaall*" ("*Opsal*"). That the hero had brothers is mentioned also in A and C: according to A1 there were seven sons, of whom *Rambolt* was the youngest; according to C, twelve, of whom *Rámund* was the best. According to the *Griplur* there were nine sons, of whom *Hrómund* was the oldest. A1 and B represent the king's daughter as learned—knowing present and future, i.e., in terms of an Icelandic original she was versed in magic. In the *Griplur* she gives Hrómund a shield with magic properties.<sup>1</sup> According to A1 Rambolt's purpose at court was to learn of the maid, with which end in view he sets out with a steel rod (*stallstang*) on his back. To follow the exposition of A, the king sees a number of ships coming; it transpires that the leader of the expedition is *Aller hin stærke* and that his purpose is to demand the hand of the king's daughter. The king proposes a contest upon *Widriks wold*, which accordingly takes place. B had mentioned (stanza 8) the preparations for a sea trip on the part of the king and has the meeting accordingly take place on the sea. D speaks also of an expedition over sea to the land of the giants, it being according to C a troll in the mountains to the northward who wished to carry off the king's daughter. *Griplur* has also a sea expedition, the meeting with *Hrøngviör* taking place at a group of small islands (*Elfarsker*). That the opponent is called *Aller* in A must rest upon a substitution of names which it would be futile to attempt to explain. The *Widriks wold* (or at least the name "*Widrik*") is borrowed from ballads dealing with *Diderik* and his heroes.<sup>2</sup> The name of the troll, *Hölgi Kvass*, in C preserves of course the *Helgi enn frækni* of the *rímur*; he belongs, however, there to the later episode, which has been united with the former in the ballads (not yet completely so in A) as noted above. In this land-fight at *Widriks wold*, *Aller*, by a strange inconsistency of A<sup>3</sup>, springs into the king's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra* the reference to Saxo's *Svanhvíta*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grundtvig, *D g F.*, I, 68 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Widriks wold* belonged originally not to this contest, but to the second with *Aller* (or whoever it may have been in the original ballad), i.e., it corresponded with the contest with *Helgi enn frækni* upon *Vænir* in the *Griplur*. This fact is apparent not only from the somewhat superficial similarity in the two names and the nature of the fighting, but also from fact that this battle took place according to definite challenge, quite as did that on the ice of Lake Venern in the *rímur*.

boat, frightening him cruelly; the king is however saved by Rambolt, who strikes down Aller, the latter springing into a little boat and coming thus to land. This shows fairly close agreement with the *rímur*, where Hrǫngviðr also leaps upon the king's boat (I, 46) and is killed by Hrǫmund. The explanation of the steel rod above mentioned (sc. also A1, 23) is likewise to be found in the *rímur*, from which it appears that Hrǫngviðr was invulnerable to sword, spear, or arrow (I, 51), and where Hrǫmund also uses a steel club. B has not forgotten this iron rod, but puts it into the hands of the monster Thrud, and lets him attack Ranild with it (stanza 23). In C, Rámund prepares a club for his attack upon Hölgi Kvass. None of the other ballads has preserved the account of this fight in anything like the fidelity of A. In B, Ranild notes a man in armor come rowing toward them; he reproves the steersman for steering like a crazy man and kills at least fifteen of the hostile warriors, whereupon a little warrior begs him to suspend the slaughter until he shall have had time to bail out the blood. This criticism of the steersman appears to have been corrupted under the influence of other ballads from the vigorous exchange of words between Kári and Hrǫngviðr (I, 30 ff.) or Hrǫmund and Hrǫngviðr (I, 55 ff.) in the *rímur*, which is better preserved in C and D. In C, Hölgi Kvass, having demanded the king's daughter, turns to taunt Rámund, who has given expression to the refusal, and challenges him to a contest; the fear of the king and courtiers is described somewhat as in A, but Rámund kills Hölgi with his club. So in D there is an exchange of mutual defiance between Ramunder and the seven giants, whom he sees on the strand. He kills them all with his sword, *Dymlingen dyra*, the sword being introduced prematurely in this version.

The transition to the adventure with the monster has lost the peasant *Máni* of the *Griplur*. In A it is effected by the crazy man, whom the king sees sailing toward him; he complains that a dragon (*draagen*) has taken his gold; the king asks the way to the latter's haunt and proposes to bridge the intervening water by means of his boats; Rambolt is promised the sword *Kaallebrantt* (*Kallebrand*) and all the monster's gold, if he can overcome him. In B it is the "little warrior" above mentioned who proves the informant. He tells Ranild that he is seeking three sons of his uncle, King Saxe; these

sons' names were *Adam*, "*Koer*," and *Ranild*. His newly found cousin then invites *Ranild* to follow him to *Thrud's* island. This personage had robbed him of gold, horse, and sword. The little warrior threatens *Ranild* if he does not come with him. In C it is *Trúgin Úblið*,<sup>1</sup> *Hölgis svein*, who comes rowing in an iron boat (evidence of his supernatural nature as a troll). He explains that *Hölgi* was his uncle (these statements of relationship all seem to have been corrupted out of the fact that *Helgi* in the Icelandic original was the brother of *Hrǫngviðr*). Hereupon he repairs to the mountain with *Rámund* and shows him, as his "relative," the small trolls. In D the transition scene is completely lost, *Ramunder* after disposing of the seven giants on the strand going at once to attack the big giant. The fact that B names two brothers of *Ranild* is not without interest; the source of these names is made clearer by a comparison with C. "*Koer*" (B) represents of course the old Norse *Kári*, which is preserved intact (*Käre*) in C. "*Adam*" is obviously a substitution for some old Norse name, nor does the "*Homlung*," "*Homle*" of C help us much here, as this name has itself apparently come in from the list of *Diderik's* knights.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the circumstances under which these two names appear in C betray clearly their origin. The two serve at the king's court and even if we understand the ballad to make them out to be brothers of *Rámund* (as *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, I, 368 does), they are obviously the *Kári* and *Ornólf* of the *rímur*, the two brothers (not related to *Hrómund*) who are distinguished in the king's service (his *stafnbúar*) and who succumb in the conflict with *Hrǫngviðr*. As concerns the name of the sword, the *Mistilteinn* of the *rímur* has been displaced by other names. A's *Kaallebrantt* (*Kollebrand*, *Kolebrand*) is not with certainty identifiable; it forms, however, a perfectly transparent term for sword,<sup>3</sup> and may be related to the name of King Arthur's sword *Caleburnus*.<sup>4</sup> The sword is not named in B and C, but appears in D

<sup>1</sup> That *Úblið* was originally an adjective (=old Icelandic *óblíðr*, just as *Kvass* above =old Icelandic *kvass*) is noted by *Grundtvig* (*D g F*). In B the name has been corrupted into *Thrude* (*Thrud*) *af Blide*. *Trúgin* and *Thrud* are readily identifiable with the *Þráinn* of the *Griplur*. That the "*draagen*" of A may have originated as a corruption of the same name is noted by *Grundtvig*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, I, 71 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. Bugge in *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, IV, 763.

<sup>4</sup> According to Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. *Bredasögur* in *Hauksbók*, 288, 293), *Caledonich* of *Mabinogion*, see *Grundtvig*, *op. cit.*, and I, 360.

as *Dymlingen dyra*, which Grundtvig<sup>1</sup> compares with the name of Roland's sword, *Dyrendal*.<sup>2</sup>

The conflict with the dragon is not described in detail in A. We learn here only that Rambolt demanded the sword, but was informed that it was in the mountain, that the contest lasted three days, and that Rambolt after killing the dragon took the gold and sword and returned to Widriks wold. B goes more into detail, even adding a little feature apparently gathered from another source. This version represents Thrude as on the lookout at the sound; upon seeing Ranild he tears up an oak tree by the roots<sup>3</sup> and hurls it in the way, but Ranild steers straight into it, destroying it. Ranild then goes to the mountain, secures the sword, is attacked by Thrude with an iron rod, but cuts off the latter's arms and legs, then his head, throwing both head and body into the sound. He repairs to the strand, but finds his ships gone; he blows in his gilded horn, whereupon his gilded ship breaks its nine anchor-strings and comes to him; he packs in the gold and sails homeward. C again passes briefly over this contest. Rámund secures the sword in the mountain as in all the versions, cuts off with it the eight hands of Trúgin Úblið,<sup>4</sup> finds the gold, and kills Trúgin Úblið and the small trolls as well. D has here certain features not found elsewhere, except, as it appears, in the Icelandic *rímur*. The big giant, being attacked by Ramunder, begs for its life and offers gold and wine.<sup>5</sup> Ramunder is however defiant and the wrestling-match follows quite as in the *Griplur*. That Ramunder tears away the giant's beard and the flesh with it appears to show a transfer of the clawing which Hrómund receives from Dráinn in the *rímur*.<sup>6</sup> The second round results in the mountain upon which they are standing being quite trampled to mud,<sup>7</sup> and the giant comments upon the fierceness of the struggle.<sup>8</sup> It ends in Ramunder's cutting off the giant's head, upon which he goes into the mountain, sees the small trolls weeping, kills them all, packs gold and jewels into his ships, and embarks for the land of the "keysar."

<sup>1</sup> *D g F.*, I, 368.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV, 223.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *D g F.*, I, 111b, stanza 21.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Starkað's eight hands, *Gautreks saga*, ed. Ranssch, p. 33; Saxo, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Griplur*, III, 14-15.    <sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 36 ff.    <sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 31, 32.    <sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 33.

In A, after Rambolt has resumed his fight with Aller at Widriks wold and killed him, follows the episode of the making of the clothing, which, as already stated, is at the beginning of the other versions. A tells it thus: There was ball-playing at the court, where Rambolt's poor clothing was the subject of general ridicule. He requests the maid (king's daughter) to cut him clothing of coarse material. She laughs, says such clothing is not fitting for him who is to become a prince, and makes him clothing becoming his future dignity. In B, Ranild distinguishes himself in a tournament, but finds that his clothing is hardly up to the court standard. He repairs to his mother, who gives him coarse cloth and sends him to the young maid, who will cut him clothing. He goes to the maid and proffers his request. She remarks upon the fate in store for him, cuts him fine clothes, and bids him take service at her father's court, which he does, as described above. C also introduces the courtiers playing games, among whom Rámund's scanty clothing is the subject of general ridicule. He begs his foster-mother to make him clothing, which she does of very coarse material. Hereupon the hero requests the king's daughter to make him clothing. She does so, using silk for the purpose. D remarks at the outset that Ramunder was in need of better clothing (the ball-playing is entirely separate in this version, viz., toward the end in stanza 18, which corresponds essentially with its position in A1). The queen makes him coarse clothing, to which he objects. The "fröken" (evidently the king's daughter, whether she is the same as the daughter of the "keysar" referred to later is not clear in this ballad) gives him finer clothing. The following verses relating how Ramunder seeks out the tailors and has them take his measure is an independent innovation in D, introduced in accordance with its conception of Ramunder's gigantic stature. The origin of this important episode of the making of the hero's clothing is not at first sight clear, as it does not closely correspond with anything contained in the *Griplur*. One is tempted from its position after the last battle and the fact that it necessarily involves sewing, to identify it with that episode in the *Griplur* in which Hrómund is represented as sewing up his wounded abdomen, and there seems little doubt that it has in fact taken the place of that episode of its Icelandic source. That a substitution of some sort was inevitable

is clear enough, if one but compare the standard of taste of the aristocratic Danish audience of the early folkeviser with the Icelandic audience appealed to by the rímur—or, in this case, certainly of the earlier audience of the prose source of the rímur. But it is not so easy to see just why the substitution should have taken on this peculiar and by no means closely related form. As a matter of fact we must here go back of the *Griplur* to their prose source and its story of Svanhvít and her lover as it is preserved by Saxo,<sup>1</sup> a full account of which will be given in the chapter treating of the sources of the original *Hrómundar saga*. By taking into consideration this story, which is indubitably a source of this episode in the ballads, and remembering besides that the sewing of clothing (or more especially a shirt) for the hero by the maid is in the folkeviser equivalent to a betrothal,<sup>2</sup> as is the gift of the shield in the rímur, the three constituent elements in the source which have together given rise to this divergent episode in the ballads are adequately accounted for.

The concluding episode of the marriage with the king's daughter is, as before said, preserved only in A, though the other versions are not without allusions to it, and all show the preliminary step, the making of the hero's clothing by the princess. Rambolt declares (in A) his love to the princess (*Daddelrun*); she sends him to her father, who declares himself agreeable, if it be his daughter's wish. The latter asserts that it was decreed by fate before her lover's birth that they should marry (this is in accordance with B's statement of the princess' supernatural knowledge), whereupon the wedding takes place. B closes simply with the reception of Ranild by the king and queen and their question how they are to dispose of his gold. C breaks off suddenly with the killing of Trúgin Úblið and the small trolls, while D, after mention of the games at court and the courtiers' fear of Ramunder, tells of the "keysar's" displeasure at sight of the hero; that the latter challenges him and at once proceeds to violence; that the youngest princess and half the kingdom are offered to appease him. He replies, however, that he can take both when he will and cuts off the emperor's head.

Enough has been said to show that, while each of the four ballads contains certain original features as compared with the others, these

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Holder, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, 268 f.; Grundtvig, *D g f.*, III, 918 f.

are not of such a sort that they cannot be explained in accordance with the relationship postulated above and that the nature of the more essential changes is best explained by assuming exactly that relationship. The evidence from the related refrains of B, C, and D has already been discussed as a means of separating this group from A and one reason for regarding it as secondary to the same. The other cases of varying refrain mentioned by Steenstrup show a precedent or at least analogies for the development of this stylistic novelty on Danish ground. Norwegian and Swedish ballads show, so far as I know, no exactly analogous development, their version of our ballad being in that respect unique and surely not original.<sup>1</sup> A comparison of the three will show further that the Danish has the simpler type of refrain, which has been a trifle enlarged upon in the other cases, more in the Norwegian, most of all in the Swedish:

DANISH (B), 1:

*"Ware ieg saa wiis!" sagde Ramilld.*

NORWEGIAN (C), 1:

*"Aa, deð var no fulla eg,"  
sa' han unge Rámund.*

SWEDISH (D), 1:

*"Tácke vill jag inte ha," sade Ramunder,  
"Tácke står mig inte bra," sade Ramunder den Unga.*

The nature of the variations noted, especially the splitting into two distinct types, indicates a considerable age for the Danish version (Dan. 1) which we were obliged to postulate as the original type of the ballad.<sup>2</sup>

Through comparison with the Icelandic rímur we found reason to conclude that while the original ballad (Dan. 1) had as its source material practically the same as that contained in the rímur, the rímur themselves were not this source. If we dismiss altogether the matter of chronological possibility, we have seen that the ballads,

<sup>1</sup> Swedish historical ballads show, among other irregularities, sometimes stanzas of six verses; Arwidsson No. 160 even has verses 5 and 6 formally differentiated. They are, however, not at all analogous to the refrain of our ballad.

<sup>2</sup> Axel Olrik in an allusion to these ballads (*Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XIV, 84) recognizes the essential relation of B and A to the Icelandic material of the *Hrómundar saga*. His postulation of a Norwegian ballad as the connecting link in either case is not supported by any reasons given (nor has he so far as I know, accounted elsewhere for this statement), and may in the lack of such be understood as conjectural; it is certainly not in accordance with the facts developed by our analysis and comparison of the ballads.

notably in the matter of the sewing of the hero's clothes, indicate a source prior to the *Griplur*, and it should further be observed that the rímur contain certain episodes not alluded to in the faintest way in the ballads. Such are, apart from the rôle of the valkyrie Kára and her death, Blindur enn bplvísi and the search for Hrómund, his concealment, the dreams of Blindur, in fact the whole matter appertaining to the Haddingjar. Now in the Hrómundar saga alluded to in Sturlunga there is evidence of most of the episodes included in the ballads, but none of the episodes connected with the Haddingjar, which moreover are in part preserved in altogether different environment.<sup>1</sup> There is then the greatest probability that the source of the ballad was this Hrómundar saga referred to in Sturlunga, which had ere the composition of the rímur received a considerable interpolation from another source. What this source was remains to be taken up in a later paper, while the whole chronological relations of our various materials will be made clearer in the following chapter.

5. *The date of composition of the lost Icelandic Hrómundar saga Gripssonar.*—The most reliable external evidence for the existence of an Old Icelandic Hrómundar saga Gripssonar is found in that often-cited passage of the Sturlunga,<sup>2</sup> wherein the varied amusements indulged in at a wedding-feast at Reykjahólar in the year 1119 are recounted. There is, it is true, evidence from other sources tending to confirm beyond question the existence of such a saga, though adding little of positive character to what the Sturlunga furnishes us. This statement of the Sturlunga has until recent years been accepted as indisputable proof of the existence of the saga just mentioned as early as 1119, making it the first of the fornaldarsögur type of which anything definite is known.<sup>3</sup> This interpretation of the passage is rightly called into question by Kálund,<sup>4</sup> who regards that portion of the Sturlunga in which this statement occurs, viz., the "Dorgils saga ok Hafliða," as a work of the twelfth century and suggests that this statement may be an editorial interpolation. As this collection (the Sturlunga) was brought together and edited

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Helga kviða Hund.*, II, 2-4, and prose at end.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Kálund, 1 bind (1906), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 790 ff., 1901.

<sup>4</sup> *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1901, p. 284 f.



at the close of the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> it gives us with certainty only a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the *Hrómundar saga* of about 1300. The statement in question reads as follows in Kálund's critical text:

Frá því er nokkut sagt, er þó er lítil tilkoma, hverir þar skemtu eða hverju skemt var. Þat er í frásögn haft, er nú mæla margir í móti ok látaz ekki vitat hafa, því at margir ganga duldir hins sanna, ok hyggja þat satt, er skrokvat er, en þat logit, sem satt er,—Hrólfr frá Skálmarnesi sagði sögu frá Hrongviði víkingi ok frá Óláfi liðsmanna-konungi ok haugbroti Þráins ok Hrómundi Gripesyni ok margar vísur með. En þessarri sögu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligstar, ok þó kunna menn at telja settir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þessa sögu hafði Hrólfr sjálfr saman setta. Ingimundr prestur sagði sögu Orms Barreyjar-skálds ok vísur margar ok flokk góðan við enda sögunnar, er Ingimundr hafði ortan, ok hafa þá margir fróðir menn þessa sögu fyrir satt.

This does not follow, as one would certainly expect, the mention of the relating of sagas in the list of amusements, there intervening a statement of the duration of the festivities, of the annual celebration of *Óláfs messa*, of the fertility of the soil at Reykjahólar, and of the ripening of the grain crop, which very probably formed the original conclusion of the account of the festivities. The fact that our note is appended in this fashion at the end of the narrative instead of occurring in its natural place in the context, together with the whole nature of the note itself, shows it plainly to be an addition of the editor. The editor even apologizes for adding it as being of little importance, stating that it is based upon tradition, which is discredited by many. He states further that this saga had furnished especial amusement to King Sverrir († 1202), calls it a "fiction" (*lygisaga*) and names Hrólfr frá Skálmarnesi, who recited it on this occasion, as also its author. The editor knows also another tradition about Hrómundr Gripsson, viz., that found in the *Landnáma*, as we shall see directly. Now this weighing of the two traditions against each other is exactly paralleled in the *Geirmundar þáttur*, which forms the beginning of the *Sturlunga* and which bears witness in a similar way to knowledge both of the *Hálfs saga* and the *Landnáma*.<sup>2</sup> Both refer in the same way to *frásagnir* and to conflicting opinions,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kálund, *op. cit.*, 298; F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 739, 1900; Ólsen, *Safn til Sögu Íslands*, III, 507, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, II, 727, 1900.

between which choice must be made. That the statements concerned are those of the same man, viz., the editor of the collection,<sup>1</sup> seems to admit of no doubt, and the value of the evidence must be determined from this standpoint. Kålund is even inclined to doubt<sup>2</sup> that the note is meant to be taken seriously, and certainly the allusion to King Sverrir has much of the flavor of literary humor, while the fact that the production is definitely called a *lygisaga* seems to preclude any possibility of its having appealed to the author of the note as a venerable *fornsaga*. *Lygisaga* like *lygi* meant in Old Icelandic usage nothing more nor less than a "lie," its present use as a *terminus technicus* for "fictitious tale," "fictitious saga" having originated with modern literary historians. That *lygisögur* (in the present technical sense) were composed in Iceland as early as 1119, or that the conception implied in *lygisaga* can have been seriously extended to any production of that early time is to my mind incredible.<sup>3</sup> That the *Hrómundar saga* is on the other hand correctly classed as a *lygisaga*, that it contains not one grain of old heroic legend not transferred from some other source remains to be proven in the chapter dealing with its sources. That the editor of the Sturlunga collection dared stigmatize it thus would suggest that it was the product of a time not greatly prior to his own, i.e., not long before the close of the thirteenth century, nor do I believe that the purely fictitious Icelandic saga can be traced much further back.

The two traditions referred to in the Sturlunga may be designated: (1) the genealogical tradition, and (2) the *lygisaga*. The source of (1) is the *Landnáma*<sup>4</sup>; for the allusion in the *Flóamanna saga*<sup>5</sup> is merely an extract from the *Landnáma*,<sup>6</sup> as is also that in the longer saga of Óláfr Tryggvason.<sup>7</sup> That this tradition of a purely genealogical character presented by the *Landnáma* is older than the *lygisaga* having *Hrómundr* as its hero is apparent from several considerations: (1) The *Landnáma* knew no saga connected with him, so far as can be detected; it gives him merely the prosaic patro-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his note in *Sturlunga*, I, 119 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 284 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Axel Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhistorie*, I, 12, 1892.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. F. Jónsson (1900), pp. 6, 131.

<sup>5</sup> *Fornesögur*, p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. mention of *Landnáma* on p. 122, and F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 758, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> *Flateyjarbók*, I, 248; *Fms.* I, 237; *Landn.*, p. 263; cf. pp. xxxviii ff.

nymic, not the by-name so characteristic of the fornaldarsaga hero, and indicates by no word that a saga was attached to his name. (2) The genealogical table does not correspond at a single point with that of the saga, so far as the contents of this are deducible from the *rímur*. (3) The story told by the *Landnáma* of Hrómund's great-grandson, Leifr, and how the latter came to be called Hjørleifr has evidently given the suggestion for a principal episode in the fictitious Hrómundar saga, as will be shown in the chapter discussing the sources of the saga. That the relation should in this point be the reverse, viz., that the *Landnáma* should have transferred a saga connected with Hrómundr to a historical descendant or reputed descendant of his, is from the whole character of the *Landnáma* incredible, and even if such were not the case, the chronological direction of legend-formation is not from the highly exaggerated and supernatural to the relatively simple and natural, but vice versa. The fact that no notice of Hrómundr is to be found in the Old Norse literature in any monument antedating the *Landnáma* (*Sturlubók* dating from the middle of the thirteenth century)<sup>1</sup> must be explained by anyone who would assert that he was the hero of a real fornaldarsaga. Even granting that there may have been some legendary association connected with his name, or for that matter that he cannot be proven to be a historical personage, the fact remains that the saga about him, whose contents are preserved through the Grip-lur and Scandinavian popular ballads and which is alluded to in the *Sturlunga*, made use of no such legend, but is entirely a fictitious production of the last half of the thirteenth century, in securing material for which the author had freely plundered heroic legends of earlier date, as we can demonstrate from their preservation in other and older sources. While we know that in many cases it can be proven that Icelandic families attached their genealogical records by one means or another to some hero of fornaldarsaga type,<sup>2</sup> we have in the Hrómundar saga an example of the very natural corollary, that an ancestor was decked out with a saga made to order. That this is the later stage in the process is evident enough from the nature of the case.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Jónsson, *Landnáma* (1900), pp. iv, xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vigfússon, *Saga til Sögu Íslands*, I, 185 f., 1855.

The earliest evidences of this secondary tradition, the *lygisaga* of Hrómundr Gripsson, are the nearly contemporary ones of the *Hálfs saga B*<sup>1</sup> and *Sturlunga*, both from 1300 or shortly before. The *Hálfs saga* furnishes us only the information of the genealogical connection of Hrómundr with Hrókr enn svarti (as his grandson), a fact unknown to the *Landnáma*, which had used *Hálfs saga A* (composed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century). The *Sturlunga* (*vide supra*) gives us much more definite information of the contents of this *lygisaga*, which information is quite confirmed by the *rímur*. Its principal episodes included the struggle with *Hrøngviðr víkingr* and the forced entrance into Dráin's mound; mention is made also of *Óláfr líðsmannakonungr*, by which very indefinite title<sup>2</sup> the necessity of localizing him anywhere is avoided, quite as in the *Geirmundar pátttr*<sup>3</sup> the same editor of the *Sturlunga* avoids localizing King Hjorr, the father of the dark twins. That this original saga did not contain more than these two episodes can, of course, not be proven. That it did contain at least one further episode, in which Hrómundr was obliged to measure himself with Helgi, a brother or other relative of *Hrøngviðr*, is indicated by the popular ballads, which very evidently go back to this saga, not to the later *rímur* (*vide supra*). That the love story of Hrómundr and Svanhvít was included is attested by the same ballads. Both *Sturlunga* and the ballads agree, however, in denying to it the incidents connected with Helgi Haddingjaskati and the Haddingjar, and this evidence is sufficient to make it very probable that the *rímur* rest upon a revision of the saga, or a later stage in the oral transmission of the same, in which a considerable interpolation had taken place, a version dating without doubt from the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The ground for such an interpolation would lie in the common name

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my edition (*Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, Heft 14, Halle, 1909). pp. 34, 47. 50 f., 131 f.

<sup>2</sup> The title is confirmed by the *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *vide infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sturlunga*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> That sagas of all sorts experienced various revisions or were recorded several times, showing various stages in the oral transmission, is so familiar a phenomenon (cf. Heinzel, *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien; Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 114 [1887], p. 435) that attention need hardly be called to it; cf., e.g., *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, *Óláfs saga helga*, *Jónsvíkinga saga*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, *Hervarar saga*, *Órvar-Odds saga*, *Gautreks saga*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Bósa saga*, *Mágus saga*, etc.; the *Gautreks saga* shows in fact an entirely parallel case, in that the *Víkins saga* has been interpolated in the second version; cf. Ranisch, *Gautreks saga*, pp. xviii ff.

Helgi of the two heroes, evidently the same ground, by the way, which had led to verses dealing with Helgi Haddingjaskati being introduced into the Eddic song having Helgi Hundingsbani as its hero. The idea of such an interpolation appears to have occurred also to Axel Olrik,<sup>1</sup> who also in other respects has taken a more cautious stand upon the antiquity of the *Hrómundar saga*. Witness to the same saga is borne also by the genealogical list in the *Flateyjarbók* (I, 24). This list can certainly not be regarded as older than the close of the thirteenth century, as it has made use of *Hálfs saga B* (or at least the oral form, of which B is a record), wherein *Hrómundr Gripsson* had already been appended to the whole genealogy of *Hrókr enn svarti*. Just how old this genealogical list is can be determined only by a careful study of its sources. It may be said that the bungling way in which the table of the *Haddingjar* (with mention of *Helgi Haddingjaskati*) is made to precede the list of the descendants of *Hálfðan enn gamli*, which forms the real motif of this whole section, and then the whole table of the *Hálfs saga* with *Hrómundr* is made directly to precede the former, though without any genealogical point of contact, leads one to suspect that these additions at the front may not only be very late, but perhaps even reveal a knowledge of the united *Hrómundar* and *Helga saga* (the *Flateyjarbók* was written 1387-94).

Certain other sagas, presumably all of the fourteenth century, also bear witness to the existence of this *Hrómundar saga*, viz., the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*,<sup>2</sup> the *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*,<sup>3</sup> and the *Gríms saga loðinkinna*.<sup>4</sup> Of these the second merely connects a king *Dráendr*, eponymus of *Drándheimr* (Tronhjem), with the family of *Hrómundr*: "*Dráendr var mikill höfðingi; hans kona hét Dagmær, systir Svanhvítar, er Hrómundr Gripsson átti.*" With reference to this allusion to our saga there is only to be noted that *Dagmær* instead of *Dagný* corresponds with the best MS (a) of the *Griplur* (IV, 8). The passage in the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* reads as follows: "*Þat er fróðra manna sögn, at annarr sonr Hrólfss hafi verið Óláfr konungr í Danmörk, er Helgi enn frækni herjaði á, en Hrómundr Greipsson veitti Óláfi, sem segir í sögu hans, ok drap Helga; ok þær Dagný ok*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Saksnes Oldhistorie*, I, 11, n. 2, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Fas.* III, 362 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 519.

<sup>4</sup> *Fas.* II, 153 f.

*Dagbjört væri dætr Hrólfs, er græddu Hrómund, en þat er eigi ritat, hvárt þær vǫru börn Ingigerðar eðr eigi.*" This source has *Dagný*, it is true, but has changed *Svanhvít* to *Dagbjört*; in other respects its *Greipsson* for *Gripsson* is the earliest trace of this error and it furthermore localizes *Óláfr konungr* in Denmark, quite as does the seventeenth-century *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*.<sup>1</sup> The mention of *Helgi enn frækni* is interesting as confirming the name given in the *rímur* and indicating the rôle played by this hero in the *Hrómundar saga* known to the author (or reviser or interpolator?) of the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*. The statement that it was the two sisters of *Óláfr* who nursed *Hrómundr* back to health and strength tends to prove that the episode of *Hrómund's* stay at *Hagal's*, i.e., presumably the whole matter connected with the *Haddingjar*, had not yet been interpolated into the *Hrómundar saga*. The allusion of the *Gríms saga loðinkinna* reads: "*Ingjaldr fekk þeirar konu er Dagný hét, dóttur Ásmundar, er við Gnoð var kendr, en systir Óláfs liðsmannakonungs; við henni átti hann þann son, er Ásmundr hét, er stóan var fóstbróðir Odds hins víðfjrla, er var með Sigurði hring á Brðvelli, er þóru nafni hét Qrvar-Oddr.*" Though there is here no mention of *Hrómundr* himself, nor even of *Svanhvít*, there is no adequate reason to suppose that this mention of *Dagný* and *Óláfr* with its certainly late genealogical connection with a personage of the *Qrvar-Odds saga* in any way antedates the appearance of this family in the *Hrómundar saga*. Very interesting is the confirmation of the title *Óláfr liðsmannakonungr* as found in the *Sturlunga*. An allusion to the matter of the *Hrómundar saga* in the *Hervarar saga* is, as already Müller had recognized,<sup>2</sup> the gloss of a single late MS.

From about 1400 the *Skíða ríma*<sup>3</sup> recalls "*Dráinn í haugi*" as "*draugr*" and "*tröll*,"<sup>4</sup> as does also a later Icelandic *vikivakakvæði*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be stated here that MS W of the *rímur* shows also this idea of Denmark as the home of *Óláfr*, viz., in III, 61, where instead of the *norr í Björgvin* of a it offers *suðr við Danmörk*; that its reading is here incorrect is attested by its lack of alliteration, and even the late saga, which we have shown was a paraphrase of a third record of the *rímur*, though agreeing with W in its *Dagný*, has here *norr til sína ríkis* (*Fas.* II, 371).

<sup>2</sup> *Sagabibliothek* II, 554, 1818; cf. Bugge, *Norrøne skrifter*, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. F. Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, pp. 11 ff., 1905.

<sup>4</sup> Stanzas 75, 158, 160, 161.

<sup>5</sup> Ó. Davíðsson, *Íslenskar gǫtur, þulur og skemtanir*, V, 287, stanza 7.

whose author was well acquainted with the *Skíða ríma*.<sup>1</sup> Not long after 1400 is to be placed the composition of the *Griplur* (*vide supra*), which are in substance a versification of a version of the *Hrómundar saga* into which episodes from a saga of *Helgi Haddingjaskati* had been interpolated. In dating their composition thus we must discard the late tradition that they are the work of *Sigurður blindi*. There is in fact nothing in their language indicating that they are especially young,<sup>2</sup> and it may be added that their metrical and other stylistic features are in no respect indicative of a late origin. The types of stanzas are, in addition to the familiar *ferskeytt* (I, III, VI), *braghenda* (II), *staðhenda* (IV), and *fráhenda* (V).<sup>3</sup> These all occur, however, in a goodly number of the older *rímur*, in case the subject is treated in more than a single *ríma* (the *Völsungs rímur* are an exception) and formal variation from the otherwise monotonous *ferskeytt* seem necessary. That *ríma* II makes use in addition of hending in all three lines of the stanza (*braghenda alhend*) does not bespeak necessarily a greatly younger origin, for this use of hending is merely an adaptation from the familiar technique of the scaldic poetry and may readily have been adopted at any time for the *rímur*. The *Grettis rímur*, which Jónsson<sup>4</sup> considers as not younger than 1400, show hending in the first line of this same type of stanza<sup>5</sup> (*Sigurðsson's* No. 19, p. 51). But irregularities in the length of this very line containing the hending, as well as in the others, led Jónsson to infer the relative primitiveness of the *Grettis rímur*. Neither do I find anything in the *mansöngur* which need argue for an especially later origin; in fact I cannot see that any adequate stylistic criteria for relative age within that group of *rímur* designated by Jónsson as the oldest have as yet been established. The manuscript relationships point, as we have already seen, to a composition from the early part of the fifteenth century, and we need have no hesitation, considering the present state of our knowledge of the *rímur*, in assigning the composition of the *Griplur* to the time about 1400. Mention of *Hrómund* in a *kappakvæði* of the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. among other things the mention of *Húsgánga-Skíði*, p. 288, stanza 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, III, 40, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Sigurðsson, *Söfn til bragfræði íslenskra rímna*, Reykjavík, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit. hist.*, III, 41, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> *Grettis rímur* II, *Rímnaöfn*, pp. 49 ff.

century<sup>1</sup> assigns him still the sword *Mistilteinn* and may well rest upon knowledge of the *Griplur*.

Important testimony to the contents of the original *Hrómundar saga* is borne further by the *Andra rímur*, whose prose original was strongly influenced by this work. I can attempt here no critical consideration of this material as the older *Andra rímur* are not yet printed. I shall refer for their general contents only to *Kölbing*,<sup>2</sup> who had already called attention to one point of similarity.<sup>3</sup> *Kölbing* employed, be it said, for his "*Inhaltsangabe*" the later *rímur* by Hannes Bjarnason and Gísli Konráðsson.<sup>4</sup> The older *Andra rímur* are supposed to have been composed by *Sigurður blindi*<sup>5</sup> and we may presuppose as their source a *lygisaga* presumably of the fourteenth century, which as just intimated, must have made use of the original *Hrómundar saga*. This is apparent from the following considerations: (1) The *Andra rímur* show various names of the *Hrómundar saga* and these too the characteristic ones, e.g., *Helgi*, *Dráinn*, *Svanhvít*, *Hrómund*. (2) They show similar incidents: the burial mound of the giant *Bólverkr*, who was interred alive, is broken into by a hero and the treasure stolen therefrom; *Svanhvít* and her companion, *Gyða*, visit the battlefield, rescue a hero, and care for him. (3) *Svanhvít's* daughter, *Goðrður*, is wise and no one can gain her hand without a contest: this feature, which in the *Hrómundar saga* must have applied to *Svanhvít* herself, corresponds exactly and strikingly with the statement of the Danish ballad A,<sup>6</sup> which must then also have had it from its original source, the same *Hrómundar saga*. (4) After her husband's departure on a campaign *Svanhvít* dies of grief; when, upon his return, he learns of her death, he seeks entrance to her grave and after some days dies beside her corpse. This, while not absolutely identical, is yet so similar to the story of *Swanhwita's* attachment for her husband as told by Saxo that we must suppose the source of the *Andra saga* to have been here as elsewhere the *Hrómundar saga*, which had employed, as we know, the tradition about *Svanhvít* preserved to us by Saxo.

<sup>1</sup> *Arkiv f. nord. Filol.*, III, 371, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge*, 231 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (1876), 176 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Vöðjar Klaustri*, 1834 (2d edition, *Bessastaðir*, 1905).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Jón Þorkelsson Om Digtingen på Island i 15. og 16. Årh.*, 284 ff., 1888.

<sup>6</sup> *Stanzas* 1, 2. *D g F.*, I, 360.



There still remains one source generally regarded as testifying to the existence of the *Hrómundar saga* in the Icelandic saga period, which I have purposely left to the last because of the very anomalous and doubtful character of its evidence, the *Málsháttakvæði*, as christened by Vigfússon. This has been published by Möbius,<sup>1</sup> by Vigfússon,<sup>2</sup> by Wisén,<sup>3</sup> and finally in diplomatic edition by F. Jónsson.<sup>4</sup> It is found in Codex Regius of the *Snorra Edda* written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in which MS it follows the *Jómsvíkinga drápa* of the Orkney bishop, Bjarni Kolbeinsson († 1222). For this reason and because both bear lyric expression to the experience of disappointed love, Möbius advanced the hypothesis that the *Málsháttakvæði* might also be the work of Bishop Bjarni.<sup>5</sup> That it was written in along with the other because of this similarity is conceivable enough, but it is no argument at all for its being the work of the same poet. In so far as there is any similarity whatever in the two poems it lies in this one motif, which is typical of the *mansöngur*, a literary type well known in Iceland in the thirteenth century or earlier, as Möbius' examples<sup>6</sup> show. One could with almost equal right argue that a good majority of the *rímur* were composed by Bishop Bjarni. As to the occurrence of the two on the same parchment of the fourteenth century, that is very far from being an argument for the common authorship. One could with the same right argue that both were the work of Snorri. Now this remarkable poem, whose satisfactory interpretation is still a desideratum of Old Norse literary history, mentions in stanza 7 a *Hrómundr*, who, it has been generally assumed, is the identical Gripsson of our saga. This passage gives us unfortunately very little information; it asserts merely that *Hrómundr* was regarded as "*garpr ok slægr*." Of these two adjectives *garpr* is of no consequence, as it can be applied indifferently to any hero, *slægr* is much less general and might be of value, but unfortunately the *Hrómund* of the *rímur* (and there is no reason to suppose that these do not

<sup>1</sup> *Ergänzungsband d. Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philol.* (1874), 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus poeticum boreale*, II (1883), 363 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Carmina norræna*, I (1886), 73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Smádykkir uddgiene af Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, pp. 283 ff., 1889.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

reproduce the lost saga in this respect at least) can under no circumstances whatever be called *slægr*. The possibility that it is another Hrómundr in question or that Hrómundr has come in through a textual or other corruption in place of an original other name, e.g., Helgi,<sup>1</sup> must be considered. But in case we insist that Hrómundr is correct and even in spite of all evidence to the contrary that it is Hrómundr Gripsson and no other the author had in mind, the question must still be considered whether the poem is older than 1250, the *terminus a quo* set by us for the composition of the *lygisaga* of Hrómundr Gripsson. An attempt has been made by Eiríkr Magnússon<sup>2</sup> to prove that the poem was composed about 1300, and, however much some of his contentions may have been weakened by F. Jónsson's reply,<sup>3</sup> the positive weight of the latter's arguments fails to convince one that the poem is not Icelandic,<sup>4</sup> while the contention of Magnússon that the allusion to Eljarnir (Eleazar) must rest upon knowledge of the *Gyðinga saga* (translation by Bishop Brandr Jónsson of the books of Maccabees shortly after middle of the thirteenth century) can hardly be dismissed so lightly as Jónsson would.<sup>5</sup> As giving any reliable evidence of the existence of the saga of Hrómundr Gripsson before the middle of the thirteenth century this allusion of the *Málsháttakvæði* may then be discarded, while its application to this saga at all is very doubtful and, in case it be accepted, valueless.

The literary history of the saga of Hrómundr Gripsson is then the following: Hrómundr was the reputed common ancestor of the two first permanent Norwegian settlers in Iceland, Ingólfr and Hjørleifr. Tradition made him out to have been a peasant living in Telemarken, in Norway. Sometime during the latter half of the thirteenth century in Iceland he was made the hero of a fictitious saga (*lygisaga*), an adventure previously ascribed to his great-grandson Hjørleifr suggesting one of the main themes. He was genealogically connected with a hero of the *Hálfs saga*, who had come in the latter part of the thirteenth century to play a leading rôle

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Helga kviða Hundingsbana*, II, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1888, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Aarbøger*, 1890, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mogk, *Pauls Grundriss*, II<sup>3</sup>, 696, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

in that saga, and various heroic legends and other literary materials were plundered to fill out the new saga. It became very popular, as frequent allusions, notably that in the *Sturlunga*, show. In the course of the fourteenth century it was drawn upon for material by the author of an *Andra saga* and reached in some way Denmark, where we find it converted into a Danish ballad, which in a later revised form also reached Norway and Sweden. Of this ballad the earliest (Danish) records date from the middle of the sixteenth century. Only in Norway, by a singular coincidence in Telemarken, the home of the original *Hrómundr*, does it appear to have lived on well into the nineteenth century. By the close of the fourteenth century the saga must have received a very material interpolation from a saga whose hero was *Helgi Haddingjaskati*, and this version of the saga was converted into poetic form in the *Griplur* about or shortly after 1400. The *Griplur* lived on through oral transmission for at least a century, as different records of them show, perhaps much longer. With the revival of interest in the older literature which marks the seventeenth century in Iceland, various copies of older MSS were made and a *Hrómundar kvæði* composed, based upon the *rímur*. At about the same time (seventeenth century) a poor copy of the *rímur* formed the basis for a *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*, which, as well as the *kvæði*, is preserved. In his youthful years the Icelandic poet, Assessor Benedikt Grøndal (1762–1825), is said to have composed *rímur* of *Hrómund Greipsson*,<sup>1</sup> based then apparently upon this seventeenth-century saga, which are, however, not preserved.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Kvæði Benedikts Grøndals*, *Vibeyjar Klaustri* (1833), p. iv, footnote 3.



## GERMAN ESTIMATES OF NOVALIS FROM 1800 TO 1850

There is no more significant phenomenon in the literary world of the present time than that presented by the revival of interest in the personality and writings of Novalis. His works are now being eagerly read and discussed almost everywhere and new editions of them are constantly appearing. Like many another man of genius, Novalis had to pass through a period of neglect and misunderstanding. There is, perhaps, no other writer of equal fame with Novalis whose public recognition has been so slow and about whom the literary critics have differed so widely in opinion. From the extravagant praise of his contemporaries to the scathing criticism of Young Germany, the controversy over Novalis has raged through many generations. It was not until toward the close of the nineteenth century, when a new movement under the name "Symbolism," or "neo-Romanticism," originating in France and Belgium, began to spread over all Europe, that a widespread appreciation of his works became evident. This increasing appreciation is due, no doubt, to a fundamental sympathy between the poet and the spirit of our age.

Novalis has outlived the generation which made him. A whole literature has sprung up about him, which continues to grow and enlist public interest a whole century after his death. It may therefore be taken for granted that he has contributed something new and of abiding value to the world's fund of knowledge. And while Novalis will cease to be magnified and will no longer be idolized, he will still not be destroyed, but will have a high and distinctive place in the annals of German poetry.

When Novalis died (March 25, 1801), he was well-nigh unknown to the public. Only a fraction of his works had been published: a cycle of poems ("Blumen") and political aphorisms ("Glaube und Liebe") in the *Jahrbücher der preussischen Monarchie* (1798), several *Fragmente* ("Blütenstaub"), and a long, somewhat obscure poem ("Hymnen an die Nacht"), in the *Athenaeum*, the literary organ of the Romantic school. The novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* remained a fragment.

The members of the first Romantic school deeply mourned the loss of their young friend. His early death shed a romantic halo over the incidents of his life, which were in themselves sufficiently pathetic. His works became a sacred legacy to them. When the plan was discussed to finish *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, Friedrich Schlegel quite indignantly expressed himself against it. In the Introduction to the first edition of Novalis' works published jointly by Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel, a year after the poet's death, the editors declined commenting on his writings.

It cannot be our purpose [says Tieck] to recommend the following works, or to judge them. Any judgment delivered at this stage of the matter would be a premature and unripe one; for a spirit of such originality must first be comprehended, his will understood, and his loving intention felt and replied to, so that not till his ideas have taken root in other minds and brought forth new ideas, shall we see rightly, from the historical sequence, what place he himself occupied, and what relation to his country he truly bore.<sup>1</sup>

This edition of Novalis' works attracted little attention. It was not even mentioned by contemporary critics. The literary and aesthetic journals in Berlin, Leipzig, and Jena, on the whole hostile to the Romantic movement, ignored the poet entirely and maintained an aristocratic reserve as to his writings. However, Schlichtegroll's *Nekrolog*<sup>2</sup> brought forth a short biographical article on Novalis from the pen of the *Kreissamtmann* (district magistrate) Just. This article is important for various reasons. It was written, before the "romantische Legende" about Novalis was known, by a man who knew Novalis better than anyone else and who remained intimately associated with him, especially at the critical period in his life. Just bears testimony to the faithfulness with which Novalis applied himself to his duties in the salt mines; he describes him as a practical business man, being able to adjust himself to the plainest duties of life. He writes:

From all he sought to learn. He patiently studied the merest trifles and peculiarities which present themselves for observation in each particular salt mine, and devoted to this matter the utmost pains. . . . He was not unfitted for the work by his great power of thought and poetic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. reprint in Minor's Introduction to *Novalis Schriften* (Jena, 1907), I, p. III.

<sup>2</sup> Gotha, 1805, IV, 181-241. Reprint Minor, I, pp. xlix ff.

aspirations, but the reverse. . . . Many hours he spent in the mines with the air of one confused who dwells in another region, but still in his inmost spirit he worked constantly with the possibility of practical improvement always before him. . . . I had to exert all my faculties to satisfy his keen spirit of investigation, which could never rest satisfied with any commonplace, routine views. . . . He was perfectly at home among men of business, and was admired by all associates in the mines for quite other qualities than literary ones. Everything he did, he did thoroughly, never superficially.<sup>1</sup>

Referring to the time after the death of his betrothed, Just remarks that Novalis had risen above the morbid sentiment and fancy which had threatened to paralyze his powers, and began to look forward to noble work in the world. In spite of the fact that his heart was deeply wounded, his fancy was alert, not wildly, but under the strong constraint of judgment; and ever afterward, to the end, his life appears to have been more than usually cheerful and happy.<sup>2</sup>

I am quite satisfied that Just had a definite purpose in view when he so strongly emphasized these characteristic traits of his friend. It is abundantly evident that, in the Romantic circle, Novalis was considered a tragic person, a mystic, a ghost-seer, a visionary enthusiast, a St. John, a new Christ. "He has palpably changed," Fr. Schlegel writes, "his face has become longer; he has the veritable eyes of a ghost-seer; they have a lusterless stare." And again, in addressing Novalis, he says: "Your spirit stood nearest to me in my efforts to lay hold upon the truths of the unseen world. . . . I purpose to establish a new religion, or rather to help promulgate it. But perhaps you are better suited for the Christ of the new gospel, who will find in me a valiant apostle."<sup>3</sup> The same term is used by Dorothea Veit with reference to Novalis.

Schleiermacher bewails the early death of his beloved friend in the following words: "No doubt Novalis, in addition to all else, would have become a great artist if he had been vouchsafed us longer. That, however, was impossible. He was a tragic person for this world [*ein dem Tode Geweihter*]. And even his very fate seems to be a part of his real nature."<sup>4</sup> In one of his "Discourses on Religion" he speaks of Novalis as—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Minor, pp. lx, lxxiv, lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Minor, p. lxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Minor, *Fried. Schlegel's Jugendschriften*, II, 307.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dilthey, *Aus Schleiermachers Leben. In Briefen* (Berlin, 1860), I, 324.

the divine young man, too early fallen asleep, to whom everything which touched his soul was art, whose whole contemplation of the world became a mighty poem, who, although he did scarcely more than utter the first tones of his voice, must be numbered among those rare spirits to whom is granted no less depth than clearness of life. In him we behold the power at once of the enthusiasm and the self-possession of a reverent mind; and we must confess that, when all philosophers shall be religious and seek for God, like Spinoza, and all artists shall be pious and love Christ, like Novalis, then will the mighty resurrection of both worlds be inaugurated.

A. W. Schlegel, in speaking of Novalis, uses this simile: "He was like a bird of passage, tired from its flights over immeasurable oceans, stopping on a green island, and forgetting there its former fatherland, and the vast regions of free thought."

Tieck, with whom Novalis formed a life-long friendship, was the first to bring Novalis before the public. In the Preface to the first edition of the collected writings of the poet (1802; reprint in Minor's edition of Novalis' works, Vol. I) he gives a sketch of the author's life. But Tieck presents the personality of Novalis in only one attitude. He magnifies the romantic and mystical element in his friend, and leaves others wholly out of view. Most readers, even highly educated ones, rested content with the ideas derived from this sketch, and were not impelled to a study of Novalis' works for themselves. To many it seemed irreverent to take up a critical analysis of his writings. This is the case with Carlyle, who brought Novalis' works to the notice of the English people.

It is a most generous eulogistic tribute which Tieck pays his friend:

Thus died, before he had completed his twenty-ninth year, our excellent friend, in whom all must esteem and admire as well his extensive knowledge and philosophical genius as his poetical talents. As he was so much beyond his age, his country might have expected from him extraordinary things had he not been carried off by a premature death. Still the unfinished writings he has left behind have already exerted much influence; and his mighty thoughts will stir up enthusiasm in many a breast and generous spirit, and deep thinkers will feel themselves enlightened and enkindled by the sparks of his genius.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of the time immediately following the death of his betrothed, Tieck says:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Minor, I, p. xx.



At this period Novalis lived only for his grief; it had become natural to him to consider the visible and invisible world as but one, and to separate life and death only by his desire for the latter. For him existence assumed a glorified aspect, and his whole life flowed along as in a clear conscious dream of a higher state of being. The sanctity of grief, deep inward love, and pious aspirations after death, pervaded his whole being and all its creations; nay, it is very possible that it was this period of profound sorrow which sowed in his constitution the germs of death, had it not been his predestined fate to be snatched away from us so early.<sup>1</sup>

As to the second engagement of Novalis, Tieck finds it necessary to make a sort of apology that his friend should have been affianced to another girl a year after the demise of Sophie. He admits that "perhaps to any but his intimate friends it may seem singular"; he asserts, notwithstanding, that "Sophie remained the center of his thoughts; nay, as one departed, she received from him a worship almost more devoted than when she was yet visible and near." And hurrying on, almost as over an unsafe subject, Tieck declares that Novalis "felt, nevertheless, as if beauty and amiability might, in some degree, compensate the loss he had sustained."<sup>2</sup> And so Tieck leaves us to our own reflection on the matter.

It was mainly due to Tieck that a "romantische Legende" about Novalis was formed and spread. The poet was considered a gloomy, melancholy mystic, a poetic dreamer, reveling in remote spiritual realms of fancy, a ghost-seer and visionary enthusiast, brooding over his loss, living only for his grief, a seraphic figure, "born on this earth, as it were, by a divine mistake, his eyes turned heavenward, waiting anxiously for the time of release from the bondage of earthly limitation."<sup>3</sup>

There is certainly a bit of truth in this characterization of Novalis, but unfortunately this has become the entire truth. Just was intensely surprised at this, and took a great deal of pains to put the matter in a true light and refute the wrong impressions. He represents Novalis as a cheerful, happy person, a zealous, conscientious, and steady official, a practical and trustworthy business man; not as a moping recluse, but as a partaker of worldly pleasures which appeal to youth.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Minor, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Minor, p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. M. Wernier, *Romanticism* (New York and London, 1910), 212.

Steffens, who met Novalis at Jena and upon whom he made a profound impression, gives us an admirable characterization of Novalis.

There was an ethereal glow in his deep eyes; he was a poet in the truest sense. His whole existence, the whole meaning of life, was to him a profound mythos. From the world of mythical existence in which he lived the images of our own world looked out, sometimes clearly, sometimes obscurely. He cannot be called a mystic in the ordinary sense of the word, for the common mystic believes himself imprisoned by the world of sense, seeking behind it a profound mystery which is to reveal to him his true spiritual being and liberty, but to Novalis this sacred realm beyond was not an unsolvable mystery, but his original home, clearly perceived by him; from here, he looked out upon the world of sense and judged its relations. This mythos, instinctively a part of his nature, opened to him the secret doors of philosophy, the sciences, the arts, and the minds of great men. The wonderful charm and melody of his style were not the result of study, but the natural expression of his being; therefore he was as much at home in the scientific world as in the world of poesy, and the profoundest thoughts could no more conceal their relationship with the fairy tale than the most fantastic fairy tale could conceal its hidden meanings.<sup>1</sup>

Adam Müller, a mystic and reactionary thinker, a typical example of Romantic politics, who, as Gottschall has aptly said, pursued in politics the quest of Novalis' blue flower, delivered in 1806 a series of lectures on German literature and science, in which he speaks of Novalis with unstinted praise. He calls him the restorer of Platonic idealism in literature and science. "If ever a man seemed called to the office of an intermediary between German science and science in general; in short, if ever one seemed destined to be a reincarnation, under fundamentally different conditions, of Plato himself—that man was Novalis. He wished to conquer the world with the spirit of poetry."<sup>2</sup>

Of all the members of the first Romantic school Schelling is the only one who does not share the enthusiasm of his fellow-members for Novalis. He allows his satirical wit free play whenever he speaks of him. When A. W. Schlegel sent him Novalis' works, he wrote: "I cannot endure this levity of trying one's hands on objects without exhausting one of them."<sup>3</sup> And we know that the poem

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Steffens, *Was ich erlebte*, IV, 320 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Müller, *Vorlesungen über die deutsche Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1807), 73.

<sup>3</sup> Plitt, *Aus Schellings Leben* (Leipzig, 1869), 431-32.

"Heinz der Widerporst," which contains Schelling's epicurean confession of faith, was principally directed against Novalis.

Goethe, who at a certain time of his life stood very close to the Romanticists, although never a partisan of them—he followed a different ideal—appreciated the genius of the poet Novalis. According to Joh. Falk, he is supposed to have said: "Novalis was not a supreme genius, but in time he might have become one. It's a great pity that he died so young, especially in view of the fact that he had obliged his age by becoming a Catholic."<sup>1</sup> That this latter statement is wildly astray no student of Novalis will need to be told. Goethe, or rather Falk, no doubt had in mind the younger brother of the poet, Karl von Hardenberg, who had turned Catholic.

Schiller, as is well known, always maintained ostensibly a very cool and critical attitude toward the efforts of the Romantic writers. The romantic idealism of Novalis did not appeal to him. He rejected his enthusiasm for the Middle Ages; his morbid mysticism and predilection for Catholicism were repugnant to him. Schiller's wife, however, admired the genius revealed in the works of the young poet. In her sorrow over the death of her husband she found consolation in his writings, and his poems brightened her sad hours. The charm and simplicity of his thoughts deeply moved her and gave her new inspiration.

Theo. Körner showed special interest in Novalis' "Hymnen." He finds in them "viel Gutes," and is greatly pleased with the "lieblichen Bilder."

J. Paul, on the other hand, maintained, throughout his life, a rather critical attitude toward Novalis. He calls him "einen Seiten- und Wahlverwandten der poetischen Nihilisten, wenigstens deren Lehnsvetter."<sup>2</sup> He places Novalis among those gifted men, "bei deren wahrer, echter Tendenz man den Mangel von einem oder mehreren Beinen nachsehen müsse," and compares him with the "Mannweiber, die im Empfangen zu zeugen glauben." The productions of Novalis, he says, are "teils Sternchen, teils rote Wolken, Tautropfen eines schönen, poetischen Morgens."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Falk, *Goethe aus näherem persönlichen Umgange dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1836), 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Werke* (Hempel ed.), XXXIX, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

In the second edition of Brockhaus' *Conversationslexicon* (appeared 1812-15) we find this statement: "We can say, without being misunderstood, that Novalis was a poetic mediator between God and mankind, a divine youth and celestial being, who came from the spirit world, passed over earth, and returned again, but too soon, to what he regarded as his true home."

The poets of the so-called "Spätromantik" show great admiration for Novalis, with the possible exception of Achim von Arnim and Cl. Brentano. When the former read *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, he exclaimed: "This stupidly pedantic peasants' jargon all through it, this boring fairy-story, if one cannot guess at its meaning and with its lack of significance, if one does not know it."<sup>1</sup> And Brentano fully agrees with him: "Concerning *Ofterdingen* I agree with you. All the characters in it seem to have fishes' tails, all flesh seems to be salmon. In reading it I feel a queer physical repulsion."<sup>2</sup>

The mystical, fantastic Zach. Werner, the *bête-noire* and representative-in-chief of mysticism in German literature, compares Novalis with Wackenroder, using the term "Sionsblumen, die zu früh schon geknickt wurden." He writes: "Of all the new saints I recognize only the saint Novalis."<sup>3</sup> He calls him the "incomparable genius for art who has returned to the light which mirrored itself in him." Novalis and Werner had much in common: the allegorical allusions, the mystical sensuality, and the "Todeserotik." Like Novalis, in his *Ofterdingen*, so Werner, in a number of romantic melodramas, describes his heroes as monkish ascetics, religious mystics, and spirits who wander on earth in the guise of harp-players. One of his plays opens significantly with a scene of the Novalis-type, miners going down into and being drawn up from a mine.

Eichendorff, to whom Novalis opened a new dream-world, rich in promise, recognizes Novalis as a great poet. He declares him an apostle of modern times, the most sincere and perfect representative of the first Romantic school who had the courage to tell the educated people of his time plainly and frankly that modern culture is based entirely on Christianity and must be traced back to this

<sup>1</sup> R. Stelg, *Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Poppenberg, *Zach. Werner* (Berlin, 1893), 54.

foundation, if it is to be of any value. "The poetry of Novalis," he says, "is a prophetic poetry, a poetry of the future and of longing; his spiritual songs are incomparably beautiful 'durch ihr herzliches Heimweh.'"<sup>1</sup> Eichendorff says that Novalis intended to build up a church which should comprise all religions, without any special dogma and definite organization.<sup>2</sup>

The poet of the blue flower almost became a blue flower to E. Th. A. Hoffmann, beyond question the most brilliantly endowed of the later Romanticists. His nature is, in many respects, similar to Novalis', and he has borrowed many motives from him. In the *Serapionsbrüder* we find many references to Novalis and his works.<sup>3</sup> The narrative of the old miner in *Ofterdingen* occurs again in almost the same form in Hoffmann's *Bergwerken*. And in emulation of Novalis' *Ofterdingen* Hoffmann narrates a contest of minstrelsy on the Wartburg. In the *Phantasiestücke* he pays a high tribute to Novalis:

The blue flower reminds me of a dead poet, who belonged to the purest that ever lived. His childlike mind reflected the purest poetry and his pious life was a hymn dedicated to the highest Being and the wonders of Nature. In order to understand him it is necessary to descend with him into the deepest depth and to bring to light, as from an eternally productive mine, all the wonderful combinations by which Nature welds her appearances into one; a task for which, to be sure, most men lack inner strength and courage.<sup>4</sup>

Heinrich von Kleist was profoundly impressed by the personality and writings of Novalis, as may be seen from his correspondence with his sister. He intended to publish the works of the poet and asked Wieland's advice in this matter. His biographer tells us that a copy of the "Hymnen an die Nacht" was found beside him, when he, together with Henriette Vogel, committed suicide.

Thus we see that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century Novalis enjoyed wide popularity. We must, however, bear in mind that the gentleness, sincerity, and piety of the young poet tended to make his admirers blind to the defects of his writings.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jos. Freiherr von Eichendorff, *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands* (Paderborn, 1866 [3d ed.]), 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Werke* (Grisebach ed.), VII, 15; cf. also p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 132.

Meanwhile Novalis began to attract notice from the critics and literary historians. Koberstein, in his treatment of the Romantic movement (*Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, 1st ed., 1827), tries to separate Romanticism from the literary circle in Berlin, especially from the society of the Jewish salons, that group of clever young Jewesses who represented the noblest, freest intellectual life of Berlin. However, Koberstein entirely misunderstood the tendency of this circle. He declares that Novalis was at one time, to all intents and purposes, a Catholic. He is quite emphatic in his treatment of the matter, asserting not only the Catholicism of Novalis, but taking him as the special type and spokesman in this respect.

Novalis [he says], in his whole religious way of thinking, and according to his historical views—however near the former might approach pantheism—inclined toward Catholicism in its mediaeval hierarchical form and historical significance. From his fragment ["Christenheit oder Europa"] can best be seen what ideas relating to religion and its connections with all the higher directions of life, were talked about at that time [1799] in the circle of Romantics at Jena, what hopes they connected with a rebirth of true Catholicism.<sup>1</sup>

Such a suspicion that Novalis was a Catholic could only have arisen through forgetfulness of the fact that, at the serene elevation at which Novalis habitually dwelt, the little geometric fences which cut up the great field of Christianity into petty angular sectarian garden-spots were almost invisible.

Koberstein's discussion of the "Hymnen an die Nacht" and "Geistliche Lieder" abounds in the highest praise for this poetry, but with regard to *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, he blames the author for obscurity. He calls the work "a dreamy and misty structure of the imagination in which now reality became vision, now vision became reality, and where at last everything results more or less in mysticism and allegory."<sup>2</sup>

In 1827, Wolfgang Menzel, well known as a critical and polemic writer of the National school, published his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. This work is an interesting document of the literary taste of the age. Menzel was a hot-headed graduate of the patriotic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Koberstein (5th ed., 1873), IV, 794 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 816.

student clubs and became the leader of a crusade against Goethe's sovereignty in German literature, leading his attack with a display of cleverness and wit which was worthy of a better cause. Menzel draws a comparison between Goethe and the Romantic writers, especially Tieck and Novalis, and attempts to pit the former against Goethe as the true successor in the line of German poetry. He takes the stand that German Romanticism was opposed to the French Revolution and its consequences, as well as to its primitive cause, i.e., the modern element. "In Novalis," he says, "the mystic-mindedness of the ancient Romanticism seemed again revived. He had no sympathy with single or limited phenomena; only the whole world could be the matter which he undertook to treat in a poetical spirit."<sup>1</sup> The novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* contains the poet's entire philosophy. In this work Novalis—

entertained the monstrous thought of showing the universe on its poetical side, even on every poetical side at the same time; of linking together everything that has a being, nature, mind, and history, in one boundless poetry; of building together every imaginable beauty in one great cathedral of poetry. He has therefore adopted not merely heaven and earth into his poem but also the views, the belief, the myths of all nations. Yet the too presumptuous poet was overcome by the richness of the matter; he was like the Titan, when he attempted to become God, crushed under the mountains which he himself had piled up. What remains of his work, is an immense torso, broken before it was completed, an Egyptian temple, on a gigantic plan, only begun, yet already half destroyed, and covered with hieroglyphics.<sup>2</sup>

The characters in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* are mere personified ideas incorporated into the mighty system of ideas. Menzel greatly admired the lovely simplicity of the lyric poems; they form, as he says, a moving and surprising contrast to the world-allegory *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* and the *Fragmente*.<sup>3</sup>

The journal *Isis*, founded by Oken, professor of medicine in Jena, in 1829, contained a short article under the title, "Novalis, ein Naturdichter." The author, Theodor Brück, points out that in Novalis poetic and nature-sense were intimately united. "In Novalis the spirit of poetry and the sense for nature have interpenetrated each other completely, even though the first is occasionally

<sup>1</sup> Menzel, *German Literature*, IV, 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 140

predominant. His poetry is animated by nature; his view of nature inspired by poetry."

✓ The members of the literary group called Young Germany are on the whole hostile to the Romantic movement. They repudiate the Romantic spirit and laugh to scorn the "mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht," and the quixotic search for the "blaue Blume." They place themselves in direct opposition to the dream- and wonderland of the fantasy of the Romantic writers, and turn from metaphysical dreams and mediaeval poetry to the social questions of the moment, from sentimental enthusiasm and pietistic mysticism to realistic study and practical activity. These Young Germans had neither understanding nor sympathy for Novalis; to them he offered little and promised even less. His mystic fervor, his dream-world of mediaevalism, his longing did not appeal to these reformers.

By far the most gifted of these writers is Heinrich Heine. His essay *Die romantische Schule* is a most fascinating book, which is equally remarkable for its "epigrammatic brilliancy, its striking originality, and its utter injustice and unreliability." The object of the book is a satire on the Romantic school, dictated by the author's radicalism as well as his sagacity. There is a mixture of truth and justice in all he says, while his prejudices are so obvious as to bring their own antidote with them. Heine labors under one great disadvantage; he isolates the phenomena and sets aside too harshly the law of historical development. He attacks the movement to which he nominally belonged, with a mockery and bitterness of which Heine alone is capable. But even Heine, so bitterly hostile to what he termed "the neo-Teutonic-religious-patriotic school of art," forgets his scornful criticisms in the presence of the beautiful soul of Novalis. He pities Tieck, he assails the Schlegels with unspeakable fury and contempt; but the life and spirit of Novalis touch the poet's heart, and he speaks almost affectionately of the sad "mystic who saw all about him only wonders, and those, too, wonders of beauty, who learned the language of the plants, who knew the secret of every budding rose, who identified himself at last with all Nature, and when autumn came and the leaves fell, bowed his head, too, meekly, and died."<sup>1</sup> "Novalis," Heine continues, "is a true mystic and

<sup>1</sup> *Sämliche Werke* (Elster ed.), V, 301.



belongs to those poets who are absorbed with all their human feelings into Nature and at last begin to feel in common with it."<sup>1</sup> In comparing Novalis with Hoffmann, he remarks:

Hoffmann did not belong to the Romantic school, but Novalis was really a poet of that kind. Men of true genius and poetic nature by far preferred Novalis. But Hoffmann was as a poet far superior to Novalis, for the latter never touches the earth with his ideal forms, while Hoffmann, with all his old imps, sticks to earthly reality. The great resemblance between these poets lies in this, that in both their poetry is really a malady, and in this relation it has been declared that judgment as to their works was rather the business of a physician than of a critic.<sup>2</sup>

We know Heine's story of the young girl, sister of the postmistress near Göttingen, who read consumption out of Novalis' romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.<sup>3</sup>

Heinrich Laube, one of the leaders of Young Germany, expresses his view on Novalis, in his *History of German Literature* (1840), in these words:

Novalis is the genuine bird of paradise of whom it is said that he is without feet and must always float in the air. Everything in him is raised above the common earth. To him all poetry is magic. He is the pure and youthful type of the Romantic idea, with all its malady and beauty. He was himself ill, ill unto death, from his youth on, but clothed in and transfigured by the rosy breath of earthly yearning. The seed of an early death arising from his pulmonary disease attuned all his organs to seraphic vibrations, purified every impulse to disembodied ecstasy.<sup>4</sup>

Theo. Mundt, another leader of the Young Germans, and professor and university librarian in Berlin, in his *Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart* (1843), points out the interrelation between the Romantic movement and Young Germany. In his discussion he calls the Romanticists the poetic apostles of human rights and enjoyment of life. It would be interesting to see how Mundt would apply this definition to the personality and writings of Novalis. Unfortunately he does nothing of the kind. His view on Novalis is more or less an echo of Laube's utterances. "Novalis," he says, "exhausted himself to force everything into his inner nature. While he, so to speak, concentrated himself always upon the centrality of his inner life, he

<sup>1</sup> *Sämtliche Werke* (Elster ed.), V, 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. III, 152 f.

preserved neither freedom enough nor power enough to step out of the circle and there to objectify to himself the content of his own soul."<sup>1</sup>

Of all the members of Young Germany none seems to have entered so deeply into Novalis' character as Arnold Ruge, in his *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte der neueren Zeit*, a work which at the present time is almost forgotten, which however contains many just criticisms of writers and deserves to be quoted more frequently than has been the case. With characteristic penetration Ruge attempts to indicate the precise position of Novalis in the Romantic movement. He gives a sympathetic account of his works; he regards Novalis as the St. John of the new gospel, the spiritual father of Romanticism. The inner world of Novalis is the soul, with its strange nocturnal gloom, in which he melts down everything to find, at the bottom of the crucible, as the gold of the soul, night, disease, mysticism, and voluptuousness. "Mysticism is a fundamental element in the art of Novalis, and it gives charm and color to his descriptions."<sup>2</sup>

The South German poets, generally called the Swabian school of poetry, are friendly to Novalis. Ludwig Uhland has drawn inspiration from him and imbibed a warm form of thought and feeling and a number of productive impulses. Justinus Kerner quite frequently refers to Novalis in his letters. He is surprised to hear that Novalis was an entirely different person in life from what he had inferred from his writings. He writes to Uhland: "It makes a strange impression and is very annoying to imagine Novalis as an official [*Amtshauptmann*]."<sup>3</sup>

Gustav Schwab and F. H. Meyer, also South German writers, greatly admired Novalis and eagerly read his works. And even the last Swabian poet, Joh. Georg Fischer, was fascinated by his writings and voiced his high appreciation in a long poem.

Hebbel and Grillparzer show a decided antipathy toward the young poet. In discussing Novalis' opposition to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, Hebbel says: "Novalis is justified in calling *Wilhelm Meister* a prosaic novel only in so far as the entire world appears prosaic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1846), III, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sämliche Werke* (Mannheim, 1848), I, 249.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Briefwechsel mit seinen Freunden*, I, 95.

to him."<sup>1</sup> In his diary we find this scornful utterance: "Novalis had the peculiar idea, because the entire world affected him as a poet, of making it the subject of his poesy. It is about the same as if the human heart, feeling its relation to the body, would draw in this entire body."<sup>2</sup> Hebbel agrees with J. Paul in calling Novalis "einen poetischen Nihilisten."

Grillparzer is even more severe in his condemnation of Novalis than Hebbel. "Novalisvergötterung des Dilettantismus," he writes, "ein Franz Sternbald, Objekt und Subjekt zugleich; ein Wilh. Meister, ohne Freibrief, in seinen Lehrjahren verfangen ewiglich."<sup>3</sup>

Among the older historians of German literature, Vilmar has contributed much toward spreading a higher conception of Novalis among his contemporaries. He seemed to have a true understanding of the full significance of his works. His discussion stimulated and did much to develop enthusiasm for the poet. Vilmar compares Novalis with the educated youth of his time; he maintains that Novalis has exercised by far a greater influence on German thought and ideals than the classics.<sup>4</sup> He emphatically denies the idea that plain, practical people would get no help whatever from Novalis. The novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, however, Vilmar considers a failure as a work of art. He calls the style affected, inclined to be mystical and obscure, and pronounces the conception as well as the execution of the whole plan poor and unfortunate.<sup>5</sup>

The literary historian Gervinus, in his *History of German Poetry* (1835), treats the Romantic poets in a relatively small chapter and does not do them justice. He views them in the light of the excesses into which they fell. He asserts that Novalis was looked upon by his friends as the divine prophet of Romanticism. But their admiration and love was purely artificial, "eine Art literarische Mystifikation," whereby they tried to deceive the people. Already in the next generation many persons no longer knew that there was a poet Novalis, or who he was.<sup>6</sup> Gervinus maintains the standpoint that Novalis was after all a prosaic nature, a clever rhapsodist, playing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tagebücher*, II, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 386.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sämtliche Werke* (Sauer ed.), 18, 84.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (Marburg, 1886 [23d ed.]), 474.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 473.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Leipzig, 1853), V, 655.

the rôle of a mystifier. He points out that his romanticism was the product of a morbid and perverse spirit in conflict with every healthy and progressive tendency of the age. The disease of his romanticism consisted in excessive subjectiveness, intense hyperidealism, and voluptuousness. Because his poetic eye was constantly turned inward, he was absolutely unable to produce any plastic form.

Hillebrand (*Deutsche Nationalliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert*) follows on the whole Gervinus. He looks upon Novalis as the apostle of mediaeval Catholicism.<sup>1</sup> In the romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, with every step the presentation falls more and more away into the incomprehensible. The poet concerns himself with the most supernal matters, which from their very nature cannot be embodied objectively. The work lacks firm delineation of life; everything is dissolved in a mist of transcendentalism and allegory. The "Hymnen an die Nacht" are deeply thoughtful notes, full of lament and melancholy rapture and burning pain. They represent a familiarity with darkness and death, with perfect freedom from their terrors.

A very scholarly work on the Romantic school, in its relation to Goethe and Schiller, appeared in 1850, from the pen of Hettner. The author shows in this book that both Goethe and Schiller shared in the error of supposing that a true poetry could be artificially created in an unpoetic age, that poetry did not have its source in its time and environment, but could venture to defy them. The common basis of the Romantic school and of the Classicists is idealism, but this idealism may be subjective or objective. Goethe, and to a less degree Schiller, were objective, and in so far they were realists; the Romantic poets abandoned reality wholly. They did not seek to create from it, but they set the imagination to overcome it. This phase of Romanticism attained to its most perfect type in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. "Novalis," Hettner says, "relegated everything to the inner life, the inner world. The visible world, with its material pleasure, seemed to him a chaotic dream; he created an invisible world, in which he lived while still bound by the flesh. . . . In the novel the poet lives only in the dream-wonderland of his fantasy. There is no *terra firma* here, but through all the sweetest lyric and frostiest symbolism are mingled, until

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jos. Hillebrand, *Die deutsche Nationalliteratur* (Hamburg und Gotha, 1846), III, 315 ff.

at last all flows together in one great, bottomless allegory."<sup>1</sup> Novalis may be regarded as the most complete embodiment of that phase of Romanticism which he himself called magic idealism, a kind of hyper-mysticism based on Schelling's philosophy of the absolute, in which thoughts are confounded with things, and all natural phenomena reduced to symbols of ideas. The fragment "Christenheit oder Europa" is a memorable document of the Catholic views of Novalis. Hettner says: "Here the Catholicism of Novalis leaps up armored and victorious to meet us, as Athena at her birth leaped from the head of Jove."<sup>2</sup>

Hettner classes Novalis' hymns as the best that German literature has produced. In these songs Christian devotion speaks in the purest and most worthy form. In them the common Christian element is so pervasive that they are alike suited for all confessions. These songs form the bridge from the Romantic school to the people. Through them Novalis has exercised the most powerful influence upon the development of literature. They soon became, with the majority of the German people, the works *par excellence* of Novalis.

Summing up now in brief the main drift of the opinions of Novalis entertained by Germans during the first half of the nineteenth century, I may say: The members of the older Romantic school consider Novalis a mystic, a divine being, a tragic person, a ghost-seer, a new Christ. Schelling and J. Paul do not share the enthusiasm of their contemporaries for the young poet, but maintain a rather critical attitude toward him. The poets of the so-called "Spätromantik" show great admiration for him, with the possible exception of Arnim and Brentano. The general attitude of Young Germany, Hebbel, and Grillparzer toward Novalis is decidedly unfriendly. Among the older historians of German literature, Vilmar has contributed much toward a higher conception of the poet, while Menzel and Gervinus, on the other hand, play the rôle of uncompromising opponents of Novalis and the Romantic movement in general. Hettner's criticisms are sane and dispassionate, recognizing clearly the excellences of Novalis' works, but no less clearly their defects.

J. F. HAUSSMANN

MADISON, WIS.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hettner, *Die romantische Schule* (Braunschweig, 1850), 84.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.



## DUECHO ONCE MORE

In the course of a review of Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik*, just published in *The Romanic Review* II 331, Mr. Lang devotes more than one page (334-35) to my etymology of *Duecho* (*Mod. Phil.* VII ['09] 53). Although the tone in which his remarks are made is not warranted by the circumstances, I shall concern myself here wholly with questions of fact.

In § 2 (p. 54) of my article I make the following statement: "Lang, *ZrP.* XXXII p. 394, refers [in the body of an article]<sup>1</sup> for *doito de* etc. to O.Sp. *duecho* and Prov. *duch*, [and in a footnote (3) appended to *duecho*]<sup>1</sup> to Lanchetas (who deserves no mention),<sup>2</sup> to Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* § 122, 2 *ducho* < *ductu*, and to *ZrP.* XIX p. 535. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, at the latter place, says: 'Ob [*doito*] auf *doctus* oder *ductus* zurückzuführen ist, steht übrigens noch nicht fest.' In a note appended to this statement she seems to favor *ductus*."

Mr. Lang (p. 334) says: "Prof. Pietsch pieced the first two of these notes [i.e. *ZrP.* XXXII 394 notes 3<sup>3</sup> and 4]<sup>1</sup> and a shred of the passage to which they are appended together, and inserted this patchwork in his article as one of 'the previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms' (i.e. *ducho*, *duecho*)."

It ought to be clear to Mr. Lang that a paragraph which specifically connects Du Cange-Carpentier and Foerster with the discussion of Fr. *duit*, Levy with Pr. *doch* . . . , Cornu and Lang with Port. *adoito* and *doito*, does not confine itself to a consideration of the forms *ducho*, *duecho* as Mr. Lang strangely assumes. And why I should be charged with piecing together two notes and a shred of the passage to which they are appended, when the attachment of the notes to the passage in question is the work of Mr. Lang himself, I do not understand. Furthermore, if Mr. Lang had read my statements with care, he would have seen that I do not in any part of my article suggest that he had discussed the origin of the Sp. forms *ducho*, *duecho*, nor do I

<sup>1</sup> Words in brackets are inserted by me.    <sup>2</sup> I use only note 3; cf. *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> "Inde irae et lacrimae."

credit to him any of "the previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms." I specifically say that he "refers" to others. That in the body of his text Mr. Lang was concerned with the meaning of *doito* is true; but footnote 3 reads as follows:

"Lanchetas, s.v.; Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*<sup>2</sup> § 122, 2 *ducho* (lat. *ductus*). Vgl. zur Etymologie auch *Zeitschrift* 19, 535, Anm. 5."<sup>1</sup>

I submit that nothing in this note indicated that the three lines devoted by Lanchetas to the etymology (which called forth my disparaging remark in regard to Lanchetas) were excluded from Mr. Lang's reference, and that the specific indication of the discussion of the etymology by Menéndez Pidal and the phrase "zur Etymologie auch" in the reference to ZrP XIX suggested that these lines, no less than the single line devoted by Lanchetas to the meaning, were contemplated in Mr. Lang's reference. It is clear then that I did not cite Mr. Lang as among those attempting to settle the etymology of any form of *duecho* or its congeners and that I was entirely accurate in the language I used concerning his reference to others.

I have already spoken of the curious misinterpretation by which Mr. Lang supposes that the only forms discussed by me are Sp. *ducho*, *duecho*. Having made this misinterpretation, it is perhaps not strange, but hardly fair, that he should substitute these Sp. forms for my own expression "these forms" (referring of course, as the context clearly shows, not only to the Sp. words but to cognate words in the other Romance languages). And it is particularly unfair in view of the use made of the substitution. Mr. Lang says: "In a similar way Foerster, *Rom. Stud.* III p. 181 on O.Fr. *duit* [I say "Fr. *duit*"; cf. infra],<sup>2</sup> Levy, *SW.* s.v. *duire* [I say "under *Dozer*, . . . under *Duire*"; cf. infra],<sup>2</sup> etc., Cornu, *Grundriss* I, 932, à propos of Port. *adoito*, are laid under contribution for 'previous attempts to settle the etymology of *ducho*, *duecho*.'" Anyone who reads my article, § 2, p. 54, will see that I was entirely explicit in citing Foerster, Levy, Cornu, and Lang for precisely the forms dealt with

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to see how this note is rendered in *The Romanic Review* 334: "note 3 cites Lanchetas s.v. for the signification of *duecho* (and as his reference to Berceo is correct, he deserved no disparaging remark). Menéndez Pidal [Mr. Lang accepts my silent correction of "Pidal" to "Menéndez Pidal"]. *Manual* § 122, 2 for *ducho* [yet this word does not occur at all in the body of the article. Why was it cited?] and (Mrs. Vasconcellos) *Zr.P.* 19, 535 for her opinion on the derivation of *doito*—[the word "etymology" is twice avoided].

<sup>2</sup> Words in brackets are inserted by me.



by them and that the verb connected with each name indicated precisely what each had done; I said:

"Foerster . . . . derives Fr. *duit* . . . . from *doctum* . . . ."

"Levy enters *doch* . . . . under *Dozer*, *duitz* . . . . under *Duire*."

"Cornu . . . . connects *adoito* . . . . with *edoctus*. Lang, ZrP. XXXII p. 394, refers for *doito de* etc. . . . ."

These and my other references to Romance forms follow the same order in which they are given in § 1, p. 53. I submit that my work should be judged by what I have written, not by what Mr. Lang has substituted in its stead.

Mr. Lang then sets forth how Diez, Kunst- und Hofpoesie 125, "quotes Sp. *ducho*," how Diez, Et. Wb. 564, "distinctly connects Sp. *ducho* with *ducere*," how Diez, Gramm. 537 (= II 185), "identifies O.Sp. *aducho* with *adductus*." And he concludes his article: "In so far, then, as it was at all necessary, in the light of its sense and of such words as *acueducto*, *aguaducho*, *conducta*, *conducho* (adj.) etc., to establish the etymology of *ducho* (and with this of dialectic *duecho*, quoted from Berceo and identified with *ducho* as early as 1885 by Cuervo, *Apuntaciones críticas* p. 477), this was done once for all by the Founder of Romance Philology in works still honored by scholars, and it is greatly to be regretted that his name should be so conspicuously absent in an article resuming this subject."

First. For Sp. *ducho* in general I refer the reader (§1, p. 53) to Cuervo, Dicc. s.v. Cuervo has about one column and a half (95 lines) on *ducho*, usage, history, and etymology. It would have been more than superfluous to refer to or cite, by the side of Cuervo, this note (one line) from Diez, KHp.: "*doito* (*doyto*) D. 34=*douto* gewöhnt, geübt; sp. *ducho*."

Secondly. For the etymology of *ducho* I refer the reader (§1, p. 54) to the statement of "Covarruvias (1674) s.v. *Ducho*: '*Ducho* . . . . vale tanto como acostumbrado, del verbo Latino *duco ducis*. xi. *ductum* . . . .'" Again it would have been more than superfluous to quote Diez, who centuries after Covarruvias came to the same conclusion. Furthermore, in §2, p. 55, the division beginning: "Sanchez . . . .," it is clear that I am dealing with what has been said about the etymology of *duecho* and not that of *ducho*. Diez has to the best of my knowledge nothing about *duecho*. There was no reason to mention his name.

Thirdly. Mr. Lang is wrong in saying that Dies has once for all established "the etymology of *ducho* (and with this of dialectic *duecho* . . . )." The honor of having definitely connected *duecho* with *ductu* cannot be claimed for Dies who does not even mention *duecho*. And Dies is too full of honors to miss this.

More might be said, but "sat prata biberunt."

Inasmuch as there is nothing in the fifty-two lines of Mr. Lang's remarks which either corrects or supplements my etymology of *duecho*, I profit by the opportunity to offer some additional matter collected since the publication of my first article.

Ad 1: Prim. Crón. Gen. 604 b 28 *somos duchos* (*duechos* O) *deste menester*. Florinea<sup>1</sup> (NBAE XIV) 164 b *cosa no duecha*.

Ad 2: I wish to emphasize Baist's statement: "*docho* fehlt kaatilisch" and my own: "neither *docto* nor *doto* is found in Spain as early as *duecho*." And I would add that while *docere* is not attested either, there is much evidence for *ducere*. "There remains then only *ductu* as etymon."

Ad 3 I b: F. Juzgo 39 V. L. 22 Esc. 6 *fiecho* (Text *fecho*).

Ad 3 I d: F. Oviedo (Vigil) 13 *dientro* (F. Avilés 122 *dintro*). Vigil 67 b (1274). Caveda 63 (s. XVII); 75. La Olla asturiana 14. 29.

Ad 3 I e 1a: Altspan. Glossen 98 (ZrP XIX 7) *sen*.<sup>2</sup>

β: Staaff, L'ancien dialecte léonais 37, 36 (1246) *sien*. 164, 12 (1283). Cart. Eslonza 272 (1300). 273 (1302) *ssien*. 283 (1323). 310 (1347). 312 (1347) *ssien*.

Ad 3 II c: Ord. Çaragoça I 234 *nuena*.

Ad 3 II e: ZrP XXXIV 642 note 2 *bueytre(s)*.

Ad 3 II e a: Cart. Covarrubias (1907) 100 (1255) *mocho menoscabada*. Ferreiro, Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra I 380 (Carta dirigida por D. Fernando IV, desde Salamanca, el 15 de Junio de 1312) *mocho menguadas*.

Ad 3 II f β: Ord. Çaragoça I 277 *adueyto*.

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<sup>1</sup> Printed 1554.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Priebach's note, ZrP XLIX 21. For *senas*, *sines* see further Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 391. To one instance for *sines* de cited at the latter place I would add Ord. Çaragoça I 266. 270. 271. On the other hand *de sin* occurs in Leyendas Mor. I 126. 131. 150. Finally I beg leave to mention Arag. *sines* (< *sines* ?), cf. Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis 15 note 55.

## "AN EARLY TYPE OF STAGE"

G. P. Baker in *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist* (New York, 1907), gives, opposite p. 190, an illustration with the title: "An Early Type of Stage." There were certain features in connection with this that seemed even on first sight to be of some interest. The lettering—*Comedianten, Capitein der Teutsche Leib-guardi*—pointed apparently to German origin, while the construction of the stage appeared to me far more typical of the English comedians in Germany during the first quarter of the seventeenth century than the highly complicated reconstruction, a slight modification of Brodmeier's Shakespeare stage, offered by Kaulfuss-Diesch, *Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1905).<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Baker could give no information regarding the provenance of his illustration, save that it had been taken from W. B. Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), where it appears opposite p. xc. Here, however, the title runs: *Comedians acting before Prince Charles [Cha<sup>s</sup> I] at Madrid, 23 Mar. 1623. From a German Print in the Grenville Library, B.M.* Acting upon the hint offered by Rye and greatly aided by the able and willing assistance of the officials of the British Museum, I finally succeeded in locating the print, which is here reproduced for the first time in full.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a review of Diesch's publication in *Modern Language Review*, July, 1909, pp. 531 ff. Two views of his reconstruction Diesch gives on pp. 235, 236.

<sup>2</sup> By V. von Loga, of the Königl. Museen, Berlin, my attention was called to a somewhat enlarged copy of the engraving in Frantz Christoph Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandei*, Zehender Theil, Leipzig, 1724, between cols. 136/137 (misprint for 236/237) and 238/239, with the title: "Einzug des Printzen von Engelland in Madrit, den 23. Marti Anno 1623." The general effect of this later engraving is the same, but a closer examination shows several differences. The verses are omitted, the few hints of Low German contained in the original have disappeared; *Madril* has become *Madrid*; groups of spectators have been added; a second stage, of similar construction, has been placed on the right, facing the stage of the original. (In Khevenhiller's description we read, col. 240: "auf 6. hierzu aufgerichteten Buehnen sind 6. unterschiedliche Comoedien und Taentze gehalten worden.") Of special importance for us are only the changes in the costumes of the two fools. The one on the extreme right of the stage has lost everything characteristic in costume save the pointed cap, while the dancing fool on the left has an entirely new make-up, evidently of Italian origin. In other words, the old engraving has been in this respect brought up to date.

This engraving,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in. long by  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide, is contained in a copy of *A True Relation And Iournall, Of The Manner Of The Arriuell, and Magnificent Entertainment, giuen to the High and Mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine, by the King of Spaine in his Court at Madrid*,<sup>1</sup> belonging to the Grenville Library of the British Museum, following p. 35. The print did not appear with the pamphlet, but was added at some later time with six other illustrations, and listed by hand as a "rare & curious print of P. Charles's Entrance into Madrid."

Regarding the ultimate origin of the engraving I have been able to discover but little, and this, I regret to say, principally in the form of conjectures. That in its present form it is a German *Zeitung* or *fliegendes Blatt* there can be scarcely any doubt; but is it a German original or merely the copy of perhaps an earlier English or Spanish print? On the whole I am inclined to believe the former. To mention a minor point—the important position of the *Capitein der Teutsche Leibguardi* in the picture and the evident pride with which he is pointed out incline me toward this view, although it may be replied that the figure is simply an addition of the patriotic German engraver. But there are, as we shall see, other and weightier grounds than this.

From the petition of the last line of the rhymes accompanying the engraving: "Gott geb dafs Frid dadurch werdt gmacht," it is evident that the print must have been issued in the year 1623, probably in the late spring or summer, as in the autumn of this same year the marriage negotiations between Charles and the Infanta were broken off;<sup>2</sup> after this the pious wish could have no meaning.

It has been suggested that the engraving is perhaps the work of Abraham Hogenberg, of Cologne.<sup>3</sup> The time of Hogenberg's activity would seem to favor this view, as would also the few traces of Low German in the lettering—e.g., *drager* and *dragen*. Furthermore Cologne was one of the cities frequently visited by the English comedians, and so Hogenberg would have had ample opportunity of

<sup>1</sup> "Published by Authority. London, Printed by Iohn Hauiland for William Barret. M.DC.XXIII." The call-number of this particular copy—for there are several in the Grenville Library—is G.6174. The pamphlet is reprinted in Nichols, *The Progresses of James I.* IV, 818 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, 68 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On Hogenberg cf. J. J. Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler* (Köln, 1850), 185 ff.







witnessing their performances. But how Hogenberg or the unknown engraver procured the historical material for the print is a question which I cannot definitely answer: possibly from an eye-witness, or, what seems to me more probable, from *A True Relation*, etc., either in the original or a translated version. And this, for the order of the procession follows very closely the arrangement described in the pamphlet, where players by the way are also mentioned. The passage reads (*A True Relation*, etc., 24 ff.):

But as foone as they entred vpon the liberties of *Madrid*, they were expected and attended by foure and twenty *Regidores* of the towne, who had there a large Canopie of rich Tiffue, and it belonged to them by office to carry it ouer the King. . . . The King tooke the Prince vnder the Canopie, and kept him ftil on his right hand. Before them went the Courts and Minifters of Iuftice, then the *Grandes* and all the other principall Nobles of that Court in colours and great brauery, and they were attended by their followers in feuerall Liueries, which were very rich. Next after the King and Prince went the Lord *Marqueffe* of *Buckingham*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Conde de Oliuares*, executing the places of Mafters of the Horfe to them both, the *Conde* giuing the right hand to the Lord *Marqueffe*; and either of them had a Horfe of State, as the enfigne of the place he held. . . .

Then proceeded the Earle of *Bristol*<sup>2</sup> betweene the eldeft Councillour of State, and one of the Gentlemen of the *Kings* Chamber; and Sir *Walter Aston* after him, accompanied in like manner; the reft both of the Counfaile of State, and of the Gentlemen of the *Kings* Chamber following them. After whom went that goodly guard which is called *de los Archeros*,<sup>3</sup> who were brauely clad and arraid.

In the way as the triumph paffed, all the ftreets were adorned, in fome places with rich hangings, in others with curious pictures, and heere and there certaine fcaffolds were fprinckled, whereupon the bodies of thofe Coun-cells fat to fee, which formerly had beene with the *Prince* to doe him reuer-ence. And in other ftreets of the fame paffage diuers representations were made of the beft Comedians dancers, and men of muficke, to giue content-ment to that *Royall Paire*, as they paffed by.

In further matters of detail I can only add that the palace is, on the whole, a true reproduction of the "Old Alcázar."<sup>4</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> Designated on the print as "Admiral vñ Engell:". Buckingham was created Lord High Admiral in the year 1619.

<sup>2</sup> Designated on the print as "Extraordinari Ambafador."

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting, though not of any importance, to note that the name "-hartechier" of the print is of the same etymology as "Archeros."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Leonard Williams, *Toledo and Madrid: Their Records and Romances* (London, 1903), where, opposite p. 120, "The Old Alcázar" is given "Drawn by the Author, from a model."

hand the date—"den 23. Martij"—does not agree with that of *A True Relation*, etc. According to this the official entrance into Madrid took place Sunday, March 16, *stilo veteri*, which in modern reckoning would be March 26.<sup>1</sup> Further, both Charles and Philipp are apparently wearing the order of the Golden Fleece, an order which Charles never possessed. This is an error which a contemporary English or Spanish engraver would scarcely have committed.<sup>2</sup>

The form *Madrill*, also appearing in the doggerel verses, where *Madrill* rhymes with *still*, is apparently uncommon. Khevenhiller, as we have seen, changes this into *Madrit*. That however the form is not unknown may be seen from the fact that Prince Charles in writing from Madrid to his father, James I, dates the letter "Madrill the 10 of March 1623."<sup>3</sup>

The actors and the stage Rye discusses in the following significant sentence, which seems to have remained quite unnoticed (*England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. cx): "The performers are evidently exerting their utmost powers of gesticulation and action on the stage of their rude booth, which it seems probable was the kind of structure used by our own countrymen, when they were wont to figure, strut, caper, and declaim for the amusement of German and other foreign audiences." To this but little can be added. The stage itself is very similar in construction to that of the earlier School-drama in Germany and practically identical with the development of this into the stage of the Mastersingers.<sup>4</sup> The peculiar oblique view which we receive seems to have been carefully considered by the engraver. A front view the procession rendered impossible, but we obtain as it is a much better idea of the entire stage and the action of the

<sup>1</sup> According to Khevenhiller, *Annales*, col. 239, this entrance occurred March 28, although the date given on his reproduction of the earlier engraving remains the same—"den 23. Marti." So far as I have been able to discover we have in both cases simple inaccuracies in recording dates, which is so characteristic of the time.

<sup>2</sup> On Khevenhiller's engraving no orders are to be found, though in the text (col. 240) it is stated: "der Prinz aus Engelland und der Admiral führten die Rosen vom Orden des Hosenbandes mit Diamanten gestickt."

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, *The Progresses of James I*, IV, 816. My attention was called to this reference by J. W. Cunliffe. It is perhaps a case of dissimilation, *d* to *l*. The *l* is also regularly found in *Madriñeo*, *Madriñea*, a man or woman of Madrid.

<sup>4</sup> Diesch, *Die Inszenierung*, § 3, "Das Schuldrama," and § 4, "Das Meistersinger-drama," both with bibliography. Illustrations of somewhat similarly constructed stages may be found in Karl Mantzius, *A History of Theatrical Art*, Vol. II (London, 1904), especially Figs. 15, 18, and 19.



players than would have been possible had a side view been given, i.e., had the stage been placed at an angle of 90 degrees.

What is new to Germany is the evident realism of the actors. One could not apply to the three players in the foreground, who are so clearly throwing themselves into their parts with much vigor, the standing formula of Hans Sachs, that they were here—

ein Tragedi zu recedirn  
in teutscher Sprach zu eloquirn.

But just this realism and intensity of acting was thoroughly characteristic of the English players in Germany, was perhaps their chief legacy to the German stage. The figure on the extreme right of the stage is apparently the "Pickelhering";<sup>1</sup> that on the extreme left, with the close-fitting skull-cap, with long ears, and with bells on cap and mantle, has much the appearance of the typical court fool. Is it the "Morris-dancer," or perhaps the so-called "Springer" of the English comedians? Both "Pickelhering" and the actor peering out between the curtains seem to be listening intently to what is passing on the stage, "Pickelhering," indeed, with mouth wide open. Are they, perchance, supposed to be in hiding?

The position of the musicians on the stage is also to be noted. This is, so far as I know, the only illustration of the period that actually indicates a place for the orchestra, if we may call it such.<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered that *A True Relation*, etc., mentions "diuers representations made of the beft Comedians dancers, and men of muficke." So it may be argued that because of this the engraver felt compelled to introduce musicians and so located them to suit his convenience, without any reference to their usual position on the contemporary stage. On the other hand, however, it may be urged that in their present position in the background they certainly appear rather to be accompanying the actors in the foreground than to be giving a performance on their own account. Furthermore, music

<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted, however, that that figure shows only certain of the characteristics which contemporary illustrations and descriptions ascribe to the "Pickelhering." Cf. Koennecke, *Bilderatlas*, 2d ed. (1895), 171; Koennecke, *Deutscher Literaturatlas* (1909), 47; Diesch, *Die Inszenierung*, 111. Still the tall, conical-shaped soft hat, the tight-fitting, short jacket, and the grimaces seem sufficient for identification.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware that it has been suggested that the persons seen in the balconies of the well-known pictures of the Swan and Red Bull theaters represent the orchestra; any evidence for the conjecture, however, I have not found.

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was from the start one of the most characteristic features of the performances of the English players. Not only were the "Sing-spiele" or "Jigs" sung to music, but in the texts that have been preserved we continually find stage directions such as: "*Die Spielleute geigen auf; Jetzt fangen sie an zu geigen; Die Spielleute fangen wieder an, geigen gar submissee, als dass man dabei reden kan; Unter dessen wird submissee musiciret*"; etc. Diesch, *Die Inszenierung*, 77, would locate the orchestra in the balcony of his reconstructed stage. That for certain of the plays of the English comedians a balcony is required, is to be conceded; a few stage-directions prescribe this and contemporary German dramatists, notably Jacob Ayser, make use of it under the name of *Zinne*. But Diesch advances no evidence that a balcony occupied by the orchestra was an invariable part of the stage of these wandering players. On the whole I am inclined to believe that the place here assigned the musicians very fairly represents their usual position.

I would not at all venture to assert that we have in this print an illustration of an actual performance of the English comedians in Germany, but I do believe that it represents with fair accuracy the general conditions under which these actors, styled by Fynes Moryson "our cast dispised Stage players, . . . having neither a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage,"<sup>1</sup> produced their boisterous plays.

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<sup>1</sup> The reference from Moryson is quoted by Charles Harris, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.* XXII, 446.

## NOTES ON MEDIAEVAL LYRICS

### PAUL VON WINTERFELD'S CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS TO THE TEXT OF *HILARII VERSUS ET LUDI*

Prior to the acquisition by the University of Chicago of the *Handapparat* of the lamented Paul von Winterfeld, I was unable in more than a dozen passages to make sense of Hilary's verses (ed. Champollion Figeac, Paris, 1838). As several of these places have been mended for me by marginal notations in Winterfeld's handwriting, I feel that it is only fair both to my co-workers and to the memory of Winterfeld to publish these notes. They follow without comment of my own:

- Page 3, line 13, *for quadem read quadam.*
- 9, 3, *for infirmus read infirmum?*
- 9, 12, *for suam read Sodom.*
- 10, 20, *for dictavit read ditavit.*
- 10, 21, *for prodens read prudens, and omit preceding comma.*
- 10, 22, *for prudens read pudens.*
- 17, 12, *for tendem read tandem.*
- 21, 8, *for Et read 'E.'*
- 22, 19, *for (tibi) read (factus).*
- 32, 16, *for ferens read fetens.*
- 34, place periods at end of verses 8 and 12.
- 37, 10 *for portasti read portastis*—"der schreiber trennte portasti sposita und liess in sp das s aus, wie immer."
- 40, 5, *for supido read Cupido.*
- 41, 4, *for una read verna*—"cf. ix, 6, 2 vernacula."
- 57, *for Novis deus quod lacum*  
     *Nescio, neque locum*  
     *De quo fit mencio—*  
*read*      *Novit deus, quod lacum nescio*  
             *Neque locum, de quo fit mencio.*
- 57, 22, *for leonem read leonum.*
- 60, 8 *for juxit read edixit.*

For sources or analogues, Winterfeld cites p. 20, l. 13, *Versus de hermafrodito*, 21, 5 Horat. *carm. I, 4*; 23, 17 *imag. in Carm. Bur.*

## AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY LOVE SONG

For two years I have speculated about the song which I print and translate below; nor am I yet content with what I know about it. But I dislike to wait longer to present it, for it seems to me most important in what it implies: that earlier than we ordinarily imagine European poetry had the note of abandon, of reckless self-surrender, the erotic, personal note which we usually associate with the goliard Latin songs and the Provençal songs of the last part of the twelfth century.

There is nothing like our song in that beautiful treasury of ninth- and tenth-century lyrics and ballads, the so-called Cambridge MS, nor yet in other tenth- and eleventh-century MSS of poetry. These other codices, I not only grant but I insist, had poems more effective, more beautiful. But none of them to my knowledge contains a song so sensual and concrete as this.

Its poor author apparently could not make proper rhythms; he had not the art of rhyme; his imagery is largely that furnished him a thousand fold by saint's life, hymn, and sacred invocation. So far, then, as the whole manner of his verses is concerned—and much of his commonplace matter—they can be multiplied again and again from ecclesiastical and didactic literature of his and an earlier day. It is, however, not the poet's art that holds us.

But the *sichgehenlassen*—the frank confession—the lack of thought for the consequences; where else so early do we find them in an erotic piece which speaks in a warm breath of the mistress Flora, of flowers, and of spring? I do not argue; I ask. And none more glad than I, if other eleventh-century lyrics be brought to light which have the note of this one.

Eleventh-century? Why? The song is found in two MSS, one of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth century. But its surroundings, in which are many eleventh-century pieces; its verbiage, which is still largely that of poems written by known eleventh-century authors; the very poverty and leanness of its whole manner and guise; its hesitant and unimaginative art—these seem to speak, in almost every line, of poetry written before the light and graceful schemes of rhyming which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries knew.

Let my reader study these things on his own initiative. Let him

turn from this song to the love lays of later MSS—Queen Christine, St. Omer, Benedictbeuern; and he will agree with me. And for philological aid in the matter I refer him to two articles by Wattenbach<sup>1</sup> and a recent, most adequate dissertation.<sup>2</sup>

Ambrosian flowers, the crocus fresh, the violet,  
 Spring's lilies mingled with the tender rose,  
 To me of no such beauty now appear,  
 Nor yet with such a pleasing fragrance fraught  
 As thou, my Flora, when thou spend'st thy sweets.  
 These flowers, 'tis true, allure our outward sense,  
 But thou mak'st glad the senses and the heart.  
 Thou more than breathest forth their redolence,  
 Yea, thou art essence of sweet Love itself.  
 Ah, happy he, close-clasped in thy embrace,  
 Who, sighing deep with bliss, drinks in the breath  
 From thy half-opened lips which lure him on.  
 When with the virgin's breast his breast is one,  
 When he sips honey from her yellow combs,  
 Then can no tardy prick of conscience come,  
 Sickness and pain may torture him no more.  
 And though dire winter with its killing frost  
 Doth halt the rivers in their long career,  
 Yet then comes spring with every ravishment.  
 What more can heart desire? Ne'er mayest thou  
 Discover aught more worthy of thy search,  
 To such a treasure need no new be joined.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1891, 97–114; *Neues Archiv*, 1892, 351–84.

<sup>2</sup> Gertrud Stockmayer, *Ueber Naturgefühl in Deutschland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Ambrosie flores violeque crocique recentes,  
 Vernaque cum teneris lilia mixta rosas,  
 Non tantum forma nec odere placere videntur.  
 Quantum, Flora, michi suavia dando places.  
 Nempe iuvant flores hos sensus exteriores,  
 Tu vero sensus cordaque nostra foves.  
 Nec tu, Flora, levem spiras michi floris odorem,  
 Ipsius at flores dulcis amoris oles.  
 Felix qui talem, qui te complexus odorem  
 Sugit ab ore gemens semipatente tuo.  
 Quid? cum virgineo cum pectore pectora iungit,  
 Et libat flavis condita mellis favis,  
 Non illum dure mordentes pectora cure,  
 Non labor aut morbus sollicitare queunt.  
 Quamvis bruma gelu labentia flumina sistat,  
 Affluit hic vernis undique deliciis.  
 Ultra quid cupiat? nil iam reperire valebit,  
 His fortuna bonis addere nulla potest.

The theme of our song is a rare one to come down to us from Europe before Provençal love poetry. But it had many sister-songs, none the less, though our ears shall perhaps never hear them.

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## A NOTE ON THE SWAN THEATRE

Ever since the DeWitt sketch of the Swan Theatre was discovered, scholars have been more or less troubled in reconciling various bits of evidence to the details of the stage there represented. W. J. Lawrence<sup>1</sup> and E. K. Chambers<sup>2</sup> have given sufficient reasons for believing that the drawing is not an accurate picture of an Elizabethan stage. Various writers, however, insist that we must accept the sketch as it stands. Among these is Neuendorff, the author of the latest, and, in many respects, the best work that has appeared on the Elizabethan theater. As a result he sometimes gets himself into difficulties, and quite naturally overemphasizes the significance of the *vorhanglose Bühne*. It is my object to point out a circumstance which, so far as I know, has not been noted in connection with the DeWitt drawing. In other words, I shall show that we have good reasons for believing that in November, 1602, the Swan Theatre was actually provided with both hangings and curtains.

In a letter to Dudley Carleton dated November 19, 1602, John Chamberlain, that "most intelligent and well-informed" gossip-gatherer of his time, has the following story:

And, now we are in mirth, I must not forget to tell you of a cousening prancke of one Venner, of Lincolns Inne, that gave out bills of a famous play on Satterday was sevenight on the Banckeside, to be acted only by certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account. The price at comming in was two shillings or eighteen pence at least; and, when he had gotten most part of the mony into his hands, he wold have shewed them a faire paire of heeles, but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that course, and betake himselfe to the water, where he was pursued and taken, and brought before the Lord Cheife Justice [i.e., Sir John Popham], who wold make nothing of it but a jest and a merriment, and bounde him over in five pound to appeare at the sessions. In the meane time the common people, when they saw themselves deluded, revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtains, chaires, stooles, walles, and what-soever came in theire way, very outragiously, and made great spoile; there was great store of goode companie, and many noblemen.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Studien*, XXXII, 44-48.

<sup>2</sup> *Stratford-on-Avon Shakespeare*, X, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Chamberlain's Letters* (ed. Sarah Williams, Camden Soc., p. 163).

This is, of course, an account of the famous *England's Joy* composed "to be played at the Swan<sup>1</sup> this 6th November 1602." Chamberlain's narrative sounds like the work of a member of the "great store of goode companie." That the details of his account can be accepted as accurate is shown by the various allusions in the literature of the period to this piece of gulling practiced by Richard Vennar, Venner, or Vennard of Lincoln's Inn. The piece, instead of being presented, as is often said,<sup>2</sup> took the turn described by Chamberlain; and "England's Joy" became proverbial for a theatrical disappointment.<sup>3</sup> So notorious was the event that Vennar received the nickname of "England's Joy," and in 1614 published an *Apology*, very pious and very eulogistic of the King and one "Vennar of Lincolnes Inne, abusively called Englands Joy."<sup>4</sup> The trick of advertising the actors as "certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account" is referred to by Jonson in his *Masque of Augurs*,<sup>5</sup> by Manningham in his *Diary*,<sup>6</sup> and by Vennar himself.<sup>7</sup> Vennar, too, mentions the exceptionally high price of admission,<sup>8</sup> and the conduct of the "common people" at their disappointment is attested by John Taylor<sup>9</sup> and possibly by Savile.<sup>10</sup>

In one respect Vennar's account has been thought to contradict Chamberlain,<sup>11</sup> but as a matter of fact it does not, since the ridiculous

<sup>1</sup> "Plot" reprinted in Park's ed. of *Harleian Miscellany* (1813), X, 198-99. The "plot," instead of being designed for prompter or as "a substitute for the ancient chorus," seems to have been an advertisement, an elaborate "bill," printed to attract the crowd.

<sup>2</sup> Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, III, 163; Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, 272; Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, 149; Chetham Society, CVIII, 330-31; Thompson, *Works of Suckling*, 389; Collier, *Illustrations of Old Eng. Poetry*, III, Intro. to *Apology*. Collier (*Bibliog. Catalogue*, II, 467), not knowing of Chamberlain's letter, misunderstood the significance of Vennar's *Apology*. In his *Notes and Corrections*, p. xlv, he quotes Chamberlain's letter but neglects to correct his earlier statements. Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, pp. 131-33, gives a correct account of the production but in his *Eliz. Drama*, II, 562, implies that it was actually presented. E. Irving Carlyle in *D.N.B.*, LVIII, 211, has straightened out the whole affair.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jno. Savile's "Salutatory Poem to King James" (Arber, *Eng. Garner*, V, 636); Jonson's *Love Restored* (Gifford-Cunningham, III, 84); Spenser Soc. ed. of 1630 Folio of John Taylor's works, Pt. II, pp. 160-62.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Collier, *Illustrations of Old Eng. Lit.*, III. William Fennor in *The Compter's Commonwealth* (1617) tells a story of "Mr. Venard that went by the name of Englands Joy" (Collier, *Bib. Cat.*, I, 276).

<sup>5</sup> Gifford-Cunningham, III, 163.

<sup>7</sup> *Apology*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Camden Soc., p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Folio of 1630 (Spenser Soc., Pt. II, p. 160).

<sup>10</sup> Arber, *Eng. Garner*, V, 636. Vennar puts the matter mildly by stating that his play was "hist" (*Apology*, p. 10).

<sup>11</sup> *D.N.B.*, LVIII, 211.



flight of the guller recorded in the letter is virtually admitted in Vennar's<sup>1</sup> statement that the unexpected appearance of certain beagles or bailiffs "changed the play into the hunting of the fox." The accuracy of the letter is shown by another circumstance. The plan of Vennar seems not to have been original, but probably to have been suggested by an incident described in *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions* (1567) where one "Qualitees" after advertising an "antyecke plaie" to be presented by "gentilmen" obtained possession of the cash-box, locked up the audience, and fled on a horse which he had stationed at a near-by inn.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly necessary to state that the distinction between hangings and curtains at a Bankside theater is made by a person who was intimately acquainted with such things. Chamberlain's interest in court and university performances is well known.<sup>3</sup> The letter quoted above as well as others<sup>4</sup> shows a lively interest in the public places of amusement. That he could exercise the play-goer's privilege of criticism is revealed in his estimation of Chapman's *Humorous Days Mirth*.<sup>5</sup> "We have here a new play of humors in very great request, and I was drawn alonge to it by the common applause, but my opinion of it is (as the fellow saide of the shearing of hogges), that there was a great crie for so little wolle."<sup>6</sup>

There is no reason, then, to doubt Chamberlain's assertion that curtains and hangings adorned the Swan on November 6, 1602. It may of course be argued that the production under consideration was not a play, but a special performance—"dumb show," "masque" or "spectacle"—and therefore the stage was fitted up after court fashion. I see no reason, however, for believing that Vennar spent much time or money in special adornments. In his *Apology* he rails at the "calumnies" of his "rude adversaries," emphasizes his "unjust sufferings," and implies that he did intend to have his production actually presented. Yet the evidence tells against him in this respect. His suspicious career, the whole tone of his *Apology*,

<sup>1</sup> *Apology*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest Books* (Ed. 1881), pt. II, 145-47.

<sup>3</sup> See Nichols, *Prog. of Jas., Court and Times of Jas. I.*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Chamberlain's Letters*, Camden Soc., pp. 64, 177.

<sup>5</sup> Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 184.

<sup>6</sup> Letter of June 11, 1597 (Camden Soc., p. 4).

the similarity of his plan to that in the *Mery Tales*, the fact that his later description of his "devise" does not agree with the description which he had printed on broadsides to advertise his performance<sup>1</sup>—all these things argue that he never really intended that his "devise" should be presented. It is possible, too, that the unexpected appearance of the "beagles" and the miscarriage of his plot resulted from a failure to provide the necessary "adornments" for his show. Be this as it may, the words of Chamberlain imply that in 1602 curtains and hangings were common things in London theaters; and they at least show that the Swan Theatre was *capable* of being fitted out with both. This fact, I believe, is of considerable significance.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *Apology*, p. 10, and *Harleian Miscellany*, Park's ed., X, 199.

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## CHAUCER'S DISCUSSION OF MARRIAGE<sup>1</sup>

We are prone to read and study the *Canterbury Tales* as if each tale were an isolated unit and to pay scant attention to what we call the connecting links,—those bits of lively narrative and dialogue that bind the whole together. Yet Chaucer's plan is clear enough. Structurally regarded, the *Canterbury Tales* is a kind of Human Comedy. From this point of view, the Pilgrims are the *dramatis personae*, and their stories are only speeches that are somewhat longer than common, entertaining in and for themselves (to be sure), but primarily significant, in each case, because they illustrate the speaker's character and opinions, or show the relations of the travelers to one another in the progressive action of the Pilgrimage. In other words, we ought not merely to consider the general appropriateness of each tale to the character of the teller: we should also inquire whether the tale is not determined, to some extent, by the circumstances,—by the situation at the moment, by something that another Pilgrim has said or done, by the turn of a discussion already under way.

Now and then, to be sure, this point is too obvious to be overlooked, as in the squabble between the Summoner and the Friar and that between the Reeve and the Miller, in the Shipman's intervening to check the Parson, and in the way in which the gentles head off the Pardoner when he is about to tell a ribald anecdote.

<sup>1</sup> The Marriage Group of the *Canterbury Tales* has been much studied, and with good results. Hitherto, however, scholars have been concerned with the order of the tales, or with their several dates, not with Chaucer's development of the theme (see especially a paper by Mr. George Shipley in *Modern Language Notes*, X, 273-76).

But, despite these unescapable instances, the general principle is too often blinked or ignored. Yet its temperate application should clear up a number of things which are traditionally regarded as difficulties, or as examples of heedlessness on Chaucer's part.<sup>1</sup>

Without attempting to deny or abridge the right to study and criticize each tale in and for itself,—as legend, romance, *exemplum*, fabliau, or what-not,—and without extenuating the results that this method has achieved, let us consider certain tales in their relation to Chaucer's structural plan,—with reference, that is to say, to the Pilgrims who tell them and to the Pilgrimage to which their telling is incidental. We may begin with the story of Griselda.

This is a plain and straightforward piece of edification, and nobody has ever questioned its appropriateness to the Clerk, who, as he says himself, had traveled in Italy and had heard it from the lips of the laureate Petrarch. The Clerk's "speech," according to the General Prologue, was "sowing in moral vertu," so that this story is precisely the kind of thing which we should expect from his lips. True, we moderns sometimes feel shocked or offended at what we style the immorality of Griselda's unvarying submission. But this feeling is no ground of objection to the appropriateness of the tale to the Clerk. The Middle Ages delighted (as children still delight) in stories that exemplify a single human quality, like valor, or tyranny, or fortitude. In such cases, the settled rule (for which neither Chaucer nor the Clerk was responsible) was to show to what lengths this quality may conceivably go. Hence, in tales of this kind, there can be no question of conflict of duties, no problem as to the point at which excess of goodness becomes evil.<sup>2</sup> It is, then, absurd to censure a fourteenth-century Clerk for telling (or Chaucer for making him tell) a story which exemplifies in this hyperbolic way the virtue of fortitude under affliction. Whether

<sup>1</sup> Since the *Canterbury Tales* is an unfinished work, the drama of the Pilgrimage is of course more or less fragmentary, and, furthermore, some of the stories (being old material, utilized for the nonce) have not been quite accurately fitted to their setting. Such defects, however, need not trouble us. They are patent enough whenever they occur, and we can easily allow for them. Indeed, the disturbance they cause is more apparent than real. Thus the fact that the Second Nun speaks of herself as a "son of Eve" does not affect our argument. The contradiction would eventually have been removed by a stroke of Chaucer's pen, and its presence in no wise prevents the Legend of St. Cecilia from being exquisitely appropriate to the actual teller.

<sup>2</sup> This fact was admirably brought out, long ago, by Professor Hales (in his *Folia Litteraria*, 90-93).

Griselda could have put an end to her woes, or ought to have put an end to them, by refusing to obey her husband's commands is *parum ad rem*. We are to look at her trials as inevitable, and to pity her accordingly, and wonder at her endurance. If we refuse to accept the tale in this spirit, we are ourselves the losers. We miss the pathos because we are aridly intent on discussing an ethical question that has no status in this particular court, however pertinent it may be in the general forum of morals.

Furthermore, in thus focusing attention on the morality or immorality of Griselda's submissiveness, we overlook what the Clerk takes pains to make as clear as possible,—the real lesson that the story is meant to convey,—and thus we do grave injustice to that austere but amiable moralist. The Clerk, a student of "Aristotle and his philosophy," knew as well as any of us that every virtue may be conceived as a mean between two extremes. Even the Canon's Yeoman, an ignorant man, was aware of this principle:

"That that is overdoon, it wol nat preve  
Aright, as clerkes seyn,—it is a vyce."<sup>1</sup>

Chaucer had too firm a grasp on his *dramatis personae* to allow the Clerk to leave the true purport of his parable undefined. "This story is not told," says the Clerk in substance, "to exhort wives to imitate Griselda's humility, for *that* would be beyond the capacity of human nature. It is told in order that every man or woman, in whatever condition of life, may learn fortitude in adversity. For, since a woman once exhibited such endurance under trials inflicted on her by a mortal man, a fortiori ought *we* to accept patiently whatever tribulation God may send us. For God is not like Griselda's husband. He does not wantonly experiment with us, out of inhuman scientific curiosity. God *tests* us, as it is reasonable that our Maker should test his handiwork, but he does not *tempt* us. He allows us to be beaten with sharp scourges of adversity, not, like the Marquis Walter, to see if we can stand it, for he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust: all *his* affliction is for our better grace. Let us live, therefore, in manly endurance of the visitations of Providence."

<sup>1</sup> G. 645-46.

And then, at verse 1163, comes that matchless passage in which the Clerk (having explained the *universal* application of his parable,—having provided with scrupulous care against any misinterpretation of its serious purport) turns with gravely satiric courtesy to the Wife of Bath and makes the *particular* application of the story to her “life” and “all her sect.”

Here one may appreciate the vital importance of considering the *Canterbury Tales* as a connected Human Comedy,—of taking into account the Pilgrims in their relations to one another in the great drama to which the several narratives are structurally incidental. For it is precisely at this point that Professor Skeat notes a difficulty. “From this point to the end,” he remarks, “is the work of a later period, and in Chaucer’s best manner, though unsuited to the *coy Clerk*.”<sup>1</sup> This is as much as to say that, in the remaining stanzas of the Clerk’s Tale and in the Envoy, Chaucer has violated dramatic propriety. And, indeed, many readers have detected in these concluding portions Chaucer’s own personal revulsion of feeling against the tale that he had suffered the Clerk to tell.<sup>2</sup>

Now the supposed difficulty vanishes as soon as we study vss. 1163–1212, not as an isolated phenomenon, but in their relation to the great drama of the Canterbury Pilgrimage. It disappears when we consider the lines in what we may call their dramatic context, that is (to be specific), when we inquire what there was in the situation to prompt the Clerk, after emphasizing the serious and universal moral of Griselda’s story, to give his tale a special and peculiar application by annexing an ironical tribute to the Wife of Bath, her life, her “sect,” and her principles. To answer this question we must go back to the Wife of Bath’s Prologue.

<sup>1</sup> Whether vss. 1163–1212 are later than the bulk of the Clerk’s Tale, when the Tale was written, and whether it was originally intended for the Clerk, or for the *Canterbury Tales* at all, are questions that do not here concern us, for they in no way affect the present investigation. It makes no difference in our argument whether Chaucer translated the story of Griselda in order to put it into the Clerk’s mouth, or whether he created the Clerk in order to give him the story of Griselda, or whether, having translated the story and created the Clerk as independent acts, he noticed that the story suited the Clerk, and so brought the two together. It is enough for us that the Tale was sooner or later allotted to the Clerk and that it fits his character without a wrinkle.

<sup>2</sup> Against this particular view I have nothing to object, for (manifestly) the theory that Chaucer relieved his own feelings in this fashion does not conflict at all with my opinion that the passage is dramatically consistent with the Clerk’s character and with the circumstances.

The Wife of Bath's Prologue begins a Group in the *Canterbury Tales*, or, as one may say, a new act in the drama. It is not connected with anything that precedes.<sup>1</sup> Let us trace the action from this point down to the moment when the Clerk turns upon the Wife with his satirical compliments.

The Wife had expounded her views at great length and with all imaginable zest. Virginity, which the Church glorifies, is not required of us. Our bodies are given us to use. Let saints be continent if they will. She has no wish to emulate them. Nor does she accept the doctrine that a widow or a widower must not marry again. Where is bigamy forbidden in the Bible, or octogamy either? She has warmed both hands before the fire of life, and she exults in the recollection of her fleshly delights:

"But lord Crist! whan that it remembreth me  
Upon my youthe and on my iolitee,  
It tikleth me aboute myn herte rote;  
Unto this day it doth myn herte bote  
That I have had my world as in my time!"<sup>2</sup>

True, she is willing to admit, for convention's sake, that chastity is the ideal state. But it is not *her* ideal. On the contrary, her admission is only for appearances. In her heart she despises virginity. Her contempt for it is thinly veiled, or rather, not veiled at all. Her discourse is marked by frank and almost obstreperous animalism. Her whole attitude is that of scornful, though good-humored, repudiation of what the Church teaches in that regard.

Nor is the Wife content with this single heresy. She maintains also that wives should rule their husbands, and she enforces this doctrine by an account of her own life, and further illustrates it by her tale of the knight of King Arthur who learned that

Wommen desiren to have sovereyntee  
As wel over hir housband as hir love,  
And for to been in maistrie him above,

<sup>1</sup> What connection Chaucer meant to make between the Wife's Prologue and the portion of the *Canterbury Tales* that comes before it we need not conjecture. Probably he had not determined. For us the question is of no immediate interest. It is enough for us that the Prologue begins a group and opens a new subject of discussion.

<sup>2</sup> D. 469-73.

and who accepted the lesson as sound doctrine. Then, at the end of her discourse, she sums up in no uncertain words:

And Iesu Crist us sende  
Housbandes meke, yonge, and fresshe abedde,  
And grace to overbyde hem that we wedde;  
And eek I preye Iesu shorte her lyves  
That wol nat be governed by her wyves.<sup>1</sup>

Now the Wife of Bath is not *bombinans in vacuo*. She addresses her heresies not to us or to the world at large, but to her fellow-pilgrims. Chaucer has made this point perfectly clear. The words of the Wife were of a kind to provoke comment,—and we have the comment. The Pardoner interrupts her with praise of her noble preaching:

“Now, dame,” quod he, “by God and by seint Iohn,  
Ye been a noble prechour in this cas!”<sup>2</sup>

The adjective is not accidental. The Pardoner was a judge of good preaching: the General Prologue describes him as “a noble ecclesiaste”<sup>3</sup> and he shows his ability in his own sermon on Covetousness. Furthermore, it is the Friar’s comment on the Wife’s preamble that provokes the offensive words of the Summoner, and that becomes thereby the occasion for the two tales that immediately follow in the series. It is manifest, then, that Chaucer meant us to imagine the *dramatis personae* as taking a lively interest in whatever the Wife says. This being so, we ought to inquire what effect her Prologue and Tale would have upon the Clerk.

Of course the Clerk was scandalized. He was unworldly and an ascetic,—he “looked holwe and therto sobrelly.” Moral virtue was his special study. He had embraced the celibate life. He was grave, devout, and unflinchingly orthodox. And now he was confronted by the lust of the flesh and the pride of life in the person of a woman who flouted chastity and exulted that she had “had her world as in her time.” Nor was this all. The woman was an heresiarch, or at best a schismatic. She set up, and aimed to establish, a new and dangerous sect, whose principle was that the wife should rule the husband. The Clerk kept silence for the moment. Indeed, he had no chance to utter his sentiments, unless he interrupted,—

<sup>1</sup> D. 1258-62.

<sup>2</sup> D. 164-65.

<sup>3</sup> A. 708.



something not to be expected of his quiet ("coy") and sober temperament. But it is not to be imagined that his thoughts were idle. He could be trusted to speak to the purpose whenever his opportunity should come.

Now the substance of the Wife's false doctrines was not the only thing that must have roused the Clerk to protesting answer. The very manner of her discourse was a direct challenge to him.<sup>1</sup> She had garnished her sermon with scraps of Holy Writ and rags and tatters of erudition, caught up, we may infer, from her last husband. Thus she had put herself into open competition with the guild of scholars and theologians, to which the Clerk belonged. Further, with her eye manifestly upon this sedate philosopher, she had taken pains to gird at him and his fellows. At first she pretends to be modest and apologetic,—“so that the clerkes be nat with me wrothe” (vs. 125),—but later she abandons all pretense and makes an open attack:

“For trusteth wel, it is an impossible  
That any clerk wol speken good of wyves,  
But-if it be of holy seintes lyves,  
Ne of noon other womman never the mo.  
  
The clerk, whan he is old, and may noght do  
Of Venus werkes worth his olde sho,  
Than sit he doun, and writ in his dotage  
That wommen can nat kepe hir mariage.”<sup>2</sup>

And there was more still that the Wife made our Clerk endure. Her fifth husband was, like him, a “clerk of Oxenford”—surely this is

<sup>1</sup> We may note that the tale which Chaucer first gave to the Wife, as it seems, but afterwards transferred to the Shipman, had also a personal application. It was aimed more or less directly at the Monk, and its application was enforced by the Host's exhortation to the company: “Draweth no monkes more unto your in” (B. 1632). And it contained also a roving shot at the Merchant. Compare the General Prologue:

Ther wiste no wight that he was in dette,  
So estatly was he of his governaunce,  
With his bargaynes and with his chevisaunce (A. 280-82),

with the words of the Merchant in the Shipman's Tale:

For of us chapmen, also God me save,  
And by that lord that cleped is Seint Yve,  
Scarly amonges twelve ten shul thryve  
Continuelly, fastung unto our age.  
We may wel make chere and good visage,  
And dryve forth the world as it may be,  
And kepen our estat in privetee  
Til we be deed, or elles that we pleye  
A pilgrimage, or goon out of the weye (B. 1416-24).

<sup>2</sup> D. 688-91, 707-10.

no accidental coincidence on Chaucer's part. He had abandoned his studies ("had left scole"), and had given up all thought of taking priest's orders. The Wife narrates, with uncommon zest, how she intrigued with him, and cajoled him, and married him (though he was twenty and she was forty), and how finally she made him utterly subservient to her will,—how she got "by maistrie al the soveraynetee." This was gall and wormwood to our Clerk. The Wife not only trampled on his principles in her theory and practice, but she pointed her attack by describing how she had subdued to her heretical sect a clerk of Oxenford, an alumnus of our Clerk's own university.<sup>1</sup> The Wife's discourse is not malicious. She is too jovial to be ill-natured, and she protests that she speaks in jest ("For myn entente nis but for to pleye," vs. 192). But it none the less embodies a rude personal assault upon the Clerk, whose quiet mien and habitual reticence made him seem a safe person to attack. She had done her best to make the Clerk ridiculous. He saw it; the company saw it. He kept silent, biding his time.

All this is not speculation. It is nothing but straightforward interpretation of the text in the light of the circumstances and the situation. We can reject it only by insisting on the manifest absurdity (shown to be such in every headlink and endlink) that Chaucer did not visualize the Pilgrims whom he had been at such pains to describe in the Prologue, and that he never regarded them as associating, as looking at each other and thinking of each other, as becoming better and better acquainted as they jogged along the Canterbury road.

Chaucer might have given the Clerk a chance to reply to the wife immediately. But he was too good an artist. The drama of the Pilgrimage is too natural and unforced in its development under the master's hand to admit of anything so frigidly schematic. The very liveliness with which he conceived his individual *dramatis personae* forbade. The Pilgrims were interested in the Wife's harangue, but it was for the talkative members of the company to thrust themselves forward. The Pardoner had already interrupted her with humorous comments before she was fully under way<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The Wife's clerk gave himself to "worldly occupacioun" (vs. 684). Our Clerk was not "so worldly for to have offyce" (Prologue, vs. 292).

<sup>2</sup> "Abyde!" quod she, "my tale is not bigonne" (D. 169).

had exhorted her to continue her account of the "praktike" of marriage. The Friar, we may be confident, was on good terms with her before she began: she was one of those "worthy wommen of the toun" whom he especially cultivated.<sup>1</sup> He, too, could not refrain from comment:

The Frere lough, whan he had herd al this:  
 "Now, dame," quod he, "so have I ioye or blis,  
 This is a long preamble of a tale!" (D. 829-31.)

The Summoner reproved him, in words that show not only his professional enmity but also the amusement that the Pilgrims in general were deriving from the Wife's disclosures.<sup>2</sup> They quarreled, and each threatened to tell a story at the other's expense. Then the Host intervened roughly, calling for silence and bidding the Wife go ahead with her story. She assented, but not without a word of good-humored, though ironical, deference to the Friar:

"Al redy, sir," quod she, "right as yow lest,  
 If I have licence of this worthy Frere."<sup>3</sup>

And, at the very beginning of her tale, she took humorous vengeance for his interruption in a characteristic bit of satire at the expense of "limitours and other holy freres."<sup>4</sup> This passage, we note, has nothing whatever to do with her tale. It is a side-remark in which she is talking at the Friar, precisely as she has talked at the Clerk in her prologue.

The quarrel between the Summoner and the Friar was in abeyance until the Wife finished her tale. They let her end her story and proclaim her moral in peace,—the same heretical doctrine that we have already noted, that the wife should be the head of the house.<sup>5</sup> Then the Friar spoke, and his words are very much to our present purpose. He adverts in significant terms both to the subject and to the manner of the Wife's discourse,—a discourse, we should observe, that was in effect a doctrinal sermon illustrated (as the fashion of preachers was) by a pertinent *exemplum*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prologue, vs. 217. The Wife "was a worthy woman al hir lyve" (Prologue, vs. 459).

<sup>2</sup> "Thou lettest our disport in this manere" (D. 839).

<sup>3</sup> D. 854-55.

<sup>4</sup> D. 864-81.

<sup>5</sup> D. 1258-62.

<sup>6</sup> We remember that this is also the form of the Pardoner's Tale (which even included a text, "Radix malorum est cupiditas"), and that the Nun's Priest's Tale is in effect but a greatly expanded *exemplum*, without a text, to be sure, but with an appropriate moral ("taketh the moralitee," B. 4630), an address to the hearers ("good men"), and a formal benediction (B. 4634-36).

"Ye have here touched, al-so moot I thee,  
In scole-matere greet difficultee."<sup>1</sup>

She has handled a hard subject that properly belongs to scholars. She has quoted authorities, too, like a clerk. Such things, he says, are best left to ecclesiastics:

"But, dame, here as we ryden by the weye,  
Us nedeth nat to speken but of game,  
And lete auctoritees, on Goddes name,  
To preching and to scole eek of clergie."<sup>2</sup>

This, to be sure, is but a device to "conveyen his matere,"—to lead up to his proposal to "telle a game" about a summoner. But it serves to recall our minds to the Wife's usurpation of clerkly functions. If we think of the Clerk at all at this point (and assuredly Chaucer had not forgotten him), we must feel that here is another prompting (undesigned though it be on the Friar's part) to take up the subject which the Wife has (in the Clerk's eyes) so shockingly maltreated.

Then follows the comic interlude of the Friar and the Summoner,<sup>3</sup> in the course of which we may perhaps lose sight of the serious subject which the Wife had set abroach,—the status of husband and wife in the marriage relation. But Chaucer did not lose sight of it. It was a part of his design that the Host should call on the Clerk for the first story of the next day.

This is the opportunity for which the Clerk has been waiting. He has not said a word in reply to the Wife's heresies or to her personal attack on him and his order. Seemingly she has triumphed. The subject has apparently been dismissed with the Friar's words about leaving such matters to sermons and to school debates. The Host, indeed, has no idea that the Clerk purposes to revive the discussion; he does not even think of the Wife in calling upon the representative of that order which has fared so ill at her hands.

"Sir clerk of Oxenford," our hoste sayde,  
Ye ryde as coy and stille as doth a mayde  
Were newe spoused, sitting at the bord;  
This day ne herde I of your tonge a word.  
I trowe ye studie aboute som sophyme."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. 1271-72.

<sup>2</sup> D. 1274-77.

<sup>3</sup> Note also the comic interlude (Miller, Reeve, Cook) that follows the Knight's Tale, and the dramatic manner in which it is brought in and continued.

<sup>4</sup> E. 1-5.

Even here there is a suggestion (casual, to be sure, and, so far as the Host is concerned, quite unintentional) of *marriage*, the subject which is occupying the Clerk's mind. For the Host is mistaken. The Clerk's abstraction is only apparent. He is not pondering syllogisms; he is biding his time.

"Tell us a tale," the unconscious Host goes on, "but don't preach us a Lenten sermon—tell us som mery thing of aventures." "Gladly," replies the demure scholar. "I will tell you a story that a worthy *clerk* once told me at Padua—Francis Petrarch, God rest his soul!"

At this word *clerk*, pronounced with grave and inscrutable emphasis, the Wife of Bath must have pricked up her ears. But she has no inkling of what is in store, nor is the Clerk in any hurry to enlighten her. He opens with tantalizing deliberation, and it is not until he has spoken more than sixty lines that he mentions marriage. "The Marquis Walter," says the Clerk, "lived only for the present and lived for pleasure only—

"As for to hauke and hunte on every syde,—  
Wel ny al othere cures leet he slyde;  
And eek he nolde, and that was worst of alle,  
Wedde no wyf, for noght that may bifalle."

These words may or may not have appeared significant to the company at large. To the Wife of Bath, at all events, they must have sounded interesting. And when, in a few moments, the Clerk made Walter's subjects speak of "*soveraynetee*," the least alert of the Pilgrims can hardly have missed the point:

"Boweth your nekke under that blisful yok  
Of soveraynetee, noght of servyse,  
Which that men clepeth spousaille or wedlok."<sup>1</sup>

"Sovereignty" had been the Wife's own word:

"And whan that I hadde geten unto me  
By maistrie al the soveraynetee" (D. 817-18);  
"Wommen desyren to have sovereyntee  
As wel over hir housband as hir love,  
And for to been in maistrie him above" (D. 1038-40).

<sup>1</sup> E. 113-15. Petrarch has "ut confugio scilicet animum applices, collumque non liberum modo sed imperiosum legitimo subicias iugo." Chaucer may or may not have understood this Latin, but he certainly did not think that he was translating it. He

Clearly the Clerk is catching up the subject proposed by the Wife. The discussion is under way again.

Yet, despite the cheerful view that Walter's subjects take of the marriage yoke, it is by no means yet clear to the Wife of Bath and the other Pilgrims what the Clerk is driving at. For he soon makes Walter declare that "liberty is seldom found in marriage," and that, if he weds a wife, he must exchange freedom for servitude.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is not until vss. 351-57 are reached that Walter reveals himself as a man who is determined to rule his wife absolutely. From that point to the end there is no room for doubt in any Pilgrim's mind: *the Clerk is answering the Wife of Bath*; he is telling of a woman whose principles in marriage were the antithesis of hers; he is reasserting the orthodox view in opposition to the heresy which she had expounded with such zest and with so many flings and jeers at the clerical profession and character.

What is the tale of Griselda? Several things, no doubt—an old *märchen*, an *exemplum*, a *novella*, what you will. Our present concern, however, is primarily with the question what it seemed to be to the Canterbury Pilgrims, told as it was by an individual Clerk of Oxford at a particular moment and under the special circumstances. The answer is plain. To them it was a retort (indirect, impersonal, masterly) to the Wife of Bath's heretical doctrine that the woman should be the head of the man. It told them of a wife who had no such views,—who promised ungrudging obedience and kept her vow. The Wife of Bath had railed at her husbands and badgered them and cajoled them: Griselda never lost her patience or her serenity. On its face, then, the tale appeared to the Pilgrims to be a dignified and scholarly narrative, derived from a great Italian clerk who was dead, and now utilized by their fellow-pilgrim, the Clerk of Oxford,

was rewriting to suit himself. It may be an accident that the ideas he expressed and the words he chose are so extremely apropos. If accident is to be assumed, however, the present argument is in no way affected. Grant that the translation was made before Chaucer had even conceived the idea of a Canterbury Pilgrimage, and it remains true that, in utilizing this translation as the Clerk's Tale and in putting it into its present position, he found these words *soversynotes* and *servyes* particularly apt, and that the Pilgrims (who were living men and women to Chaucer) found them equally pertinent. It is Chaucer's final design, I repeat, that we are considering, not the steps by which he arrived at it.

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch has "*delectabat omnimoda libertas, quae in coniugio rara est*"; but "*Ther I was free, I moot been in servage*" (E. 147) is the Clerk's own addition.

to demolish the heretical structure so boisterously reared by the Wife of Bath in her prologue and her tale.

But Chaucer's Clerk was a logician—"unto logik hadde he longe ygo." He knew perfectly well that the real moral of his story was not that which his hearers would gather. He was aware that Griselda was no model for literal imitation by ordinary womankind. If so taken, his tale proved too much; it reduced his argument *ad absurdum*. If he let it go at that, he was playing into his opponent's hands. Besides, he was a conscientious man. He could not misrepresent the lesson which Petrarch had meant to teach and had so clearly expressed,—the lesson of submissive fortitude under tribulation sent by God. Hence he does not fail to explain this moral fully and in unmistakable terms, and to refer distinctly to Petrarch as authority for it:

And herkeneth what this auctor seith therfore.

This storie is seyde, nat for that wyves sholde  
 Folwen Griselde as in humilitee,  
 For it were importable, though they wolde;  
 But for that every wight, in his degree,  
 Sholde be constant in adversitee  
 As was Grisilde; therfor Petrark wryteth  
 This storie, which with heigh style he endyteth.

For, sith a womman was so pacient  
 Un-to a mortal man, wel more us oghte  
 Receyven al in gree that God us sent;  
 For greet skile is, he preve that he wroghte.  
 But he ne tempteth no man that he boghte,  
 As seith seint Iame, if ye his pistel rede;  
 He preveth folk al day, it is no drede,

And suffreth us, as for our exerceyse,  
 With sharpe scourges of adversitee  
 Ful ofte to be bete in sondry wyse;  
 Nat for to knowe our wil, for certes he,  
 Er we were born, knew al our freletee;  
 And for our beste is al his governaunce:  
 Lat us than live in vertuous suffrance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. 1141-62.

Yet the Clerk has no idea of failing to make his point against the Wife of Bath. And so, when the tale is finished and the proper Petrarchan moral has been duly elaborated, he turns to the Wife (whom he has thus far sedulously refrained from addressing) and distinctly applies the material to the purpose of an ironical answer, of crushing force, to her whole heresy. There is nothing inappropriate to his character in this procedure. Quite the contrary. Clerks were always satirizing women—the Wife had said so herself—and this particular Clerk had, of course, no scruples against using the powerful weapon of irony in the service of religion and “moral vertu.” In this instance, the satire is peculiarly poignant for two reasons: first, because it comes with all the suddenness of a complete change of tone (from high seriousness to biting irony, and from the impersonal to the personal); and secondly, because, in the tale which he has told, the Clerk has incidentally refuted a false statement of the Wife’s, to the effect that

“It is an impossible  
That any clerk wol speke good of wyves,  
But if it be of holy seintes lyves,  
Ne of noon other womman never the mo.”<sup>1</sup>

Clerks *can* “speak well” of women (as our Clerk has shown), when women deserve it; and he now proceeds to show that they can likewise speak well (with biting irony) of women who do *not* deserve it—such women as the Wife of Bath and all her sect of domestic revolutionists.

It now appears that the form and spirit of the conclusion and the Envoy<sup>2</sup> are not only appropriate to clerks in general, but peculiarly and exquisitely appropriate to this particular clerk under these particular circumstances and with this particular task in hand,—the duty of defending the orthodox view of the relations between husband and wife against the heretical opinions of the Wife of Bath: “One word in conclusion,<sup>3</sup> gentlemen. There are few Griseldas now-

<sup>1</sup> D. 688-91. When the clerk is too old for Venus, says the Wife, he sits down and writes “that women can nat kepe hir mariage.” But our Clerk is not old, and he has told of a woman who kept her marriage under difficult conditions.

<sup>2</sup> E. 1163-1212.

<sup>3</sup> “Er I go” is a mere formula (derived from the technique of the wandering narrator) for “before I finish.” Its use does not indicate that either Chaucer or the Clerk has forgotten the situation.



a-days. Most women will break before they will bend. Our companion, the Wife of Bath, is an example, as she has told us herself. Therefore, though I cannot sing, I will recite a song in honor, not of Griselda (as you might perhaps expect), but of the Wife of Bath, of the sect of which she aspires to be a doctor, and of the life which she exemplifies in practice—

“For the wyves love of Bathe,  
Whos lif and al hir secte God mayntene  
In high maistrye, and elles were it scathe.”

Her *way of life*—she had set it forth with incomparable zest. Her *sect*—she was an heresiarch or at least a schismatic. The terms are not accidental: they are chosen with all the discrimination that befits a scholar and a rhetorician. They refer us back (as definitely as the words “Wife of Bath” themselves) to that prologue in which the Wife had stood forth as an opponent of the orthodox view of subordination in marriage, as the upholder of an heretical doctrine, and as the exultant practitioner of what she preached.<sup>1</sup>

And then comes the Clerk’s Envoy,<sup>2</sup> the song that he recites in honor of the Wife and her life and her sect, with its polished lines, its ingenious rhyming, and its utter felicity of scholarly diction. Nothing could be more in character. To whom in all the world should such a masterpiece of rhetoric be appropriate if not to the Clerk of Oxenford? It is a mock encomium, a sustained ironical commendation of what the Wife has taught:

“O noble wives, let no clerk ever have occasion to write such a story of you as Petrarch once told me about Griselda. Follow your great leader, the Wife of Bath. Rule your husbands, as she did; rail at them, as she did; make them jealous, as she did; exert yourselves to get lovers, as she did. And all this you must do whether you are fair or foul [with manifest allusion to the problem of beauty or ugliness presented in the Wife’s story]. Do this, I say, and you will fulfil the precepts that she has set forth and achieve the great end which she has proclaimed as the object of marriage: that is, *you will make your husbands miserable, as she did!*”

<sup>1</sup> As to the Wife’s “life” see her expressions in D. 111–12, 469–73, 615–26.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe’s rubric “*Envoy de Chaucer*” should not mislead us, any more than the word *auctor* does when attached by the scribe to E. 995–1001 (a stanza which is expressly ascribed by the Clerk to “sadde folk in that citee”).

"Be ay of chere as light as leef on linde,  
And lat him care and wepe and wringe and waille!"

And the Merchant (hitherto silent, but not from inattention) catches up the closing words in a gust of bitter passion:

"Weping and wayling, care and other sorwe  
I know ynough on even and amorwe,"  
Quod the Merchant, "and so don othere mo  
That wedded ben."

The Clerk's Envoy, then, is not only appropriate to his character and to the situation: it has also a marked dynamic value. For it is this ironical tribute to the Wife of Bath and her dogmas that, with complete dramatic inevitability, calls out the Merchant's *cri du cœur*. The Merchant has no thought of telling a tale at this moment. He is a stately and imposing person in his degree, by no means prone (so the Prologue informs us) to expose any holes there may be in his coat.<sup>1</sup> But he is suffering a kind of emotional crisis. The poignant irony of the Clerk, following hard upon the moving story of a patient and devoted wife, is too much for him. He has just passed through his honeymoon (but two months wed!) and he has sought a respite from his thralldom under color of a pilgrimage to St. Thomas.

"I have a wyf, the worste that may be!"

She would be an overmatch for the devil himself. He need not specify her evil traits: she is bad in every respect.<sup>2</sup>

"There is a long and large difference  
Bitwix Grisildis grete pacience  
And of my wyf the passing crueltee."

The Host, as ever, is on the alert. He scents a good story:

"Sin ye so muchel knowen of that art,  
Ful hertely I pray yow telle us part."

The Merchant agrees, as in duty bound, for all the Pilgrims take care never to oppose the Host, lest he exact the heavy forfeit established as the penalty for rebellion.<sup>3</sup> But he declines to relate his

<sup>1</sup> "Ther wiste no wight that he was in dette" (Prol., vs. 280).

<sup>2</sup> "She is a shrew at al" (E. 1222). *Shrew* has, of course, a general sense. It is not here limited to the specific meaning of "scold."

<sup>3</sup> "Who-so be rebel to my iuggement  
Shal paye for al that by the weye is spent" (Prologue, vs. 833-34).

own experiences, thus leaving us to infer, if we choose,—for nowhere is Chaucer's artistic reticence more effective,—that his bride has proved false to him, like the wife of the worthy Knight of Lombardy.

And so the discussion of marriage is once more in full swing. The Wife of Bath, without intending it, has opened a debate in which the Pilgrims have become so absorbed that they will not leave it till the subject is "bolted to the bran."

The Merchant's Tale presents very noteworthy features, and has been much canvassed, though never (it seems) with due attention to its plain significance in the Human Comedy of the Canterbury Pilgrimage. In substance, it is nothing but a tale of bawdry, one of the most familiar of its class. There is nothing novel about it except its setting, but that is sufficiently remarkable. Compare the tale with any other version of the Pear-Tree Story,—their name is legion,—and its true significance comes out in striking fashion. The simple fabliau devised by its first author merely to make those laugh whose lungs are tickle o' the sere, is so expanded and overlaid with savage satire that it becomes a complete disquisition on marriage from the only point of view which is possible for the disenchanted Merchant. Thus considered, the cynicism of the Merchant's Tale is seen to be in no way surprising, and (to answer another kind of comment which this piece has evoked) in no sense expressive of Chaucer's own sentiments, or even of Chaucer's momentary mood. The cynicism is the Merchant's. It is no more Chaucer's than Iago's cynicism about love is Shakspeare's.

In a word, the tale is the perfect expression of the Merchant's angry disgust at his own evil fate and at his folly in bringing that fate upon himself. Thus, its very lack of restraint—the savagery of the whole, which has revolted so many readers—is dramatically inevitable. The Merchant has schooled himself to hide his debts and his troubles. He is professionally an adept at putting a good face on matters, as every clever business man must be. But when once the barrier is broken, reticence is at an end. His disappointment is too fresh, his disillusion has been too abrupt, for him to measure his words. He speaks in a frenzy of contempt and hatred. The hatred is for women; the contempt is for himself and all other fools who will not take warning by example. For we should not

forget that the satire is aimed at January rather than at May. That egotistical old dotard is less excusable than his young wife. and meets with less mercy at the Merchant's hands.

That the Merchant begins with an encomium on marriage which is one of the most amazing instances of sustained irony<sup>1</sup> in all literature, is not to be wondered at. In the first place, he is ironical because the Clerk has been ironical. Here the connection is remarkably close. The Merchant has fairly snatched the words out of the Clerk's mouth ("And lat him care and wepe and wringe and waile"—"Weping and wayling, care and other sorwe"), and his mock encomium on the wedded state is a sequel to the Clerk's mock encomium on the Wife of Bath's life and all her sect. The spirit is different, but that is quite proper. For the Clerk's satire is the irony of a logician and a moral philosopher, the irony of the intellect and the ethical sense: the Merchant's is the irony of a mere man, it is the irony of passion and personal experience. The Clerk is a theorist,—he looks at the subject from a point of philosophical detachment. The Merchant is an egotist,—he feels himself to be the dupe whose folly he depicts. We may infer, if we like, that he was a man in middle age and that he had married a young wife.

There is plenty of evidence that the Merchant has been an attentive listener. One detects, for instance, a certain similarity between January and the Marquis Walter (different as they are) in that they have both shown themselves disinclined to marriage. Then again, the assertion that a wife is never weary of attending a sick husband—

"She nis nat wery him to love and serve,  
Thogh that he lye bedrede til he sterve"<sup>2</sup>—

must have reminded the Pilgrims of poor Thomas, in the Summoner's Tale, whose wife's complaints to her spiritual visitor had precipitated so tremendous a sermon.<sup>3</sup> But such things are trifles compared with the attention which the Merchant devotes to the Wife of Bath.

So far, in this act of Chaucer's Human Comedy, we have found that the Wife of Bath is, in a very real sense, the dominant figure.

<sup>1</sup> Twice in the course of this encomium the speaker drops his irony for an instant—with superb dramatic effect—once in vs. 1318 and again in vs. 1377-78. In the latter case there is a quick turn in the next verse.

<sup>2</sup> E. 1291-92.

<sup>3</sup> D. 1823 ff.

She has dictated the theme and inspired or instigated the actors; and she has always been at or near the center of the stage. It was a quarrel over her prologue that elicited the tale of the Friar and that of the Summoner. It was she who caused the Clerk to tell of Griselda—and the Clerk satirizes her in his Envoy. "The art" of which the Host begs the Merchant to tell is *her* art, the art of marriage on which she has discoursed so learnedly. That the Merchant, therefore, should allude to her, quote her words, and finally mention her in plain terms is precisely what was to be expected.

The order and method of these approaches on the Merchant's part are exquisitely natural and dramatic. First there are touches, more or less palpable, when he describes the harmony of wedded life in terms so different from the Wife's account of what her husbands had to endure. Then—after a little—comes a plain enough allusion (put into January's mouth) to the Wife's character, to her frequent marriages, and to her inclination to marry again,<sup>1</sup> old as she is:

"And eek thise olde widwes, God it wot,  
They conne so muchel craft on Wades boot,  
So muchel broken harm, whan that hem leste,  
That with hem sholde I never live in reeste!  
For sondry scoles maken sotil clerkis:  
Wommen of many scoles half a clerk is."<sup>2</sup>

Surely the Wife of Bath was a woman of many schools, and her emulation of clerkly discussion had already been commented on by the Pardoner<sup>3</sup> and the Friar.<sup>4</sup> Next, the Merchant lets Justinus quote some of the Wife's very words—though without naming her: "God may apply the trials of marriage, my dear January, to your salvation. Your wife may make you go straight to heaven without passing through purgatory."

"Paraunter she may be your purgatorie!  
She may be Goddes mene, and Goddes whippe;  
Than shal your soule up to hevene skippe  
Swifter than doth an arwe out of the bowe,"<sup>5</sup>

This is merely an adaptation of the Wife of Bath's own language in speaking of her fourth husband:

<sup>1</sup> "Welcome the sixte, whan that ever he shal!" says the Wife (D. 45).

<sup>2</sup> E. 1423-28.

<sup>3</sup> D. 165.

<sup>4</sup> D. 1270-77.

<sup>5</sup> E. 1670-73.

"By God, in erthe I was his purgatorie,  
For which I hope his soule be in glorie."<sup>1</sup>

Compare also another phrase of hers, which Justinus echoes: "Myself have been the whippe."<sup>2</sup> And finally, when all the Pilgrims are quite prepared for such a thing, there is a frank citation of the Wife of Bath by name, with a reference to her exposition of marriage:

"My tale is doon:—for my wit is thinne.  
Beth not agast herof, my brother dere.  
*But lat us waden out of this matere:*  
*The Wyf of Bathe, if ye han understonde,*  
*Of marriage, which we have on honde.*  
*Declared hath ful wel in lilil space.*  
Fareth now wel, God have yow in his grace."<sup>3</sup>

Are the italicized lines a part of the speech of Justinus, or are they interpolated by the Merchant, in his own person, in order to shorten Justinus' harangue? Here is Professor Skeat's comment: "These four parenthetical lines interrupt the story rather awkwardly. They obviously belong to the narrator, the Merchant, as it is out of the question that Justinus had heard of the Wife of Bath. Perhaps it is an oversight." Now it makes no difference whether we assign these lines to Justinus or to the Merchant, for Justinus, as we have seen, has immediately before quoted the Wife's very words, and he may as well mention her as repeat her language. Either way, the lines are exquisitely in place. *Chaucer* is not speaking, and there is no violation of dramatic propriety on *his* part. It is not Chaucer who is telling the story. It is the Merchant. And the Merchant is telling it as a part of the discussion which the Wife has started. It is dramatically proper, then, that the Merchant should quote the Wife of Bath and that he should refer to her. And it is equally proper, from the dramatic point of view, for Chaucer to let the Merchant make Justinus mention the Wife. In that case it is the Merchant—not Chaucer—who chooses to have one of his characters fall out of his part for a moment and make a "local allusion." Chaucer is responsible for making the *Merchant* speak in character; the Merchant, in his turn, is responsible for *Justinus*. That the Merchant should put into the mouth of Justinus a remark that Justinus

<sup>1</sup> D. 489-90.<sup>2</sup> D. 175.<sup>3</sup> E. 1682-88.

could never have made is, then, not a slip on Chaucer's part. On the contrary, it is a first-rate dramatic touch, for it is precisely what the Merchant might well have done under the circumstances.

Nor should we forget the exquisitely comic discussion between Pluto and Proserpine which the Merchant has introduced near the end of his story. This dialogue is a flagrant violation of dramatic propriety—not on Chaucer's part, however, but on the Merchant's. And therein consists a portion of its merit. For the Merchant is so eager to make his point that he rises superior to all artistic rules. He is bent, not on giving utterance to a masterpiece of narrative construction, but on enforcing his lesson in every possible way. And Chaucer is equally bent on making him do it. Hence the Queen of the Lower World is brought in, discoursing in terms that befit the Wife of Bath (the presiding genius of this part of the *Canterbury Tales*), and echoing some of her very doctrines. The Wife had said:

"Thus shal ye speke and bere hem wrong on honde;  
For half so boldely can ther no man  
Swere and lyen as a womman can.  
I say nat this by wyves that ben wyse,  
But-if it be whan they hem misavyse.  
A wys wyf, if that she can hir good,  
Shal beren him on hond the cow is wood,  
And take wisesse of his owene mayde."<sup>1</sup>

Now hear Proserpine:

"Now, by my modres sires soule I swere,  
That I shal yeven hir suffisaunt answer,  
And alle wommen after, for hir sake;  
That, though they be in any gilt ytake,  
With face bold they shulle hemself excuse,  
And bere hem down that wolden hem accuse.  
For lakke of answer noon of hem shal dyen. —  
Al hadde man seyn a thing with bothe his yen,  
Yit shul we wommen visage it hardily,  
And wepe, and swere, and chyde subtilly,  
So that ye men shul been as lewed as gees."<sup>2</sup>

And note that Pluto (who is as fond of citing authorities as the Wife's last husband) yields the palm of the discussion to Proserpine:

<sup>1</sup> D. 226-33.

<sup>2</sup> E. 2265-75.

"Dame," quod this Pluto, "be no lenger wrooth;  
I yeve it up."<sup>1</sup>

This, too, was the experience of the Wife's husbands:

"I ne owe hem nat a word that is not quit.  
I broghte it so aboute by my wit  
That they moste yeve it up, as for the beste."<sup>2</sup>

The tone and manner of the whole debate between Pluto and his queen are wildly absurd if regarded from the point of view of gods and goddesses, but in that very incongruity resides their dramatic propriety. What we have is not Pluto and Proserpine arguing with each other, but the Wife of Bath and one of her husbands attired for the nonce by the cynical Merchant in the external semblance of King Pluto and his dame.<sup>3</sup>

The end of the Merchant's Tale does not bring the Marriage Chapter of the *Canterbury Tales* to a conclusion. As the Merchant had commented on the Clerk's Tale by speaking of his own wife, thus continuing the subject which the Wife had begun, so the Host comments on the Merchant's story by making a similar application:

"Ey, Goddes mercy," seyde our Hoste tho,  
"Now such a wyf I pray God kepe me fro!"

"See how women deceive us poor men, as the Merchant has shown us. However, *my* wife is true as any steel; but she is a shrew, and has plenty of other faults." And just as the Merchant had referred expressly to the Wife of Bath, so also does the Host refer to her expressly: "But I must not talk of these things. If I should, it would be told to her by some of this company. I need not say by whom, 'sin wommen connen outen swich chaffare.'"<sup>4</sup> Of course the Host points this remark by looking at the Wife of Bath. There are but three women in the company. Neither the highborn and dainty Prioress nor the pious nun who accompanies her is likely to gossip with Harry Baily's spouse. It is the Wife, a woman of the Hostess's own rank and temper, who will tattle when the party returns to the Tabard. And so we find the Wife of Bath still in the

<sup>1</sup> E. 2311-12.

<sup>2</sup> D. 425-27.

<sup>3</sup> We should not forget that this discussion between Pluto and Proserpine is the Merchant's own addition to the Pear-Tree Story.

<sup>4</sup> E. 2419-40.



foreground, as she has been, in one way or another, for several thousand lines.

But now the Host thinks his companions have surely had enough of marriage. It is time they heard something of love, and with this in view he turns abruptly to the Squire, whom all the Pilgrims have come to know as "a lovyer and a lusty bachiler."

"Squier, com neer, if it your wille be,  
And sey somewhat of *love*; for certes ye  
Connen theron as muche as any man."<sup>1</sup>

The significance of the emphasis on *love*, which is inevitable if the address to the Squire is read (as it should be) continuously with the Host's comments on marriage, is by no means accidental.

There is no psychology about the Squire's Tale,—no moral or social or matrimonial theorizing. It is pure romance, in the mediæval sense. The Host understood the charm of variety. He did not mean to let the discussion drain itself to the dregs.

But Chaucer's plan in this Act is not yet finished. There is still something lacking to a full discussion of the relations between husband and wife. We have had the wife who dominates her husband; the husband who dominates his wife; the young wife who befools her dotard January; the chaste wife who is a scold and stirs up strife. Each of these illustrates a different kind of marriage,—but there is left untouched, so far, the ideal relation, that in which love continues and neither party to the contract strives for the mastery. Let this be set forth, and the series of views of wedded life begun by the Wife of Bath will be rounded off; the Marriage Act of the Human Comedy will be concluded. The Pilgrims may not be thinking of this; but there is at least *one* of them (as the sequel shows) who has the idea in his head. And who is he? The only pilgrims who have not already told their tales are the yeoman, two priests, the five tradesmen (haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and tapicer), the parson, the plowman, the manciple, and the franklin. Of all these there is but one to whom a tale illustrating this ideal would not be inappropriate—the Franklin. To him, then, must Chaucer assign it, or leave the debate unfinished.

<sup>1</sup> F. 1-3.

At this point, the dramatic action and interplay of characters are beyond all praise. The Franklin is not brought forward in formal fashion to address the company. His summons is incidental to the dialogue.<sup>1</sup> No sooner has the Squire ended his chivalric romance, than the Franklin begins to compliment him:

"In feyth, squier, thou hast thee well yquit  
And gentilly. I preise wel thy wit,"  
Quod the frankeleyn, "considering thy youthe.  
So felingly thou spekest, sir, I allow the!  
As to my doom, there is noon that is here  
Of eloquence that shal be thy pere,  
If that thou live: God yeve thee good chaunce  
And in vertu sende thee continuance,  
For of thy speche I have great deyntee!"<sup>2</sup>

"You have acquitted yourself well and *like a gentleman!*" *Gentillesse*, then, is what has most impressed the Franklin in the tale that he has just heard. And the reason for his enthusiasm soon appears. He is as we know, a rich freeholder, often sheriff in his county. Socially, he is not quite within the pale of the gentry, but he is the kind of man that may hope to found a family, the kind of man from whose ranks the English nobility has been constantly recruited. And that such is his ambition comes out naively and with a certain pathos in what he goes on to say: "I wish my son were like you:

"I have a sone, and, by the Trinitee,  
I hadde lever than twenty pound worth lond,  
Though it right now were fallen in myn hond,  
He were a man of swich discrecioun  
As that ye been! Fy on possessioun  
But-if a man be vertuous with-al!  
I have my sone snibbed, and yet shal,  
For he to vertu listeth nat entende;  
But for to pleye at dees, and to despende,  
And lese al that he hath, is his usage;  
And he hath lever talken with a page  
Than to commune with any gentil wight  
Ther he mighte lerne gentillesse aright."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Just as the summons to the Merchant was incidental to his comments on the Clerk's Tale.

<sup>2</sup> F. 673-81.

<sup>3</sup> F. 682-94.

It is the contrast between the Squire and his own son, in whom his hopes are centered, that has led the Franklin's thoughts to *gentillesse*, a subject which is ever in his mind.

But the Host interrupts him rudely: "Straw for your gentillesse! It is your turn to entertain the company:

"Telle on thy tale withouten wordes mo!"

The Franklin is, of course, very polite in his reply to this rough and unexpected command. Like the others, he is on his guard against opposing the Host and incurring the forfeit:

"I wol yow nat contrarien in no wise,  
As fer as that my wittes wol suffice."<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, as in the case of the Merchant, the Host has taken advantage of a spontaneous remark on some Pilgrim's part to demand a story. Yet the details of the action are quite different. On the previous occasion, the Merchant is requested to go on with an account of his marriage, since he has already begun to talk about it; and, though he declines to speak further of his own troubles, he does continue to discuss and illustrate wedlock from his own point of view. In the present instance, on the contrary, the Host repudiates

<sup>1</sup> The Host's conduct and the bearing of the Pilgrims toward him are alike noteworthy. He has been appointed "judge and reporter" of the tales and general manager of the pilgrimage. The penalty for "rebellion" against his authority is to pay the traveling expenses of the whole troop, a sufficiently heavy fine (A. 803-18, 832-34). More than once he magnifies his office, sometimes in terms so arbitrary as to warrant the suspicion that he is trying to irritate his interlocutor so that the forfeit may be exacted. But at such times the person addressed is always significantly deferential. Thus he "speaks as lordly as a king" when he interrupts the Reeve's preamble: "The devil made a reve for to preche" (A. 3899-3908). His words to the Man of Law are courteous, but decided:

"Acquiteth yow, and holdeth your biheste,  
Than have ye doon your devoir atte leste" (B. 33-38).

And the lawyer's reply is a full acknowledgment of the Host's legal rights in the case (B. 39-44). The Host accuses the Parson, jocosely but not very politely, of being a Lollard (B. 1172-77). His rude criticism of Chaucer's own "Sir Thopas" is famous (B. 2109-25). The badinage with which he addresses the dignified Monk is so broad that Chaucer feels constrained to comment upon the victim's patient endurance of it: "This worthy monk took al in pacience." (B. 3155). His address to the Nun's Priest is described as "rude speche and bold" (B. 3998), but the Priest's answer is merely a hearty and eager assent (B. 4006). He reproves the Friar and the Summoner in drastic terms: "Ye fare as folk that dronken been of ale" (D. 852). The only case of rebellion is the Miller's refusal to give way to the Monk (A. 3118-34); but here, in effect, the rebel claims a drunken man's privilege, and it is accorded him. The momentary quarrel between the Pardoner and the Host (C. 956-68) does not involve insubordination (cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1893, LXXII, 832-33). The fine courtesy of the Host's invitation to the Prioress (B. 1635-41)—in contrast with his habitual lordly roughness—shows what an impression that most charming of mediaeval ladies has made upon the company.

the topic of *gentillesse*, about which the Franklin is discoursing to the Squire. He bids him drop the subject and tell a story. The Franklin pretends to be compliant, but after all, he has his own way. Indeed, he takes delicate vengeance on the Host by telling a tale which thrice exemplifies *gentillesse*—on the part of a knight, a squire, and a clerk. Thus he finishes his interrupted compliment to the Squire, and incidentally honors two other Pilgrims who have seemed to him to possess the quality that he values so highly. He proves, too, both that *gentillesse* is an entertaining topic and that it is not (as the Host has roughly intimated) a theme which he, the Franklin, is ill-equipped to handle.

For the Franklin's Tale is a gentleman's story, and he tells it like a gentleman. It is derived, he tells us, from "thise olde *gentil* Britons."<sup>1</sup> Dorigen lauds Arveragus' *gentillesse* toward her in refusing to insist on soveraynetee in marriage.<sup>2</sup> Aurelius is deeply impressed by the knight's *gentillesse* in allowing the lady to keep her word, and emulates it by releasing her:

Fro his lust yet were him lever abyde  
Than doon so heigh a churlish wrecchednesse  
Agaynes franchyse and alle gentillesse.<sup>3</sup>

I see his grete gentillesse.<sup>4</sup>

Thus can a squyer don a gentil dede  
As wel as can a knyght, withouten drede.<sup>5</sup>

Arveragus, of gentillesse,  
Had lever dye in sorwe and in distresse  
Than that his wyf were of her trouthe fals.<sup>6</sup>

And finally, the clerk releases Aurelius, from the same motive of generous emulation:

This philosophre answerde, "Leve brother,  
Everich of yow dide gentilly til other.  
Thou art a squyer, and he is a knight;  
But God forbede, for his blisful might,  
But-if a clerk coude doon a gentil dede  
As wel as any of yow, it is no drede!"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. 709-15.

<sup>2</sup> F. 754-55.

<sup>3</sup> F. 1522-24.

<sup>4</sup> F. 1527.

<sup>5</sup> F. 1543-44.

<sup>6</sup> F. 1595-97.

<sup>7</sup> F. 1607-12.

Thus it appears that the dramatic impulse to the telling of the Franklin's Tale is to be found in the relations among the Pilgrims and in the effect that they have upon each other,—in other words, in the circumstances, the situation, and the interplay of character.

It has sometimes been thought that the story, either in subject or in style, is too fine for the Franklin to tell. But this objection Chaucer foresaw and forestalled. The question is not whether this tale, thus told, would be appropriate to a typical or "average" fourteenth-century franklin. The question is whether it is appropriate to this particular Franklin, under these particular circumstances, and at this particular juncture. And to this question there can be but one answer. Chaucer's Franklin is an individual, not a mere type-specimen. He is rich, ambitious socially, and profoundly interested in the matter of *gentillesse* for personal and family reasons. He is trying to bring up his son as a gentleman, and his position as "St. Julian in his country" has brought him into intimate association with first-rate models. He has, under the special circumstances, every motive to tell a gentleman's story and to tell it like a gentleman. He is speaking under the immediate influence of his admiration for the Squire and of his sense of the inferiority of his own son. If we choose to conceive the Franklin as a mediaeval Squire Western and then to allege that he could not possibly have told such a story, we are making the difficulty for ourselves. We are considering—not Chaucer's Franklin (whose character is to be inferred not merely from the description in the General Prologue but from all the other evidence that the poet provides)—not Chaucer's Franklin, but somebody quite different, somebody for whom Chaucer has no kind of responsibility.<sup>1</sup>

In considering the immediate occasion of the Franklin's Tale, we have lost sight for a moment of the Wife of Bath. But she was not absent from the mind of the Franklin. The proper subject of his tale, as we have seen, is *gentillesse*. Now that (as well as marriage) was a subject on which the Wife of Bath had descanted at

<sup>1</sup> How elaborate a compliment the Franklin pays the Squire is not always perceived by us moderns, prone as we are to read each tale in and for itself as if it were an isolated unit. The point may be appreciated in all its force, however, if one will take the trouble to compare the Franklin's description (F. 925-34, 943-52) of Aurelius (who is the real hero of the story) with Chaucer's description of our Squire in the General Prologue (A. 79-100). The resemblance extends even to verbal details. There is also a point

some length. Her views are contained in the famous harangue delivered by the lady to her husband on the wedding night: "But for ye speken of swich gentillesse," etc.<sup>1</sup> Many readers have perceived that this portentous curtain-lecture clogs the story, and some have perhaps wished it away, good as it is in itself. For it certainly seems to be out of place on lips of the *fée*. But its insertion is (as usual in such cases) exquisitely appropriate to the teller of the tale, the Wife of Bath, who cannot help dilating on subjects which interest her, and who has had the advantage of learned society in the person of her fifth husband. Perhaps no *fée* would have talked thus to her knightly bridegroom on such an occasion; but it is quite in character for the Wife of Bath to use the *fée* (or anybody else) as a mouthpiece for her own ideas, as the Merchant had used Proserpine to point his satire. Thus the references to Dante, Valerius, Seneca, Boethius, and Juvenal—so deliciously absurd on the lips of a *fée* of King Arthur's time—are perfectly in place when we remember who it is that is reporting the monologue. The Wife was a citer of

of contact between the Franklin's Tale and the Merchant's, in that the demeanor of Aurelius in love is much like that of Damian (both of whom are squires), though the character of Aurelius is so different from Damian's (E. 1866 ff.; F. 941 ff.). Both were at first afraid to tell their love to the lady and each expressed his passion in lyric verse. Compare

with  
 In a lettre wroot he al his sorwe  
 In maner of a compleynt or a lay  
 Unto his faire fresche lady May (E. 1880-82)

He was despayred, no-thing dorste he seye,  
 Save in his songes somewhat wolde he wrye  
 His wo, as in a general compleyning;  
 He seyde he lovede, and was biloved no-thing:  
 Of swich matere he made manye layes,  
 Songes, compleintes, roundels, virelayes (F. 943-48).

This similarity brings out the more strongly the contrast between May's and Dorigen's reception of the confession when it is finally made. The antithesis may well have been intended by the Franklin. At all events, the conduct of Dorigen fits admirably the words of the Merchant in pointing his satirical praise of the compassionate May:

Som tyrant is, as ther be many oon,  
 That hath an herte as hard as any stoon,  
 Which wolde han lete him sterven in the place  
 Wel rather than han graunted him hir grace,  
 And hem rejoyssen in hir cruel pryde,  
 And rekke nat to been an homicyde (E. 1989-94).

For Aurelius had protested that his life depended on Dorigen's mercy:

Madame, reweth upon my peynes smerte,  
 For with a word ye may me sleen or save,  
 Heer at your feet God wolde that I were grave!  
 I ne have as now no leyser more to seye;  
 Have mercy, swete, or ye wol do me deye (F. 974-78).

These things, it is true, are all conventions. But (1) they are conventions that Chaucer used not mechanically, but with consciousness of their significance, and (2) I mention them merely for what they are worth, not as necessary parts of my argument.

<sup>1</sup>D. 1109-76.

authorities—she makes the *fée* cite authorities. How comical this is the Wife did not know, but Chaucer knew, and if we think he did not, it is our own fault for not observing how dramatic in spirit is the *Canterbury Tales*.

A considerable passage in the curtain-lecture is given to the proposition that "such gentillesse as is descended out of old riches" is of no value: "Swich arrogance is not worth an hen."<sup>1</sup> These sentiments the Franklin echoes:

"Fy on possessioun  
But-if a man be vertuous withal!"<sup>2</sup>

But, whether or not the Wife's digression on *gentillesse* is lingering in the Franklin's mind (as I am sure it is), one thing is perfectly clear: the Franklin's utterances on marriage are spoken under the influence of the discussion which the Wife has precipitated. In other words, though everybody else imagines that the subject has been finally dismissed by the Host when he calls on the Squire for a tale of *love*, it has no more been dismissed in fact than when the Friar attempted to dismiss it at the beginning of his tale.<sup>3</sup> For the Franklin has views, and he means to set them forth. He possesses, as he thinks, the true solution of the whole difficult problem. And that solution he embodies in his tale of *gentillesse*.

The introductory part of the Franklin's Tale sets forth a theory of the marriage relation quite different from anything that has so far emerged in the debate. And this theory the Franklin arrives at by taking into consideration both *love* (which, as we remember, was the subject that the Host had bidden the Squire treat of) and *gentillesse* (which is to be the subject of his own story).

Arveragus had of course been obedient to his lady during the period of courtship, for obedience was well understood to be the duty of a lover. Finally, she consented to marry him—

To take him for hir housbande and hir lord,  
Of swich lordshipe as men han over her wyves.<sup>4</sup>

Marriage, then, according to the orthodox doctrine (as held by Walter and Griselda) was to change Arveragus from the lady's servant to her master. But Arveragus was an enlightened and chivalric

<sup>1</sup> D. 1109 ff.

<sup>2</sup> F. 686-87.

<sup>3</sup> D. 1274-77.

<sup>4</sup> The sly suggestion of this line was certainly not missed by the Pilgrims.

gentleman, and he promised the lady that he would never assert his marital authority, but would content himself with the mere name of sovereignty, continuing to be her servant and lover as before. This he did because he thought it would ensure the happiness of their wedded life.

And for to lede the more in blisse hir lyves,  
Of his free wil he swoor hir as a knight,  
That never in al his lyf he, day ne night,  
Ne sholde up-on him take no maistrye  
Agayn hir wil, ne kythe hir ialousye,  
But hir obeye, and folwe hir wil in al,  
As any love to his lady shal;  
Save that the name of soveraynetee,  
That wolde he have for shame of his degree.<sup>1</sup>

But, just as Arveragus was no disciple of the Marquis Walter, so Dorigen was not a member of the sect of the Wife of Bath. She promised her husband obedience and fidelity in return for his *gentillesse* in renouncing his sovereign rights.

She thanked him, and with ful greet humbleesse  
She seyde, "Sire, sith, of your gentillesse,  
Ye profre me to have so large a reyne,  
Ne wolde never God bitwixe us tweyne,  
As in my gilt, were outhere werre or stryf.  
Sir, I wol be your humble trewe wyf,  
Have heer my trouthe, til that myn herte breste."<sup>2</sup>

This, then, is the Franklin's solution of the whole puzzle of matrimony, and it is a solution that depends upon love and *gentillesse* on both sides. But he is not content to leave the matter in this purely objective condition. He is determined that there shall be no misapprehension in the mind of any Pilgrim as to his purpose. He wishes to make it perfectly clear that he is definitely and formally offering this theory as the only satisfactory basis of happy married life. And he accordingly comments on the relations between his married lovers with fulness, and with manifest reference to certain things that the previous debaters have said.

The arrangement, he tells the Pilgrims, resulted in "quiet and rest" for both Arveragus and Dorigen. And, he adds, it is the only

<sup>1</sup> F. 744-52.

<sup>2</sup> F. 753-59.



arrangement which will ever enable two persons to live together in love and amity. Friends must "obey each other if they wish to hold company long."

"Love wol nat ben constreyned by maistrye;  
Whan maistrie comth, the god of love anon  
Beteth hise winges, and farewel! he is gon!  
Love is a thing as any spirit free;  
Wommen of kinde desiren libertee,  
And nat to ben constreyned as a thral;  
And so don men, if I soth seyen shal.  
Loke who that is most pacient in love,  
He is at his avantage al above.  
Pacience is an heigh vertu certeyn;  
For it venquisseth, as thise clerkes seyn,  
Things that rigour sholde never atteyne.  
For every word men may nat chyde or pleyne.  
Lerneth to suffre, or elles, so moot I goon,  
Ye shul it lerne, wher-so ye wole or noon."<sup>1</sup>

Hence it was that this wise knight promised his wife "suffraunce" and that she promised him never to abuse his goodness.

Heer may men seen an humble wys accord;  
Thus hath she take hir servant and hir lord,  
Servant in love, and lord in mariage;  
Than was he bothe in lordship and servage;  
Servage? nay, but in lordshipe above,  
Sith he hath bothe his lady and his love;  
His lady, certes, and his wyf also,  
The which that lawe of love accordeth to.<sup>2</sup>

The result, the Franklin adds, was all that could be desired. The knight lived "in blisse and in solas." And then the Franklin adds an encomium on the happiness of true marriage:

"Who coude telle, but he had wedded be,  
The ioye, the ese, and the prosperitee  
That is bitwixe an housbonde and his wyf?"<sup>3</sup>

This encomium echoes the language of the Merchant:

"A wyf! a Seinte Marie! *benedicite!*  
How mighte a man han any adversitee  
That hath a wyf? Certes, I can nat seye!  
The blisse which that is bitwixe hem tweye  
Ther may no tonge telle or herte thinke."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. 764-78.

<sup>2</sup> F. 791-98.

<sup>3</sup> F. 803-5.

<sup>4</sup> E. 1337-41.

The Franklin's praise of marriage is sincere; the Merchant's had been savagely ironical. The Franklin, we observe, is answering the Merchant, and he answers him in the most effective way—by repeating his very words.

And just as in the Merchant's Tale we noted that the Merchant has enormously expanded the simple *fabliau* that he had to tell, inserting all manner of observations on marriage which are found in no other version of the Pear-Tree Story, so also we find that the Franklin's exposition of the ideal marriage relation (including the pact between Arveragus and Dorigen) is all his own, occurring in none of the versions that precede Chaucer.<sup>1</sup> These facts are of the very last significance. No argument is necessary to enforce their meaning.

It is hardly worth while to indicate the close connection between this and that detail of the Franklin's exposition and certain points that have come out in the discussion as conducted by his predecessors in the debate. His repudiation of the Wife of Bath's doctrine that men should be "governed by their wives"<sup>2</sup> is express, as well as his rejection of the opposite theory. Neither party should lose his liberty; neither the husband nor the wife should be a thrall. Patience (which clerks celebrate as a high virtue) should be mutual, not, as in the Clerk's Tale, all on one side. The husband is to be both servant and lord—servant in love and lord in marriage. Such servitude is true lordship. Here there is a manifest allusion to the words of Walter's subjects in the Clerk's Tale:

That blisful yok  
Of sovereynetee, noght of servyse,<sup>3</sup>

as well as to Walter's rejoinder:

"I me reioysed of my libertee,  
That selde tyme is founde in mariage;  
Ther I was free, I moot been in servage."<sup>4</sup>

It was the regular theory of the Middle Ages that the highest type of chivalric love was incompatible with marriage, since marriage

<sup>1</sup> The original point of the story is, of course, preserved in the question "Which was the mooste free?" (F. 1622)—the same question that occurs in other versions. The peculiarity consists in the introduction of the pact of mutual love and forbearance and in dwelling upon the lesson which it teaches.

<sup>2</sup> D. 1261-62.

<sup>3</sup> E. 113-14.

<sup>4</sup> E. 145-47.

brings in mastery, and mastery and love cannot abide together. This view the Franklin boldly challenges. Love *can* be consistent with marriage, he declares. Indeed, without love (and perfect, *gentle* love) marriage is sure to be a failure. The difficulty about mastery vanishes when mutual love and forbearance are made the guiding principles of the relation between husband and wife.

The soundness of the Franklin's theory, he declares, is proved by his tale. For the marriage of Arveragus and Dorigen was a brilliant success:

Arveragus and Dorigene his wyf  
In sovereyn blisse leden forth hir lyf.  
Never eft ne was ther angre hem bitwene;  
He cheriseth hir as though she were a quene;  
And she was to him trewe for evermore.  
Of this two folk ye gete of me na-more.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the whole debate has been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and the Marriage Act of the Human Comedy ends with the conclusion of the Franklin's Tale.

Those readers who are eager to know what Chaucer thought about marriage may feel reasonably content with the inference that may be drawn from his procedure. The Marriage Group of Tales begins with the Wife of Bath's Prologue and ends with the Franklin's Tale. There is no connection between the Wife's Prologue and the group of stories that precedes; there is no connection between the Franklin's Tale and the group that follows. Within the Marriage Group, on the contrary, there is close connection throughout. That act is a finished act. It begins and ends an elaborate debate. We need not hesitate, therefore, to accept the solution which the Franklin offers as that which Geoffrey Chaucer the man accepted for his own part. Certainly it is a solution that does him infinite credit. A better has never been devised or imagined.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F. 1551-56.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Lowes's important paper on "Chaucer and the *Miroir de Mariage*", (*Modern Philology*, VIII, 165-86, 305-34) may here be cited as incidentally but powerfully confirmatory of the views which are set forth in the present essay.



## THE TROUBADOUR *CANSO* AND LATIN LYRIC POETRY

The idea that the lyric poetry of mediaeval France had its beginnings in the rounds and songs of women, danced and sung in the valley of the Loire during the festivals of springtime, was first put forward by Gaston Paris in a review of Jeanroy's *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*.<sup>1</sup> He had reached this conclusion by noticing the close resemblance of sentiment in the remnants of the carole refrains, with their allusions to spring, the woods, birds, and love—refrains originally sung in chorus by women as they danced—to those French poems where a woman is the principal speaker, such as the *chansons de mal mariée*, or the *pastourelles*. In both classes free love in spring is the theme, joy at escaping for the moment from the dull routine of ordinary existence. And seeing that the idea of Troubadour lyric poetry was also love outside wedlock, and that this peculiar conception of was love often introduced by a strophe in which spring, flowers, and birds summoned the poet to praise and petition his mistress, Paris took the further step of seeking in these same carole dances the reason for the especial characteristics of the artistic verse of Provence. It would have the same origin as the semi-popular poetry of the North. The *canso* would differ from the *pastourelle* only in the manner of its development.<sup>2</sup>

To this view of the beginnings of lyric poetry on French soil M. Joseph Bédier made notable exceptions. For the *pastourelle* and its kind he would allow a mild infusion of folk poesy, or, to speak more correctly, he would consider the *pastourelle* a parody of the real thing, an artistic reflection of rustic wooing, contrived to amuse the fashionable society of the day.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal des Savants*, novembre, décembre, 1891, mars, juillet, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Paris' words are: "Je voudrais en effet rendre vraisemblable cette thèse que la poésie des troubadours proprement dite, imitée dans le nord à partir du milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et qui est essentiellement la poésie courtoise, a son point de départ dans les chansons de dances et notamment de dances printanières, et subsidiairement que les chansons qui lui ont servi de point de départ appartenaient à une région intermédiaire entre le nord et le midi, et qu'elles ont rayonné au midi pour s'y transformer très anciennement, au nord pour y rester longtemps telles quelles."—*Op. cit.*, July, 1892, p. 424; cf. p. 426.

<sup>3</sup> "Un peu avant 1150, se développe dans les cours chevaleresques un certain goût de poésie pastorale; les fêtes du printemps, célébrées à la fois par les vilains et les seigneurs, les chansons de maieroles et de danse en sont à la fois le ferment et l'aliment. De

But the great song of mediaeval France, the Troubadour *canso*, would not claim relationship with the poetry of the people. Love, youth, and rejoicing in the coming of spring are essential elements of amatory verse always and everywhere. That they appear in the carole choruses on the one hand and in the *canso* on the other is therefore not significant at all. Rather would it be surprising were they absent. And the ties which to Gaston Paris were innate, linking the rough melody of the Limousin peasant to the polished ode of the feudal courtier, are to M. Bédier non-existent. Between the two there is no vital connection. The peasant's chorus is natural. The *canso* is artificial. Its sentiment is conventional, and was based on an ideal, quite the opposite of actual love-making. Love as a worship, love which ennobles the lover, which bestows honor on him, which causes the lover to admit his lack of merit, his unworthiness to adore even at a distance, is the essential characteristic of Provençal *canso* and French *chanson*. It is not found in popular poetry anywhere.<sup>1</sup>

Now if this difference really exists, and if M. Bédier's opinion of the independent origin of the *canso* is more plausible than Gaston Paris' theory of its descent from the same embryo as the *pastourelle*, why is there a reference to Nature in the *canso*? As we know it, this perfect form of Troubadour verse is imbued with the feeling of its period, the age of feudalism; it mirrors the environment of a particular locality, the court of Poitou or Orleans. But to dismiss its allusions to springtime with the statement that descriptions of field and wood make one of the commonplaces of all amatory poetry is to state a fact and avoid an explanation. Yet an explanation imposes itself here. The invocation of spring in the *canso* is peculiar. It is the prelude to the poem. It serves to introduce the lover's petition for favor. It does not accompany the petition. In one conception and, saving exceptions, in one single strophe the Troubadour hails the return of flower and song which bid him renew his pledge of devotion to his lady. This greeting once given, Nature and her beauties

nobles poètes s'amuse à exploiter ces thèmes: ainsi ont procédé, presque en tout temps, les poètes bucoliques. C'est un jeu aristocratique, c'est une mode de société, ou—si l'on ne craint pas l'anachronisme du terme—une mode de salon."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 mai, 1896 (p. 166).

<sup>1</sup> For a later summary and discussion of the subject see C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, 188-96.

disappear for good and all. The remainder of the poem does not know them. Indeed in its tenor it is far removed from them. So great is the contrast between the opening strophe and what follows that the formality of the introduction forces itself upon you at once. You wonder why it is used, since it is not necessary to the poet's thought. And yet it seems to have been used always. So far back as the *canso* can be traced this kind of introduction appears to be obligatory, traditional. We could well admit that the thought of Troubadour poetry was conditioned by the ideas of a Limousin court of the eleventh century, and still reserve our opinion regarding the origin of this almost inevitable overture to Troubadour song.

Yet it was for the purpose of reconciling the open conflict between the nature strophe and the remainder of the poem, and to demonstrate the reasonableness of this constant preface to the *canso* that Gaston Paris turned to the folk melodies of the Loire valley. What he found there which would also bear on the lighter lyric of north France may be readily accepted. The *chansons de mal mariée*, the *pastourelles* cling closely to the facts of mediaeval courtship, whatever the social circle. The woman either makes the advances or is not long besought. But to assume that the *canso* of Provence, with its exaltation of the weaker sex and its belittling of the stronger, derives from sources antagonistic to its very life is perhaps carrying analogy too far. The proof for the assumption rests entirely on the first, the nature strophe. All the other strophes argue against it. And between this nature strophe and the dance songs which are supposed to foreshadow it, the connection is wholly conjectural.<sup>1</sup>

But whence comes the rhythm of Troubadour verse if not from rustic song? The strophic forms of William IX of Poitou are new to literature. They cannot boast of any ancestor in Latin poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Paris' theory of the origins of all the lyric, light or serious, rests in great measure on the notion that the dance songs of the people were especially rife in spring. They would be the survival of spring festivals. This idea is the natural one and is supported by the testimony of the lyric itself. But curiously enough Latin documents, antecedent to French and Provençal lyric, do not point that way. From the time of Hilary of Poitiers (IVc) down to the twelfth century there are numerous allusions to the dances of the people. To my knowledge, however, only one designates spring. In Saint Ouen's (d. 683) life of Eloi, bishop of Noyon (d. 659), a sermon of Eloi's against pagan practices on St. John's Day, and saints' days in general, is quoted, and also against heathen rites in May: "Nullus diem Jovis abeque sanctis festivitibus nec in Madio nec ullo tempore in otio observet." . . . . (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, "Scriptores Rerum Merov." IV, 706). On the other hand references to dancing and singing at the Calends of January are not uncommon. Cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVI (1911), 304, 305.

There is, to be sure, a likeness between one of his strophes and the three-line strophe of Latin trochaic tetrameter, a likeness which would indicate a common origin, but the large number of trochaic tetrameters which have come down from the tenth and eleventh centuries do not offer a single exact counterpart. For the other strophes used by William, Latin poetry does not give approximate models even. Yet we must assume that such models existed, for him or his predecessors. And we must also assume that these models belonged to a prosody of which no textual remains have yet been found.

Now if this prosody is not represented in the compositions of Latin poets—exception being made for the trochaic tetrameter—it may be because these more artistic writers looked down on it. Versifiers who were their inferiors in training may have used it, or rhymsters who wrote only in the vernacular. It is noticeable that the larger number of the strophes in William IX are built on either one or two rimes. That is, they correspond to a theoretical original, which would be the artistic development of a song sung in chorus at first, and afterward as a solo and chorus. In other words, the Troubadour strophe would be the lineal descendant of a non-literary Latin or Latin-Romance strophe—which might rightly be called a popular strophe—created for the people and set to a melody in which the crowd could join. At some period in the history of France educated poets would have adopted this popular strophe, and, in modifying its rhythm to make it more musical and systematizing its lines to make them more equal, would have replaced its common sentiments and coarse expressions with the ideas and language of the refined society of their day. Or rather, one poet would have accomplished this transformation, the real inventor. He would leave to the strophe its general form. Its content he would throw away. And if the old content contained any praise of Nature, which is open to serious doubt, that praise would disappear too.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This view of the origin of the Troubadour strophe does not coincide with the apparent trend of the investigations now being carried on by M. Jean Beck. M. Beck has discovered that certain melodies of French and Provençal poems, on the one hand, and of church hymns, on the other, are the same. Now correspondence in melody means likeness of rhythm and therefore similarity in verse structure. Consequently M. Beck is inclining toward the idea that Latin church poetry, and in particular the sequence, forms the point of departure for Provençal lyric poetry, an opinion which Wilhelm Meyer advanced, but without musical proof, in his *Fragmenta Burana* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I, 51-55).



Should such a hypothesis be considered tenable, and if we might admit that the general outline of a Provençal song was retained by the Troubadours, while its thought was entirely recast, how can we account for the presence of the nature strophe in the *canso*, the obligatory prelude on spring, birds, and love? If the peasants' melodies did not suggest this overture, what did? One answer—the answer given here—would be that the nature strophe of the *canso* was prompted by the example of Latin lyric poetry, and in particular that poetry describing spring and its beauty which was written or was current in the valley of the Loire. For in all probability—we are dealing altogether with hypotheses but with hypotheses which we hope are reasonable—in all probability the pioneer composers of artistic verse in Provençal, the poets who first wrote and sang artistic poetry in their mother-tongue, were musicians who had received their musical education in the abbeys of their native land, and especially in the school of St. Martial's of Limoges, the chief center of sacred music in Europe during the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> It is at St. Martial's that we might expect to see that inventor who found the new song of worship and devotion, worship of his lady and devotion to her cause. And who was this lady? The times and the environment, the return of peace after the foreign invasions and feudal strife of the first half of the tenth century, with its revival of religion and its restoration of church and shrine, and the place where these first singers would be trained, point to a suzerain whose sway exceeded earthly limitations, whose praise formed the theme of hymn and sequence, who was the patron of many sanctuaries, the "domina mea" of St. Dunstan<sup>2</sup> (d. 988), and the holy being to whom Maieul (d. 994) of Cluny had pledged his faith.<sup>3</sup>

Scattered indications in the hymnology of the tenth century may be adduced to support this notion that a personal prayer to the Virgin was the first manifestation of the higher song of Provence. Traces

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIV (1909), lxii-lxx.

<sup>2</sup> "Non patiat<sup>ur</sup> domina mea, sancta mater Domini mei."—*Vita S. Dunstani* (about 1000), in Stubbs' *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, 18. Dunstan stood in close touch with the abbey of Fleury, on the Loire. A line from the tenth-century manuscript of Moissac is also pertinent: "Quem nos precamur, domina."—Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, II, No. 71, strophe 7, l. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXXXVII, 759, 760.

of homage paid to her by devout poets of the day appear here and there in monastic manuscripts. It is a sequence composed at St. Martial's which tells us of Mary's "famuli" and their "fidelia precamina."<sup>1</sup> And an English collection of the same period echoes and stresses the humble supplications of votaries for her aid and favor.<sup>2</sup>

And if we admit the possibility that the zeal of some gifted singer of Limousin caused him one feast day to break out into phrases of passionate adoration of the "queen of heaven," need we seek any farther than Holy Writ itself for a justification of his act and a model for his sensuous pleading? "En dilectus meus loquitur mihi: Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni! Jam enim hiems transiit, imber abiit et recessit; flores apparuerunt in terra nostra, tempus putationis advenit, vox turturis audita est in terra nostra; ficus protulit grossos suos, vineae florentes dederunt odorem suum. Surge, amica mea, speciosa mea, et veni!"<sup>3</sup>

For however allegorized and spiritualized the Song of Songs may have been—and it was the subject of constant commentary and mystical explanation from the early church fathers down—its burning words of love and its images of physical beauty could not fail to stir the pulse of any but the most confirmed ascetic. And a hermit our first Troubadour was surely not. This language of ardent desire gave answer to his longings, offered to them perhaps a definite as well as a consecrated pattern of expression, on some morning when

<sup>1</sup> Virginum o regina, te canimus, Maria,  
Per quam fulsere clara mundo lumina.

Adesto famulis, piissima,  
Infusa suspendens jam prece pericula.

Audi fidelia precamina  
Impetratam deferens coelitus veniam.

—Dreves. *An. Hymn.*, VII, No. 104, 6a, 8a, 8b.

<sup>2</sup> Maria, virgo virginum,  
Exaudi vota servorum,  
Jugi prece nos conserva,  
Ac te colentes adjuva.

Audemus proni rogare,  
Audire nostros dignare  
In tuo melos honore  
Ac pro nobis intercede.

—*Op. cit.*, XII, No. 76, 1, 2.

Maria, coeli regina,  
Sanctitate gloriosa,  
Audi preces famulorum  
Et deprecare Dominum.

—*Loc. cit.*, No. 77, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Canticum Canticorum*, II, 10–13.

the voice of spring was calling to him and the bloom of the forest and the mating notes of the birds found his religious zeal struggling with his senses. Here before him was a solution of the strife, a means of reconciling body with spirit. It was a woman he would be addressing, yet a woman whom the world's increasing adoration had raised to a place beside Deity, the "domina," subordinate only to the "Dominus," still human, though possessed of power almost divine through her relationship with the Son. Therefore, heartened by his forerunner of the old dispensation, whose amatory phrases had ever been sanctified by canon and commentary, he would blend Our Lady's attributes of both earth and heaven and would invoke her aid and favor, as he doubtless would petition a mistress of flesh and blood. And a fitting prelude to his prayer would also be found in the nature setting of the Hebrew hymn.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand it is possible that the nature verses of the Song of Solomon were an incident only in the creation of the *canso's* opening lines, an incident to be sure which would confirm the Troubadour's intention of giving his appeal to spring the sanction of the Scriptures, and that the real source of his overture is to be found elsewhere, in Latin lyric poetry. Side by side with the Song of Songs had run for ages other lyrics, both religious and secular in content, where the coming of spring, the bloom of field and wood, the love notes of birds had been celebrated time and again. Of the body of this lyric we may well suppose the good monks of Limousin and their non-clerical pupils to have been ignorant. But some of it at least they must have known, for it had been written on their native soil, and by men famous in the annals of their race. Assuming then that it was the monks of St. Martial's of Limoges who gave the first Troubadour his musical education in the last half of the tenth century, what part of this poetry which is still preserved may have been within reach of teacher and student?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There may be more than a hypothesis in this suggestion, for one of the earliest specimens of lyric poetry in France is in part a paraphrase, assimilated to so-called popular strophic forms, of the Song of Solomon. See Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, 61-64.—In a brilliant article recently published in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* (XXXVIII [1911], 47-94), Jean Acher shows that this lyric was indeed composed for the festival of the Assumption. Acher's convincing exposition seems to support my argument here.

<sup>2</sup> The catalogue of St. Martial's library made early in the thirteenth century gives very little assistance in respect to its manuscripts of lyric poetry. At the date of its

The collection of poems known as the Latin Anthology has come down in several manuscripts which antedate the last half of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> Two of these manuscripts are now in Paris. Quite as old as any of the numbers of the Anthology is the famous *Pervigilium Veneris*, in trochaic tetrameters (the artistic form, perhaps, of the popular verse of the Latin peoples), with a refrain.<sup>2</sup> Though written in South Italy or Sicily, and probably toward the end of the first century, this Latin song of love, like the *canço* of mediaeval Provence, tells of the advent of spring, with its love and leaf and nesting, in one single strophe:

Ver novum; ver jam canorum; ver renactus orbis est!  
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites  
Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.

In the Anthology also may be found distichs by a certain Pentadius, who is supposed to have been a friend of the churchman Lactantius, in the second quarter of the fourth century. Using that peculiar form of repetition, of which Ovid may have set the fashion,<sup>3</sup> and which was so admired by the Latinists of the tenth and eleventh centuries—the first hemistich of the hexameter repeated in the second hemistich of the pentameter—Pentadius gives utterance to his joy at the return of spring with its buds and birds, and finds even death sweet when it comes in the midst of love:

Sentio, fugit hiems; Zephyrisque animantibus orbem  
Jam tepet Eurus aquis; sentio, fugit hiems.  
Parturit omnis ager, persentit terra colores  
Germinibusque novis parturit omnis ager.  
Laeta virecta tument, folio sese induit arbor,  
Vallibus apricis laeta virecta tument.  
Jam Philomela gemit modulis, Ityn inopia mater  
Oblatum mensis jam Philomela gemit.  
Tunc quoque dulce mori, tunc fila recurrite fuis,  
Inter et amplexus tunc quoque dulce mori.<sup>4</sup>

making there were several copies of the Song of Songs on hand. Whether the *Pervigilium Veneris* was to be found among the works of the authors of Latin antiquity it mentions cannot be determined.—*Chroniques de St. Martial de Limoges* ("Société de l'Histoire de France"), 323 ff.

<sup>1</sup> E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, IV, 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Baehrens, *op. cit.*, IV, 292-97.

<sup>3</sup> *Amores*, I, 9, 1, 2; *Fasti*, IV, 365, 366.

<sup>4</sup> Baehrens, *op. cit.*, IV, 344, 345.

Here the nightingale, as we see, is called "philomela." In the *Per-vigilium Veneris* the paraphrase, "Terei puella," had marked the author's erudition.<sup>1</sup>

Outside the Anthology, which we may be allowed to believe was accessible to the first Troubadours, Latin poetry knows little of Nature and its beauty until the last half of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> Yet it seems improbable that there was a real break in the continuity of this kind of composition, because it is so abundant when once it appears again. And the place it chose for its new manifestation was that very valley of the Loire which was to see the future outburst of romantic poetry. But the singer of the sixth century, if indeed he was a singer and not a versifier only, was not a son of the soil. He was a stranger to France, and brought from a more cultured land the fruits of a more careful training. Venantius Fortunatus was an Italian, who emigrated to central France about the year 560. Varying his residence along the Loire from time to time, he won the lasting friendship of Gregory of Tours and earned the protection of lay and ecclesiastical rulers. The unusual loveliness of Nature in his adopted home surely exercised on Venantius a peculiar charm, for not once nor twice but many times does he devote his pen to the portrayal of her changing moods.

Venantius' first description of spring is given in some distichs which celebrate King Sigebert's marriage with Brunhilda (566):

Vere novo, tellus fuerit dum exuta pruinis,  
Se picturato gramine vestit ager,  
. . . . .  
Ad fetus properans garrula currit avis.<sup>3</sup>

A few years later, Chilperic's espousal of Fredegonda occasioned another picture of this favored season, with a greater amount of detail and a certain likeness to the simpler sketches of mediaeval lyricists. The royal pair are urged to lay aside sadness and turn

<sup>1</sup> Adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,  
Ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico  
Et neque queri sororem de marito barbaro.  
Illa cantat: nos tacemus? quando ver venit meum?  
—*Op. cit.*, IV, 296.

<sup>2</sup> The lyrics of Tiberianus, at one time resident in Gaul (in 336), make the only considerable exception to this statement. Tiberianus describes flowers and trees, praises the melodies of birds, but does mention love. Some manuscripts of his poetry are now in Paris (Baehrens, *op. cit.*, III, 264, 265).

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, "Auctores Antiquissimi," IV, *Carmina*, vi, 1.

toward joy, as does spring when winter is vanquished and Easter with the resurrection of the Lord draws near:

Post tempestates et turbida nubila caeli,  
 Quo solet infesto terra rigere gelu,  
 Post validas hiemes ac tristia frigora brumae,  
 Flamine seu rapidi rura gravante noti,  
 Succedunt iterum vernalia tempora mundo  
 Grataque post glaciem provocat aura diem.  
 Rursus odoriferis renovantur floribus arva,  
 Frondibus arboreis et viret omne nemus;  
 Dulce saporatis curvantur robora pomis,  
 Et redeunte sibi gramine ridet ager.<sup>1</sup>

And on another occasion it was the Resurrection and Easter again that called out Venantius' best efforts in this kind of composition. Did Easter suggest the praise of spring, or did the return of spring lead the poet on to the Resurrection? Venantius is writing to Felix, bishop of Nantes (d. 582), in his favorite meter:

Tempora florifero rutilant distincta sereno  
 Et majore poli lumine porta patet,  
 . . . . .  
 Mollia purpureum pingunt violaria campum,  
 Prata virent herbis et micat herba comis.  
 . . . . .  
 Tempore sub hiemis foliorum crine revulso  
 Jam reparat viridans frondea tecta nemus:  
 Myrta, salix, abies, corylus, siler, ulmus, acernus  
 Plaudit quaeque suis arbor amoena comis.  
 . . . . .  
 Ad cantus revocatur aves, quae carmine clauso  
 Pigrior hiberno frigore muta fuit.  
 Hinc filomela suis adtemperat organa cannis  
 Fitque repperusso dulcior aura melo.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, ix, 3, ll. 1-10.—See also the lines to Radegonda (d. 587):

Tempore vernali, Dominus quo Tartara vicit,  
 Surgit aperta suis laetior herba comis.  
 Inde viri postes et pulpita floribus ornant,  
 Hinc muller roseo complet odore sinum.—*Loc. cit.*, viii, 7, ll. 3-8.

Some distichs, in a more secular tone, on the queen's garden (after 586), begin with Virgil's "Hic ver purpureum" (*Ec.* ix. 40), and tell of the fruits of summer (*loc. cit.*, vi, 6). Another poem has winter for theme (*loc. cit.*, xi, 26). Venantius' life of Radegonda was among the books in the library of St. Martial's (*Chroniques de St. Martial de Limoges*, 327).

Ecce renascentis testatur gratia mundi  
Omnia cum Domino dona redisse suo.

Si tibi (Christ) nunc avium resonant virgulta susurro,  
Has inter minimus passer amore cano.<sup>1</sup>

With Venantius the nightingale begins his long career in the literature of France, not as the mythological philomel of the *Pervigilium Veneris* and Pentadius, but a genuine bird of the woods, the finest singer of them all. He has come down to real life. Venantius knew Virgil almost by heart, but Virgil did not give him the prototype, nor did Ovid, who applies to the nightingale the epithet of "garrula." Venantius' words are his own here, as they are elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and the credit of naturalness is his too.

But while we are rendering Venantius his just deserts as a lover of Nature and an admirer of the nightingale's song, we should not forget that in this second rôle, at least, he is soon to be surpassed by a younger poet of the Latin race, though of another nation. Eugenius of Toledo (d. 657) may by good rights consider himself the chief of the devotees of the nightingale. Whole poems of his are consecrated to her praise, and for him her notes far transcend in charm and loveliness all other music of the forest. Still we may surmise that Eugenius did not stand alone in this cult. He may have had a more inspiring predecessor than Venantius, a writer on whom he modeled himself perhaps, for the phrases with which the nightingale introduces herself in one of his distichs ring as though they had been coined in an older mint:

Sum noctis socia, sum cantus dulcis amica,  
Nomen ab ambiguo sic philomela gero.<sup>3</sup>

The "noctis socia," the "cantus dulcis amica" sound borrowed, conventional. Could unknown poets of a more worldly stripe than Eugenius have exercised their talents on this his favorite theme?

Another run of distichs in Eugenius prompts the same query. There we are told that Philomel's mission is to keep watch by night,

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, III. 9.—The last distich echoes *Georgics* II. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Sollicitante melo nimio philomela volatu,  
Pignora contemnens fessa cucurrit avis.*

—*Loc. cit.*, VII. 1, II. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, "Auctores Antiquissimi," XIV, 253.

to drive harm away, and this conception is so unexpected, so foreign to the general trend of sentiment in the poem, that again we wonder whether Eugenius is not following in someone's footsteps. Yet his praise of the bird's song is thoroughly spontaneous and heartfelt:

Vox, philomela, tua cantus edicere cogit,  
Inde tui laudem rustica lingua canit.  
.  
.  
.  
Florea rura colis, herboso caespite gaudes,  
Frondebis arboreis pignera parva foves.  
.  
.  
.  
Nulla tuos umquam cantus imitabitur ales,  
Murmure namque tuo dulcia mella fluunt.  
Dic ergo tremulos lingua vibrante susurros  
Et suavi liquidum gutture pange melos.<sup>1</sup>

Admirers of the nightingale, whose verse has disappeared, would then have preceded Eugenius, and it is probable that other admirers, whose works are lost to posterity, succeeded him. For his ardent eulogies were followed by a silence more than a century long. At last Charlemagne came, and with him a revival of literature, and with this revival renewed delight in Nature and the nightingale. First it is the sober scholar Alcuin, who voices this delight, with a decided return to mythology, yet with sincere admiration for the singer and her song:

Quae te dextra mihi rapuit, lusciniâ, ruscis,  
Illa meae fuerat invidia laetitiae.<sup>2</sup>

Or when spring alone is the burden of his thought, Alcuin again finds solace in the warbler's notes:

Suscitat et vario nostras modulamine mentes  
Indefessa satis rutilis lusciniâ ruscis.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, XIV, 254. The phrases, "frondebis arboreis" and "dulcia mella fluunt" recall Fortunatus' words (p. 478 above) and his "Cujus ab eloquio dulcia mella fluunt" (*op. cit.*, iv, 1, 15, l. 102), and perhaps go back to an original common to both poets. The "garrula irundo," which appears in Eugenius' poem, is Virgilian (*Georgics* iv. 307). But the idea here is neither Venantius' nor Virgil's, and inasmuch as the distichs conclude most devoutly, with an invocation to the Savior of mankind, I suspect a secular source for them, a source which Eugenius has consciously diverted and purified.

<sup>2</sup> E. Dümmler, *Postae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, 274.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 273. Alcuin left England for Aix. Yet in 796 he was made abbot of St. Martin's of Tours, and resided at Tours until his death, in 804. If the poems cited here were written after his occupancy of St. Martin's, we may well believe that they were suggested by the same landscape which had inspired Venantius. Should the *Confectus Veris et Hiemis* also belong to Alcuin, we should have another witness to his love



There are no greater names on the pages of post-classical literature than those of Fortunatus, Eugenius, and Alcuin, and we may suppose that through their authority more than one poet of the Carolingian renaissance was led to celebrate the charm of the sweet warden of the night. Alvarus of Cordova (d. 861) twice imitated Eugenius' distichs, while a third poem, in hexameters, lists the nightingale with other birds and animals.<sup>1</sup> In France, Bishop Engelmodus of Soissons sends a poem to Radbert of Corvie (d. 865), with an allusion to her melody:

Dum lucina melos nocturnis personat hymnis,<sup>2</sup>

a sentiment in which Sedulius Scottus, master of the school at Liège from about 840 to 868, heartily joins.<sup>3</sup> And in the valley of the Loire itself, an anonymous and semi-popular account of the destruction of the Mont Glonne monastery (St. Florent-le-Vieil, near Angers), toward 849, ranks the nightingale's strains with the music of the best instruments:

Gravis det organum tuba;  
Alte resultet fistula;  
Omnis canat armonia;  
Det philomela cantica.<sup>4</sup>

The chaos which resulted from the breaking up of the Carolingian empire enveloped literary life also, and for half a century, at least, descriptions of Nature and her people are lacking to the barren records of France. But in Italy, where feudal strife and foreign inroads were far less wasting, a poet of the first quarter of the tenth century, Eugenius Vulgarius by name, perhaps a monk of Monte Cassino, found leisure to hymn the charms of spring and the music of its birds.<sup>5</sup> And a contemporary of Eugenius Vulgarius—he may

for vernal nature. Notice that both his mentions of the nightingale make use of the common, popular term, "lusciniā," rather than the learned "philomela." Some of Alcuin's more didactic treatises were still at St. Martial's in the thirteenth century (*Chroniques, etc.*, 328, 344, 346).

<sup>1</sup> Dümmler, *op. cit.*, III, c. 1, 2 (pp. 126, 127); c. 4 (pp. 128, 129).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 3 (p. 63).

<sup>3</sup> *Præpetes pennis volucres volatu  
Nunc philomelæ.*

*Temperat et pernox nunc philomela melos.*  
—*Op. cit.*, III, 232, 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 147.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, IV, 430, 431 ("myrto sedens lusciola").

also have been older or younger—whose name is lost, but who may have lived in Spain (possibly in France), was moved by the example of Eugenius of Toledo to begin a verbal reproduction of the cries of beasts and birds with an invocation to Philomel.<sup>1</sup>

But as the tenth century advanced and the harassed Loire regained comparative tranquillity, admiration for the nightingale, which seems to have been a lasting sentiment there, was expressed anew in reviving poetry. In a trope of St. Martial's on the Resurrection, this admiration is once more connected with the observance of Easter:

Jam philomelinis promat fibris chorus instans,  
Arbiter aethre micans populis quod fabitur almis.<sup>2</sup>

So the Philomel cult did evidently survive in France, but what, we may ask, had become of the other features of nature poetry? One might say that this one element had alone been saved, for it is the nightingale only that is mentioned in the lines of Alcuin's successors. Such a conclusion, however, must lack real foundations. Nature poetry in its broader sense may have been composed by artistic poets, and either have not survived or still lie unknown in unexplored manuscripts. But we should prefer, we admit, the more attractive alternative, that as literature declined nature poetry faded away with it, and that when love for Nature returned to man, and demanded literary expression, literature was born again. For we find that when peace had been restored and trade re-established, the desire to write spread beyond the convent walls of France. Other productions than hymns and tropes marked the progress of this desire, and in these productions delight in Nature showed itself once more. One would suppose that poetry would first embody this new joy, and it probably did, but to us the date of its reappearance is definitely fixed by a prose work. Richer, who had been Gerbert's pupil at

<sup>1</sup> Dulcis amica, veni, noctis solatio praestans;  
Inter aves etenim nulla tui similis.  
Tu, philomela, potes vocum discrimina mille,  
Mille vales varios rite referre modos.

Scribere me voces avium philomela coegit,  
Quae cantu cunctas exsuperat volucres.

—Baehrens, *op. cit.*, V, 363, 364.

Though the first line quoted here looks like a direct paraphrase of the Toledan poet, the larger part of the description seems to have been suggested by Suetonius' *Prata*, now lost.

<sup>2</sup> Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, XLIX, No. 111.

Rheims, and who had set himself about 996, at Gerbert's bidding, to narrate the history of his day, gives us our earliest intimation of its presence.<sup>1</sup>

Still if Richer is first among the known authors of the new school to celebrate the return of spring, he could have anticipated his fellow-pupil at Rheims, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, by a few years only at the most. Fulbert occupied the see of Chartres from 1006 to 1028, but before this promotion he had reorganized the cathedral school of his diocese and started it on its greater career. Later, when he had become bishop, he rebuilt the church of Notre Dame of Chartres, preached the sermons that we know, and wrote the larger number of his extant letters. Some of his verse was also composed, without much doubt, during the years of his bishopric, but the poem which interests us most, on spring and the nightingale, written in trochaic tetrameters like the *Pervigilium Veneris*, yet in regular strophes of three lines each, in monorime, contains no indication of the approximate date of its composition. It may have been contemporaneous with Richer's chronicle, or it may belong to a later decade. Its sentiment, which might decide the question, offers little help, for it is pious rather than amatory, and after giving voice to the poet's joy in the warbler's song, and the happy season which brings back flower and leaf, it expends itself in a devout prayer to the Trinity, quite after the manner of Eugenius of Toledo.<sup>2</sup>

Fulbert's stanzas sing the glories of spring, but on love they are silent. This omission of an essential element of nature poetry is, of course, conscious and deliberate. But the scruple which guided Fulbert's pen found no reason for existence with two unknown authors, whose poems are preserved by the same manuscript which

<sup>1</sup> "Nam cum vernalis clementia eodem anno rebus bruma afflictis rediret, pro rerum natura immutato aere. . . . Interea rigore hiemali elapso, cum aere mitiori ver rebus arideret, et prata atque campos virescere faceret."—*Historiarum*, III, c. 109; IV, c. 21. We should suppose that Richer had predecessors in these allusions to spring.

<sup>2</sup> Here are typical strophes of this well-known poem:

Cum telluris vere novo producuntur germina  
Nemorosa circumdrea frondescent et brachia,  
Flagrat odor quam suavis florida per gramina,  
Felix tempus, cui resultat talis consonantia!  
Utinam per duodena mensium curricula  
Dulcis philomela daret sue vocis organa.

—*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XIV, 490, 491; cf. Philip Schuyler Allen in *Modern Philology*, V, 450, 451.

has given us Fulbert's. These poems are more recent than Fulbert's ode, by a score of years perhaps, and it is not certain that they were rhymed in France, but the probabilities point that way. One of them, the so-called "*Verna Feminae Suspiria*," is a genuine product of artistic popular poetry, for here the woman calls on buds and birds to listen to the sighings of unrequited love:

*Levis exsurgit zephyrus  
Et sol procedit tepidus;  
Jam terra sinus aperit,  
Dulcore suo diffluit.  
.  
.  
.  
Tu saltim, veris gratia,  
Exaudi et considera  
Frondes, flores et gramina;  
Nam mea languet anima.<sup>1</sup>*

The other is not popular in tone at all, but wholly learned. It is written in the classical Sapphic meter, it describes spring and the song of birds, and dwells on the melody of the nightingale. But there is no allusion to love in it.<sup>2</sup>

But central France produced during Fulbert's lifetime another witness to the joy which its people felt at the return of spring, a witness of far more consequence in the history of mediaeval literature than those we have so far cited. A tenth-century manuscript, now at Vienna, contains an erotic poem of unknown origin and date, rhymed like the "*Verna Feminae Suspiria*," but made of quatrains of nine-syllable verses rather than eight, and called after its first line, "*Jam dulcis amica, venito*." This poem also appears on the blank leaf of a St. Martial's manuscript in a hand of the early eleventh century, but the version is a poor one. It offers a text obviously

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 492, 493; Allen, *loc. cit.*, 430.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called "*Carmen Aestivum*," of which the first strophe introduces spring and birds:

*Vestiunt silve tenera merorem  
Virgulta, suis onerata pomis;  
Canunt de celsis sedibus palumbes  
Carmina cunctis.*

The third strophe is devoted to the nightingale:

*Hic leta canit philomela frondis,  
Longas effundit sibilum per auras  
Sollempne; milvus tremulaque voce  
Aethera pulsat.—*Loc. cit.*, 491, 492.*

Both of these anonymous compositions, though one is rhymed and the other metrical, show an intimate acquaintance with Virgil and Ovid.

inferior to the Viennese and it omits several strophes given by the latter. But it makes ample atonement for all these deficiencies in an addition which stands as its final quatrain. For summarizing what we have learned to be the vital ideas of nature poetry in the centuries which had gone before, this quatrain blends in one conception and one melody delight in spring, pleasure in the nightingale's song, and the emotions of newly awakened love:

Jam nix glaciesque liquescit,  
Folium et herba virescit,  
Philomela jam cantat in alto,  
Ardet amor cordis in antro.<sup>1</sup>

And what have we reached after this thousand years' wandering through the ruins of nature poetry in the partially uncovered Latin city? Our starting-point. The conventional strophe of Romance lyric which we come upon in the great abbey of Limousin at the beginning of Franco-Provençal civilization is the strophe which we left in southern Italy near the close of the Greco-Roman. So much is certain. All else is wavering. And what conclusion may be drawn from a fact so striking? That the summarizing of amatory poetry in one strophe—one melody—had gone on constantly from the time of the *Pervigilium Veneris* down to the day of the St. Martial's "Dulcis amica, venito"? That each generation of the Latin race had greeted the advent of spring with the same formula? Our review gives some basis for this belief, and the chain may lack its connecting links only because so many documents have perished. Yet it may also be because the documents never existed. Human aspirations remain much the same, and human emotions are repeated with a considerable degree of similarity, but these aspirations and emotions do not always find expression in literature with the same regularity. The essential elements are not always present in the same proportion. Circumstances are not always equally favorable.

<sup>1</sup> Dreves, *op. cit.*, XI, No. 91; *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIV (1909), lxxi, lxxii. This poem was also copied into the manuscript (Cambridge) which contained the other three just mentioned, (*Z. f. d. Alt.*, *loc. cit.*, 494), but was afterward erased so completely that we cannot use this version at all to control the other two. Both the Vienna and St. Martial's manuscripts give the musical notation for the song. It will be noticed that the first line recalls the "Dulcis amica, veni" of the anonymous imitator of Eugenius of Toledo (p. 482, n. 1). One feels in dealing with the documents of this important period in the history of modern literature that the key to the whole situation may lie provokingly near his grasp.

And whatever may have been the real situation during the intervening centuries this much we know, that in the closing years of the tenth century a new life was stirring in France and Aquitania, and the strophe of the Roman poet—might we add of the Hebrew also?—which had voiced his delight in springtime was fashioned anew.<sup>1</sup>

I should then like to picture to myself some singer of talent of the last quarter of the tenth century, who had been trained in letters and music at the school of St. Martial's of Limoges, or one of its off-shoots, conceiving under the stress of great spiritual exaltation the idea of addressing the Virgin in ardent terms of adoration and pleadings for her favor. The consecrated explanation of the language of the Song of Songs would have been to him a justification. And moved by the expressions of this familiar invocation, influenced by the authority of the Latin Anthology perhaps, and by Fortunatus probably, he would have responded to the new delight in Nature which he felt around him by recreating out of all these elements the typical strophe on spring, the song of birds, and love. And this strophe he would have set as a finale or an overture to his song of worship and supplication. To suppose that the reverse of this process took place, that the illiterate rhymsters of the people had furnished Latin lyric for ages with its notions of flower and leaf and the nightingale's strains, would be to run counter to the usual trend of literary creation and challenge the validity of all documentary evidence. And when the disciples of this inventor, this first Troubadour, straying from the free life of church schools to the dependent existence of an Aquitanian court, yielded to the necessities of their secular environment, and, substituting their mother-tongue for the Latin of their master, ventured to transform the homage he had paid to a heavenly mistress into pledges of service to earthly ones, the nature strophe, which suited the new theme even better than it did the old, since it no longer required a pious commentary, remained,

<sup>1</sup> It is more than probable, of course, that the strophe of the St. Martial's manuscript was not unique in its time, that it is, in fact, the representative of a class. Richer's allusions to spring would show that Nature was claiming again a share in man's thoughts and was demanding again a place in literature. Various matin hymns from the tenth-century manuscript of the Moissac abbey (Dreves, *op. cit.*, II, Nos. 10, 13, 16, 20) confirm this impression, as does also the much debated bilingual *alba* of the same approximate date. One might say that the last decades of the tenth century saw in France and Provence—and Germany also—the rise of a Romantic school of literature, as well as of music, architecture, and the fine arts.

a logical introduction to their sensuous words of praise and vows of personal devotion. And when it had entered with these words, then or afterward, into the forms of popular verse which these poets or their successors polished and developed to a high degree of artistic excellence, it was retained generation after generation because it represented to the minstrels of Provence, we may believe, a literary tradition, the confused memory of a glorious estate, which their ancestors had in a sense renounced, when they turned away from the cultivation of Latin poetry in honor of the saints to the composition of vernacular songs at the bidding of temporal suzerains.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Should the plausibility of some theory like the one here outlined be admitted, there might be found in it an explanation for the sublimated conception of many Provençal *cansos*. Dedicated as they would have been originally to the worship of a pure and holy being, they would have transmitted to posterity an abiding trace of their origin. And so the tone of the homage they proffered would be quite as conventional as the substance of their introductory strophe on Nature. The transfer of the *canso's* adoration from the Virgin to a feudal suzerain would take place during the rule of William the Great (990-1030) of Aquitania, and at some court of his domains. By his time the title of lady (or lord) seems to be currently prefixed to the proper name. In a charta of the abbey of Saint Fides of Conques, under the date of 1013, we read: domno Bernardo . . . . domna Guarinde . . . . (G. Desjardins, *Cartulaire de Conques* [Paris, 1879], 23). Bernard of Angers uses the phrase: domnam Beatricem" (*Miracula S. Fidis* [about 1020], II, c. 6). In Fulbert's letters we find "Domnus namque Tetfridus" and "Domnus vero papa" (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLI, 220, 231). But in references to the Virgin or the Savior the contraction seems to be consistently avoided (cf. Fulbert's "Dominae nostrae," *Sermo V* [loc. cit., 324]). No help in solving the question of the *canso's* source can be had from Provençal poets. William IX calls three of his compositions "vers" ("verset") and one "chansoneta." Cercamon makes use of the term "chans" as well as "vers." The *Chanson de Ste. Foy* (about 1100) calls a popular dance song, "canczon (audi q'es bell'n tresca"). Now the non-literary poetry of the eleventh century is generally referred to by Latin writers as "cantilenae." Sometimes "sonus" occurs. "Cantio," from which *chanson* (*canso*) naturally derives, appears but once so far as I know, and in the Cambridge manuscript, already cited, where the fable of the wolf and priest begins: "Quibus ludus est animo Et jocularis cantio." I do not meet it again until we reach Orderic Vital (about 1130). I have not found any instance of "versus" ("vers"). In view of this marked difference of poetic terminology between Latin writers on the one hand and the Troubadours on the other, one is inclined to ask himself whether there were not in fact two distinct schools of poetry existing side by side, throughout the eleventh century, at least, and perhaps since the very beginning of artistic composition in the vernacular.





## THE E-SOUNDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF HANS SACHS

The MHG. language possessed, as is well known, five *e*-vowels: the old short *ē*, the old long *ê*, the old umlaut *ë*, and the later umlaut-sounds, short *ä* and long *æ*. It is also well known that the distribution of these sounds varied in the different dialects; moreover, that their "historical" distribution in any given dialect was greatly altered by analogic processes and later phonetic laws. The actual facts about the *e*-sounds (as opposed to the ideal, "historical" distribution) are obscured for us by the insufficiency of the Latin alphabet and by the inaccuracy and inconsistency of the scribes. This obscurity has caused much error, such as the misstatements in Weinhold, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 41, and Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*, p. 27, third paragraph, or in Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschewörterbuch*<sup>3</sup>, which does not distinguish between *ë* and *ä*, and also writes, e.g., *vegen*, *rechenen* for *vëgen*, *rëchenen*. These mistakes have been pointed out and many of the facts for the MHG. period ascertained by Zwierzina, *ZfdA.*, XLIV, 249 ff., who examines the rhymes of the MHG. poets.<sup>1</sup>

This paper is concerned with the development of the five *e*-sounds after the MHG. period. We shall try to ascertain the exact facts for the sixteenth-century Nürnberg speech of Hans Sachs by examining this poet's rhymes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such objections as those of C. A. Meyer, *ZfdPh.*, XXXV, 47 ff., 204 ff., to the use of rhymes as a means of determining an author's pronunciation are met by the fact that, however unsatisfactory, rhymes are sometimes the only means we have. That their unreliability, moreover, is not so great as Meyer supposes is apparent from the brilliant results of Zwierzina. Study of a poet's rhymes usually enables us to sift out the merely traditional ones. A poet, moreover, even if but unconsciously, prefers the rhymes natural to his speech.

It is hardly necessary to refer, on the general subject of the HG. *e*-sounds, to such sources as Luick, *PBB.*, XI, 492 ff.; XIII, 588 ff., XIV, 127 ff.; Kauffmann, *PBB.*, XIII, 393 f.; Hellborn, *PBB.*, XIII, 567 ff.; Braune, *PBB.*, XIII, 573 ff.; Nagl, *PBB.*, XVIII, 262 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I have collected complete data for Sachs's *Fastnachtspiele* published in the *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* by E. Goetze. Whenever it seems of possible value I quote play and couplet (by second line) for the occurrence of a rhyme-word; otherwise I give only the number of occurrences of each type of rhyme. As we are not concerned with the spelling, I make no attempt at reproducing all the variations used by Sachs and his printers; nor do I mention all the compounds in which a word occurs or all its inflectional values. Thus when I write *sell* ('sählit') I include 'zählt' 3s. and 2p., 'sählte,' 'gezählt,' 'erzählt,' etc.

1. *ē* and *e*.—Sachs does not as a rule rhyme the old *ē* with the (closed) old umlaut *e*. In this he agrees with the Frankish writers of the MHG. period as opposed to the Bavarian (who rhyme the two vowels before *b*, *d*, *g*, *t*, where, it seems, they both approximate the sound of *e*; cf. Zwierzina, *loc. cit.*).

Thus Sachs keeps apart the following sets of rhyme-words: on the one hand, with *ē*, the rhymes of *entber* ('entbehre'): *ber* ('Bär'): *der*: *er*: *beger* ('begehre'; 'Begehren'): *her* ('her'): *scher* ('schere, schneide'): *sper* ('Speer'): *gewer* ('gewähre'): *wer* ('werde'): *zwer* ('quer')—(49);<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, with *e*, the rhyme *ner* ('nähre'): *bscher* ('beschere')—(1). It is evident that the last two words would hardly have sought out each other, rare as they are, to the exclusion of the common words with *ē*, had these been available as rhymes. We must accordingly regard the one rhyme of this type with *ē*: *e*, *her* ('her'): *mer* ('Meer') 23. 258, as impure.<sup>2</sup>

The words and inflectional forms in *-rn* show the same distinction. In *-ērn* we find *entbern*: *gebern* ('gebären'): *bern* ('Bären,' oblique cases and pl.): *begern* (infinitive and noun): *gern* ('gern,' adverb): *schern* ('scheren, schneiden'): *stern*: *tafern* ('Wirtshaus'): *wern* ('werden'): *wern* ('gewähren')—(69); in *-ern*, *bern* ('schlagen'): *kern* ('kehren, fegen'): *nern* ('nähren'): *beschern* ('bescheren, schenken'): *schwern* ('schwören'): *wern* ('wehren'): *zern*—(13). Opposed to all these there is only one rhyme of *ē*: *e*, *anwern* ('ohne werden, ausgeben'): *zern* 7. 88.

Similarly Sachs keeps apart *blerr* ('doppeltes und falsches Sehen'): *ferr* ('fern'): *herr* ('Herr')—(16), as well as *ferrn* ('fern'; 'Ferne'): *herren*: *werren* ('verwirren')—(14), all with *ē*, from *kerren* ('quälen'): *sperren*—(10), and *bern*: *kerren*—(1), with *e*.<sup>3</sup> *kerren* and *sperren* could of course easily have given forms to rhyme with *blerr*, *ferr*, etc. had the vowel-qualities been alike.

The following are the *t*-inflections of the above and their rhyme words: with *ē*, *erd* ('Erde'): *fert* ('voriges Jahr'): *gert* ('begehrt');

<sup>1</sup> I.e., a type of rhyme occurring 49 times and thus occupying 98 of the 30,076 verses of the *Fastnachtspiele*.

<sup>2</sup> Sachs may have got it from some Alsatian poet, cf., e.g., Murner, *Schelmensunft* (ed. E. Matthias, Neudrucke), 18. 24. Cf. F. Stürus *Die Sprache Thomas Murners*, 1. Tell, Lautlehre. Diss. Halle, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, s.v., wrongly gives *blerr* (= *blerr*) as having *e*. For Sachs's usage cf. its rhymes, 32. 162, 54. 200, 204, 214, 232, 256, 262, 77. 182.

'Begehr'): *herd: schwert: wert* ('währt, dauert'): *gewert* ('gewährt'): *werd* ('werde'): *wert* ('wert')—(occurring in 76 couplets and one triplerhyme); with *e*, *fert* ('Fährte'): *nert* ('nährt'): *beschert: zert*—(5), *hert* ('hart'): *kerrt* ('quält'): *sperrt*—(6), *fert* ('fährt'): *hert* ('hart')—(1).

Compare also, with *ē*: *gerst* ('begehrst'): *gewerst* ('gewährst')—(1), and, with *e*, *erferst: verzerst*.

*berg* ('Berg'): *Nürnberg: herberg: werck* ('Werk'): *überzwerg* ('in die Quere')—(6), do not rhyme with *merck* ('merke'): *sterck* ('stärke')—(1), *merckt: sterckt*—(2), *mercken: stercken*—(1); the former words have of course *ē*, the latter *e*.

We see *ē* in *sterb: verderb* (intransitive)—(1), *kerben: scherben: sterben: verderben* (intransitive): *werben: gewerben* ('Gewerben')—(21); these words do not rhyme with the *e*-words *erben: verderben* (transitive)—(8), *erbt: verderbt* (transitive, weak verb)—(4). At 39.467 we read, rhyming with a line in *erben*.

*Bhellst dus, so bhalts zu dein verderben;*

where *verderben* is used as a noun. Unless we can attribute transitive sense to this infinitive-noun, we must deduct one from the number of cases of "*erben: verderben* (transitive)" above and call this an impure rhyme.

In all the examples so far the *e*'s stand before *r*; they are similarly kept apart before other sounds, as follows:

Before *l*: with *ē*, *hell: marzell*—(1), *verheltn* ('verhehlen'): *keln* ('Kehle, Kehlen'): *steln* ('stehlen')—(5), *belln: capellen: pedellen: schellen* ('Schelle, Schellen'): *zellen* ('Zelle, Zellen')—(3), *feld: geld: meldt* ('meldet'): *welt* ('Welt'): *zelt* ('Zelt')—(40); and with *e*, *ungefell* ('Unfall'): *gsell* ('Gesell'): *hell* ('Hölle'): *quel* ('Qual'): *gschell* ('Lärm'): *stell* ('stelle'): *wel* ('wähle')—(16), *queln* ('quälen'): *weln* ('wählen'): *zeln* ('zählen'): *ellen* (pl.): *fellen* ('zum Fall bringen'): *gsellen: schnellen* (verb): *stellen* (verb)—(25), *felit* ('fällt, cadit'): *gesellit* (participle): *helt* ('hält'): *held: stellt: welt* ('wählt'): *zelt* ('zählt')—(20).

To these rhymes in *e* a number of further cases are added by the fact that the verb *wellen* ('wollen') rhymes 19 times in its different forms (*well, wellen, wellt*) with words in *e* (*gsell, stell* ['stelle'], *gsellen, stellen* [verb], *gefellt* ['gefällt, placet'], *held, bestellt*). It never rhymes with *ē* words.

Before *k* and *g*: with *ē* we have *dreck*:*kudelfleck* ('Kaldaunen'): *geck*:*keck*:*schleck* ('Schlemmerei'): *speck*:*steck* ('stecke,' intransitive): *weck* ('weg,' adverb):*zeck* ('Schaflaus')—(16), *flecken* (pl. of *fleck*): *gecken*:*lecken* ('lecken, lambere'): *schrecken* (noun):*stecken* (intransitive):*stecken* (noun)—(5), *affect*:*steckt* (intransitive)—(3), *confect*:*geschleck* ('Genäsch')—(1);<sup>1</sup> Sachs keeps these words apart from the following with *e*, *beck* ('Bäcker'):*rotseck* ('Würste'): *streck* ('strecke'): *weck* ('Wecken, Brödchen')—(4), *schleg* ('Schläge'): *in die schreg* ('in die Quere')—(2),<sup>2</sup> *appodecken* ('Apotheke'): *decken* (verb): *disecken* ('Schneideinstrument'): *ecken* ('Ecke, Ecken'): *hecken*:*klecken* ('ge-reichen'): *lecken* ('springen, hüpfen'): *partecken* ('Parteken, Krusten'): *recken* ('Recken'): *schmecken* (verb): *schrecken* (verb): *auszsecken* ('auszanken'): *secken* ('Säcken'): *stecken* (transitive): *strecken* (verb): *wecken* (verb)—(46), *legt*:*schmeckt*:*schreckt*:*gesteckt* (participle of weak transitive verb): *streckt*:*tregt* ('trägt'): *weckt*—(13).<sup>3</sup>

Further we have *ē* in *fegen* ('fegen, kehren'): *fregen* ('fragen,' occurring beside *fragen*): *gelegen* (participle): *pflegen*:*regen* ('Regen'): *segen* ('segnen,' syncopated form): *segen* ('Segen'): *wegen* ('Wegen,' dat. pl.): *wegen* (preposition): *allwegen* ('immer'): *verwegen* ('wagen,' verb): *verwegen* (adjective)—(56); as opposed to *e* in *gegen*: *begegen* ('begegnen,' syncopated form): *legen*:*regen* (transitive and reflexive verb): *schlegen* ('Schlägen'): *bewegen*—(20). Of this type we have probably an impure rhyme of *ē*:*e* in 28.144, where we read:

*Ausz den grausamen donner schlegen*  
*Kamb hernach auff mich ein platzregen.*

This rhyme could be considered pure only if we assumed for the word *schlag* a plural with *ā* on the model of later umlaut plurals such as *väter, wälder* (cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, p. 135). In that case the rhyme (included earlier in this paragraph) of *erregen* (transitive) with

<sup>1</sup> *dreck* is sometimes wrongly given with *e* (so Lexer, *op. cit.*, s.v.) For this and for *stecken*, with *s*, as an intransitive (strong) verb cf. von Bahder, *Grundlagen des neuhochdeutschen Lautsystems*, p. 134. The rhymes of *stücken* (included in the above count) occur in the following passages of the *Fastnachtspiele*: 4.106, 13.46, 30.6, 44.64, 68.312, 74.166. The noun *stecken* is given by Lexer, *op. cit.*, s.v., with *e*; for Sachs's use of it with the open vowel *s* cf. his rhymes (above included) at 28.142, 83.186.

<sup>2</sup> Here the vowel may perhaps be *a* and not *e*; cf. below.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *schrecken* has always *e*, even when intransitive (20.64), but the noun *schrecken* has *s* (two occurrences, 63.252, 74.166). For *stecken* with *e*, the transitive (weak) verb (as opposed to *stücken* above), cf., for instance, 31.56, 49.222, 75.189; the participle in 6.186, 21.108; compounds in 19.182, 34.18, 17.60, 22.192.

*schlegen* (dat. pl. of *schlag*) at 28.98 would be an example of the same word with *e* in the plural; *schleg:in die schreg* (listed in the preceding paragraph) might be judged either way, for *schreg* may possibly have *ä*. We must note, however, that *schlag* belongs to the old umlaut plural class and is consequently almost sure to have the plural with *e*.

Sachs separates also *egel* ('Blutegel'): *segel* and *egeln* (pl.): *segeln* (verb), with *ē*, which occur once each, from *flegel: schlegel* ('Schlägel') with *e*, occurring 3 times.

Before *ch*: *ē* is found in the common rhyme-words *fecht* ('fechte'): *knecht: Lamprecht: recht: schlecht: secht* ('sieht'): *specht* ('späht'): *sprecht: zecht*—(84). We find *e* only in the two rhymes *becht* ('bäckt'): *geschwecht* ('geschwächt') and *hecht* ('Hecht'): *schlecht* ('schlägt') occurring once each; the fact that these rare rhyme-words seek each other instead of joining with the common ones that have *ē* shows the latter process to have been impossible.

Before *t*: *beten* ('beten'): *beten* ('gebeten,' participle): *treten*—(5) have *ē*; *beten* ('Betten'): *freten* ('plagen'): *keten* ('Ketten'): *meten* ('Frühmessen'): *trometen* ('Trompeten')—(5), *freten: retten*—(1) have *e*.

Before *s* (MHG. *s, ʒ*): *fresst: vergesst*—(1) have *ē*. Note also the following, which might have given forms parallel to those of the *e*-words below: *fress* ('fresse'): *mess* ('Messe'): *process* ('Prozession'): *vergess*—(6), *besen: lesen: genesen: wesen* (noun): *gewesen* (participle): *verwesen* (verb)—(20), *essen: fressen: vergessen: kressen* ('Kresse,' oblique cases and pl.): *messen* (verb): *messen* ('Messe,' oblique cases and pl.): *gesessen*—(101).<sup>1</sup> The words with *e* are: *best* (superlative): *fest* (adverb): *fest* ('Festung'): *gest* ('Gäste'): *zu lest* ('zu letzt'): *nest: west* ('weist'; 'wusste')—(4). There is one rhyme of *ē: e* before *s*—*fresser* (with *ē*): *messer* ('Messer, culter,' with *e*), 12.52—unless we are to assign an (analogical?) pronunciation with *e* to the former word. *messer* rhymes 4 times with *besser* (comparative, with *e*).

Before nasals: the rhymes with a single nasal following *ē* are *dem* (dat. sg.): *wem* (dat. sg.): *nem* ('nehme')—(2); with *e* they are *denen* ('dehnen'): *senen* ('Sehnen'): *zenen* ('Zähnen')—(2). *ē* and *e* rhyme in *den* (acc. sg., with *ē*): *zen* ('Zähne') 75.278; *dem* (dat. sg.): *hem* ('Hemd,' with *e*) 81.312; *nem* ('nehme'): *zem* ('zähme,' with *e*) 49.372; *nemen* ('nehmen'): *temen* ('dämmen,' with *e*) 16.80; *nemen*:

<sup>1</sup> Von Bahder, *op. cit.*, p. 134, gives *kressen* doubtfully with *e*; Lexer, *op. cit.*, s.v., agrees with Sachs's form, who rhymes it with *s* words, e.g., at 31.26.

*gremen* ('grämen,' with *e*) 6.26, 25.120, 32.60, 42.24, 64.48; *nemen*: *zemen* ('zähmen') 67.362, 73.301. It is evident that the coincidence, common to most NHG. dialects, of *ē* and *e* before nasals has here taken place: in Sachs's Frankish speech probably in the direction of the closed sound, cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

If the *e* before nasal plus consonant of such loan-words as *absent* ('Abwesenheit'), *argument*, *convent*, *firament*, *regiment*, *testament*, *regenten*, *présents* is to be considered as *ē* (i.e., as having originally an open sound), these words give us further examples of *ē:e* before nasals, for they rhyme with the following German words: *blendt* ('blendet'), *end* ('Ende'), *hend* ('Hand, gen. and dat. sg., 'Hände,' pl.), *kent* ('kennt'; 'kannte'), *stend* ('Stände'), *stenden* ('Ständen'), *gens* ('Gänse'). There are 23 such rhymes. The Latin words rhyme with one another 4 times, the German 101 times. This ratio of "cross-rhymes" to "simple rhymes" shows that the former were fully as permissible as the latter.

Sachs has a few rhymes which from the MHG. standpoint would be impure, but are really regular owing to dialectic changes; the actual MHG. pronunciation, moreover, is often a mere matter of conjecture. These rhymes of Sachs's are due to the change of *ē* to *e* in a number of words; on this cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff. Thus in Hans Sachs's pronunciation *regel* ('Regel') had *e*, for it rhymes once with *flegel*, 12.292, and once with *schlegel* ('Schlägel') 41.108. The numeral *sechs* had *e*, rhyming only with *wecks* (gen. sg. of *weck* 'Wecken, Brödchen') 40.343; similarly *sechst* (ordinal), which rhymes with *schwechst* (superlative of *schwach*) 12.284. *ledig* (adjective) had *e*, rhyming with *predig* ('Predigt') 53.306, 360, 64.200; and *erledigt* rhymes with *beschedigt*, 1.220.

In the rhymes *schnell* (adjective):*einfell* ('Einfälle,' with *e*) 17.196, and *schedel* ('Schädel'):*wedel*, ('Wedel,' with *e*) 4.452, the words *schnell* and *schedel* may also have *e* instead of older *ē*—*schnell* perhaps owing to the influence of the verb *schnellen* and *schedel* on the model of words like *flegel*, *wedel*. A less likely conjecture would be to assign open pronunciation (*ä*, cf. below) to the vowel of *einfell* and *wedel*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That Sachs spoke *e* in the doubtful words MHG. *gester(n)*, *sweester*, *fels* appears from the rhymes *gestern*:*lester(n)* ('*laster(n)*'), 53.300; *egester* ('*vorgestern*'):*betschwester* 74.366; *fels* ('*Felsen*'): *Els* ('*Else*') 4.100.

2. *The occurrence of ä.*—The later umlaut of *a*, *ä* rhymes with *ē* in Sachs's speech as in that of the Middle German poets of the MHG. period; cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 ff.<sup>1</sup> All the words with *ä* in the following paragraphs rhyme with words containing *ē*.

In the following words with *ä* the earlier umlaut (which would, of course, have given *e*) was prevented by a consonant-combination: *entferben*<sup>2</sup> (: *sterben*) 56.306, 58.152; *herben* ('herben,' dat. pl. of adjective MHG. *hārwe*; here: *sterben*) 43.246; *geprecht* ('Geprunke': *schlecht*) 6.268; *geschlecht* (: *knecht*) 20.162, 24.122, (: *recht*) 5.77, 15.36, 26.130, 142, 46.328, 52.170, 57.86, 71.208, 78.2.

In the following cases the *ä* is due to other causes, such as an *i* of the third syllable, a suffixal *i*, etc. (cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, and Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, § 40, Anm. 2): *ern* ('Ernte': *wern* 'werden') 59.216; *kerner* ('Kärner': *ferner*) 13.92; *pfer* ('Pferd': *er*, pronoun) 58.326; *pferd* ('Pferd': *erd* 'Erde') 58.308, 80.336, (: *fert* 'voriges Jahr') 13.268, 54.110, (: *begert* 'begehrt'; 'Begehren') 58.26, 348, 85.43, (: *schwert* 'Schwert') 43.162, 68.138, 83.32, (: *gewert* 'gewährt') 58.46, (: *werd* 'werde') 22.224, 25.182, 58.278, 83.314, (: *wert*, adjective) 13.236, 22.254, 266, 24.240, 36.124, 57.344, 58.270, 322; *jeger* ('Jäger': *geleger* 'Lager') 13.146; *echtzen* ('ächzen': *lechtzen*) 35.244; *schwedern* ('schwätzen': *federn*, dat. pl.) 27.242; *effen* ('äffen': *treffen*) 36.156, 57.130, 58.16, 65.160, 69.74, 76.335, 83.228; *eff* ('äffe': *übertreff*) 50.333; *geefft* ('geäfft': *steft* 'Spitze') 59.272.

The following words with *ä* are plurals of nouns with later umlaut: *kerren* (pl. of *karren*, here: *herren*) 15.24; *merckten* (dat. pl. of *marckt* 'Markt': *handwercken* 'Handwerkern')<sup>4</sup> 5.10; *schelck* (pl. of *schalck*, here: *melck* 'melke') 14.368; *schelcken* (dat. pl. of *schalck*, here: *melcken*) 24.208, 25.274; *welder* (pl. of *wald*, here: *felder*) 24.98; *tegen* (dat. pl. of *tag*, here: *allwegen* 'immer') 12.246; *veter* (pl. of *vater*, here: *Peter*) 67.94, (: *vertreter*) 64.244; *heffen* (pl. of *haffen* 'Hafen, Topf': *treffen*) 15.256.

<sup>1</sup> On the occurrence of *a* generally in the German dialects cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sachs of course did not distinguish either in pronunciation or in writing between *a* and *ä*; his only distinction was in pronunciation between these vowels on the one hand and *e* on the other.

<sup>3</sup> Or have *merckten*, *handwercken* both *e*, the latter on the model of other nouns of agent in OHG. -jo, such as *beck* 'Bäcker'?

Sachs has also a number of rhymes of *ā* with the (late) umlaut of long *ā*, *æ*. These were possible because *ē*, and with it *ā*, had under certain conditions been lengthened, becoming equal to *æ*. This circumstance will be treated below, but for the sake of assembling all the words with *ā*, the rhymes of *ā:æ* will be listed here. They are as follows:

*ā* before consonant-combinations: *geschlecht* (: *undurchecht* 'ungeächtet') 68.308, (: *geschmecht* 'geschmäht') 24.94; *mechtig* ('mächtig': *andechtig*) 5.331; *eintrechtig* (: *andechtig*) 53.172.

*ā* before *i* suffixal or of third syllable: *teller* (: *feller* 'Fehler') 20.52; *jeger* ('Jäger': *weger* 'lieber,' comparative) 5.321; *gehässig* ('gehässig': *messig* 'mässig') 3.376, 5.103, 411; *geschefft* (: *schlefft*, 'schläft') 39.447, 45.126, 46.38, 81.242.

Plural with *ā*: *veter* (: *speter* 'später') 16.78.

Judged by the above, the following rhymes appear to be of *ā*-words: *ferben* ('färben'): *gerben* 52.356; *mechtig*: *prechtig* 6.32, 8.97, 11.156, 30.184, 44.196, 52.184, 68.40, 124, 246, 78.188; *efft*: *geschefft* 23.273, 62.292; *geschefftig*: *hefftig* 4.215.

The rhyme *esch* (name of a fish): *genesch* ('Genäsch') 6.120, 23.52 is surely of *ā*-words, for the *e*-vowel of the former word is probably the sign of an analogical (and therefore later-umlaut) plural; cf. MHG. *asche*, wk. m.<sup>2</sup>

We come now to a number of rhymes which may include words with *ā*, though the exact vowel is not certain. Before a nasal, where *ē* and *e* may rhyme, the same must be true of *ā* and *æ*. Thus the word *schemen*, *schem*, *schemst* ('sich schämen') rhymes as follows: with *nemen* (*ē*) 4.280, 440, 466, 5.463, 8.171, 375, 10.30, etc., in all 25 times; with *nem* 14.204, 36.278; with *kemen* ('kāmen,' pret. subv., with *æ*) 12.350; with *kemst* ('kāmst,' pret. subv., with *æ*) 7.164; with *angenem* (*æ*) 8.8, 127; and with *gremen* (*e*) 71.346.

<sup>1</sup> Sachs wrote *æ* as *e*, less commonly as *a*, *eh*, *ah*, all of which signs, moreover, he also used for *i* (*ä*). In this paper I adhere to the provisional conservative principle of writing *e* for all of Sachs's *e*-vowels. Cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> Or else *esch* may possibly show a purely phonetic development of MHG. *a* before *sch*; in this case the word is a loan-word from some dialect, e.g., the Alsatian, which had this change (cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, p. 136, and Paul, *op. cit.*, § 40, Anm. 10), for Sachs's speech did not have it. His rhymes of words where MHG. *a* stands before *sch* are of the type *waschen*: *taschen* 28.252, 262; this is typical. *waschen* (= *waschen*): *leschen* ('löschen') 28.176, 192; *wasch* ('Wäsche'): *resch* ('rasch') 60.94, 83.36 (cf. *lesch* 'lösche': *resch* 'rasch' 70.252) are rhymes of genuine *e*, not of *a*.



We also find, however, such uses as *schamen:namen* 34.302, where the parallel form without umlaut makes *ā* seem the probable vowel of *schemen*. Hence an earlier stage of Sach's dialect may have had this, the commoner pronunciation of the word—*schāmen* (cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 312, footnote). *molcken dremel:brodt hemel* 10.180, *misthemel* 20.28. If *dremel* in this epithet = MHG. *drēmel* 'Riegel, Balken,' we may assume *ā* in *hemel*, for the MHG., according to Lexer, has, like the NHG. *Hammel*, *a*. It is also possible that both words have *e*. A further doubtful case may be the rhymes of *schleg:schreg* and *schlegen:regen* ('Regen') treated in §1; unless *schleg*, *schlegen*, and *schreg* have *ā* the rhyme with *regen* (*ē*) is impure. Cf. also the rhymes of *schnell:einfell* and *schedel:wedel* in §1, in which the second word of each pair may perhaps contain *ā*, since *schedel* and *schnell* have MHG. *ē*; but the more likely explanation is that given in §1 (change of *ē* > *e* in *schnell* and *schedel*), for *wedel* rhymes with *edel* (adjective, *e*) 15.102; and *ungefell* ('Unfall'; 'Unfälle') with *gsell* 39.93, 289 and with *hell* ('Hölle') 3.120. A very likely case of *ā* is in the rhyme *teglich* ('täglich'): *unwertreglich* 4.340, 47.112, 56.138; both words have in MHG., according to Lexer, parallel forms without umlaut; note also the suffix *-lich*. *ertig* ('artig'): *widerwertig* 14.314; Lexer gives only the umlaut-form for the former word, only the *a*-form for the latter; considering the modern literary forms *artig* and *widerwärtig*, we have double forms for both, which, what with the suffix *-ig*, makes *ā* very likely.

There is no evidence beyond possibility for *ā* in the following: *schwermen* ('schwärmen,' Lexer: *swarmen*, *swermen*)<sup>1</sup>: *wermen* ('wärmen,' MHG. only *wermen*, cf. also Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 298) 51.100. *baufellig:schelig* ('wild,' Lexer: *schëllec*) 65.186; as no other form from the stem of *fallen* seems to have *ā* it is probable that we have *e* < *ē* (cf. §1) in *schelig*—still *ā* is possible in the former or both words. *einfeltig:geweltig* 22.310, 53.156; *gesiebenfeltigt:uberweltigt* 67.226; both words have, according to Lexer, *a*-forms and umlaut-forms, which parallelism together with the suffix *-ig*, makes *ā* possible.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Lexer renders both *a* and *e* by the character *e*, this is merely an indication of the existence of some umlaut-form.

<sup>2</sup> As in §1, we may draw certain negative inferences. Thus *hez*, *hets* ('Hexe') and *schwetsen* ('schwätzen'), *geschwets*, have *e*, not *a*. Their rhymes are: *hez:complex* (=MHG. *complexte*) 10.90; *hets:geschwets* 83.110, *hetsen* (pl.): *schwetsen* 39.351;

3. *æ* and *ê*.—Sachs distinguishes as clearly between the old long *ê* and the later umlaut-sound *æ* as he does between the closed and open short *e*-sounds.

Thus he rhymes on the one hand, with *æ*, *geber* ('Gebahren'): *gefer* ('Gefahr'): *erkler* ('erkläre'): *ler* ('leer'): *mer* ('Mär'): *schwer* (adjective): *schwer* ('Kummer'): *wer* ('wäre'): *bewer* ('bewähre'): *bewer* ('Zeugnis'): *wunderber* ('wunderbar')—(22), and with sporadic retention of the old accent; *burger* ('Bürger'): *schwer* ('Kummer') 2. 72, *heuchler* (: *bewer*, verb) 31. 116, *werecherer* (: *gefer*) 78. 204, 264. With *ê*, on the other hand, we find *er* ('ehre'): *er* ('Ehre'): *ker* ('kehre, wende'): *ler* ('lehre; lerne'): *ler* ('Lehre'): *mer* ('mehr, vermehre'): *mer* ('mehr'): *ser* ('sehr')—(96). In view of these numbers the two rhymes of *-ær*: *-êr* must be considered impure: *gefer* (*æ*): *ler* ('Lehre,' with *ê*) 1. 194; and *anschwer* (verb, 'schaffe mir mühevoll an'—?¹): *ker* ('kehre, wende,' with *ê*) 13. 64.

We also find *geferlich*: *schwerlich*—(2), *geferlicher*: *schwerlicher*—(1); and, with *ê*, *erlich*: *herlich*—(4), *erlicher*: *herlicher*—(1).

Further, *beschwert*: *gelert* ('ausgeleert'): *bewert* ('bewährt')—(2), with *æ*; and, with *ê*, *verkert*: *mert* ('vermehrt'): *verrert* ('lässt fallen')—(2), also *erst* ('ehrst,' 2. sg.): *kerst* ('kehrst, wendest')—(1).

With *æ*, *aufgeblet* ('aufgebläht'): *ret* (pl. of *rat* 'Rat'): *spet* ('spät'): *stet* ('stets')—(2); with *ê*, *fazilet* ('Tüchlein'): *get* ('geht'): *stet* ('steht')²—(14), also *gest*: *stest*—(3).

4. *ê*:*æ*.—Like some earlier poets of Frankish-Middle-German speech (cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 285), Sachs rhymes under certain conditions *ê* (and *ā*) with *æ* (as also *e* with *ê*, cf. below). The rhymes of *ā*:*æ* have been treated of in § 2. These rhymes of MHG. short vowel with MHG. long vowel are due, of course, to the shifting of the old vowel-quantities—usually to lengthening of the old short sounds.

Thus Sachs freely rhymes with words in *-ær* the following in *-êr* (in which, accordingly, the *ê* before final *-r* has been lengthened):

*geschwets*: *mets* 22. 138, *schets* ('Schätze') 9. 116, 22. 156; *geschwetsig*: *aufsetsig* 71. 124, 74. 293; *schweissen*: *meissen* (pl.), 10. 164. With these rhymes cf. the following with *e*: *ergels*: *kreis* ('Ausschlag'): *sw leis* ('zu letzt'): *leis* ('ruhe aus'): *mets*: *schets* ('Schätze'): *sets*: *aufsets*: *gsets*—(10), and *felsen* ('weggehen'): *ergelsen*: *helsen* (verb): *letzen* ('ausruhen: vrletzten'): *netzen*: *schetzen* ('Steuern auferlegen'): *setzen*: *aufsetzen* (dat. pl.): *wetsen*—(22).

¹ The lines are:

"Vil renck end müe ich den anker,  
Pis ich ein andres pferf anschwer."

² The *a*-forms of these verbs also occur.

*ber* ('Blüte, Frucht') 79.238, *der* (nom. sg. of pronoun) 12.354, 22.212, 35.128, etc., *er* (nom. sg. of pronoun) 4.384, 39.493, 42.204, 43.74, 50.227, etc., *beger* ('begehre') 31.364, *beger* ('Begehren') 4.110, 11.357, 14.10, etc., *her* (adverb) 1.6, 3.42, 8.2, 34, 147, 427, 12.120, 224, 14.190, etc., *wer* ('werde') 21.48, 31.286, 42.244, *wer* (nom. sg. of pronoun) 11.170—in all 118 times. The words in *-ær* are *geber* ('Gebahren'), *gefer* ('Gefahr'); *erkler* ('erkläre'), *ler* ('leer'), *mer* ('Mär'), *schwer* (adjective), *schwer* ('Kummer'), *wer* ('wäre').

The words in *-ërr* (cf. § 1), on the other hand, do not rhyme with those in *-ær*. There is, to be sure, an apparent case, at 58.68:

. . . . mein lieber herr?

*Der pfaff spricht:*

*Ey, was sol das enüz geschnerr!*

but, though the last word is MHG. *gesnære* 'Geschwätz,' no rhymes of it with words in *-ær* or *-ër* occur. Its rhyming with *hërr* is best explained by assuming for it analogical *-rr* (on the model of MHG. *snarren* and related words) and attendant shortening of the vowel. There are, accordingly, no rhymes of *ërr:ær*. Similarly, there are none of *-ërr:-ër*—for the possibility cf. the words in § 1. The vowel of *-ërr*, then, has remained short, not sharing the fortunes of the vowel in *-ër*.

Further we find, with lengthened vowel, *begern* 9.22, 14.38, 31.360, etc., *gern* (adverb) 11.4, 98, 36.96, etc., *stern* 26.176, *wern* ('werden') 26.328—rhyming 15 times with the following words in *-ærn*: *mistbern* (dat. sg. of *mistber* 'Mistbahre' 60.270), *gebern* ('Gebärden'), *erfern* ('überlisten'), *erklern* ('erklären'), *bewern* ('bewähren'), *wern* ('wären'). We find also *herren* (with *ë*):*wern* ('wären,' with *æ*) 52.350. If this rhyme is pure, *-ërren* has like *-ërn* lengthened its vowel. This, however, becomes improbable when we consider the rhymes of *-ërren:-ërn*. For, while words in *-ërren* rhyme together 14 times and words in *-ërn* 69 times (cf. § 1), there are only 7 rhymes of *-ërren:-ërn*—*ferrn* ('fern'): *begern* introduction to 44, line 48; *ferrn:gern* (adverb) 69.16; *ferrn:wern* ('werden') 75.113 (note that *ferrn* really occupies a doubtful position, its going with words in *-ërren* being due only to the influence of *ferr* and the "radical," not inflectional, character of its *-n*; it was probably pronounced both ways); *herren:gern* (adverb) 27.18; *herren:tafern* ('Wirtshaus') 24.2;

*herren:wern* ('werden') 12.80, 27.146 (note that *gern* and *tafern* have "radical" -n and that *wern* is for *werden*; these doubtful forms account for the large number of these impure rhymes).<sup>1</sup>

The rhymes of lengthened -*ērt* with *ært* are as follows: *erd* ('Erde') 1.104, 3.434, 30.90, etc., *begert* 1.72, 14.142, 30.196, etc., *beget* ('Begehren') 84.317, *schwert* ('Schwert') 47.160, 67.322, 81.326, *werdt* ('werdet') 85.18, *wert* (adjective) 14.298, 19.322, 25.134, 32.290, 73.225. These words rhyme 27 times with *geberd* ('Gebahren'), *gefert* ('getäuscht'), *geferd* ('Gefahr'), *erklert*, *lert* ('leert aus'), *beschwert*, *beschwerd* ('Beschwerde'), *bewert* ('bewährt'), *wert* ('wäret' 2. pl.). The absence of rhyme-words in -*ērtt* forbids comparison of -*ērt* with -*ērtt*.

The form *erden* (dat. sg. of *erd* 'Erde') rhymes with *geberden* (æ) 47.22, *beschweren* ('bekümmern,' æ) 7.390, *beschwerden* 14.26; and the form *werden* ('werden,' ē) rhymes with æ-words, to wit, *geberden* 1.240, 18.12, 43.178, *geferden* ('Gefahren') 43.298, 64.140, *beschwerden* 3.174, 27.18.

*gerst* ('begehrst,' ē) rhymes with æ words: *geferst* ('überlistest') 85.395, *beschwerst* 44.140, *werst* ('wärest') 3.326.

Before *l* Sachs rhymes *schel* ('krumm,' ē):*fel* ('Fehler, Schuld,' æ) 60.26.

*verheln* ('verhehlen, verbergen,' ē) rhymes at 80.8 with *feln* ('fehlen,' æ); *steln* ('stehlen,' ē) at 7.206, 25.82, 27.12 with *feln*, at 19.190 with *streln* ('strählen,' æ). Rhymes in -*ēll*, -*ēllen* are too scarce to permit of conclusions; their rhyme-words do not occur in rhyme with -*ēl*, -*ēln*, or -*æll*, -*æln*.

*geld* ('Geld') 5.245, 12.254, 22.250, etc., *gemeldt* ('gemeldet') introduction to 44, line 282, rhyme 12 times with *felt*, *strellt*. Note that in both *geld* and *gemeldt* the *ē* stands before double consonant of the stem, yet is lengthened. The lengthening is certain, for though words in -*ēll* rhyme with one another 40 times (cf. § 1), the scarcity of rhyme-words in -*æll*, which indeed occur only as in this paragraph, accounts sufficiently for the small number of rhymes of -*ēll*:*æll*.

*steg* ('Steg,' ē) 25.60, and *weg* ('Wege,' ē) 11.262 rhyme with *treg* ('träge,' æ). No other rhymes of the words in -*ēg* occur; those in

<sup>1</sup> If the rhyme -*ēren*:*-ērn* were permissible, i.e., pure, we should expect some 40 cases of it.

-*æg* rhyme with each other 3 times (*leg* 'läge':*leg* 'niedrig':*treg*:*verweg* 'verzichtete').

*pflieger* ('Pfleger,' *ē*):*weger* ('lieber,' comparative) 20.258, 21.80, the only rhyme of words in -*ger*.

*gecken* (pl. of *geck*, *ē*, 'Geck'—?):*stecken* (pret. subv., with *æ*, of *stecken*, intransitive, strong verb—?) 20.282.<sup>1</sup>

The following words in -*ēch*:*brech* 75.57, *frech* 64.362, 68.250, *geschech* ('geschehe') 18.319, 35.96, *rech* ('räche') 69.314, *sech* ('sehe') 63.274, rhyme with the *æ*-words *gech* ('jäh, schnell'), *nech* ('Nähe'), *sech* (pret. subv. 'sähe'), *gesprech* ('Gespräch'). -*ēch*-words rhyme with one another 6 times, -*æch*-words 9 times; the proportion of -*ēch*:*æch*-rhymes shows them to be pure. They are probably also due to lengthening of *ē*.

In the rhymes of -*ēcht*:*æcht*, however, which follow, it is the *æ* which has been changed, no doubt, by shortening. The *ē*-words *knecht* 2.96, 4.322, 6.256, etc., *recht* 5.133, 16.308, 19.204, etc., *schlecht* 42.136, 54.6, rhyme 20 times and in one triple rhyme (*knecht*:*schlecht*:*schmecht*, 'schmäht,' *æ*, 85.347) with the *æ*-words *brecht* ('brächte'), *decht* ('dächte'), *vergecht* ('übereilt'), *schmecht*. Note also the 2 rhymes of -*ächt*:*æcht* in § 2. The -*ēcht* words rhyme with one another 84 times (cf. § 1), with -*ächt*-words 12 times (cf. § 2); there are no rhymes of -*æcht* with itself.

*anfechtung* (*ē*):*durchechtung* (*æ*) 44.250, 71.110.

The rhymes of -*ēhen*:*æhen* (<MHG: -*æhen*, -*æjen*) are especially common. Sachs writes -*ehen* and -*een* and never rhymes the words with monosyllables:*jehen* ('aussagen') 5.355, 6.68, 7.108, 60.118, 83.136, *geschehen* 4.392, 8.419, 9.82, 21.178, etc., *sehen* 4.221, 5.343, 6.60, 11.246, etc. These *ē*-words rhyme 51 times and in one triple rhyme (*sehen*:*geschehen*:*nehen*, oblique case of *nech* 'Nähe,' 85.21) with the following *æ*-words: *blehen* ('blähen'), *drehen*, *krehen* ('krähen'), *mehen* ('mähen'), *nehen* ('nähen'), *nehen* ('nahen'), *nehen* (oblique cases of *nech* 'Nähe'), *schmehen* ('schmähen'). The *ē*-words rhyme with one another 110 times, the *æ*-words 4 times.

*gebet* ('Gebet') 45.147, 61.48, 226, etc., *bret* ('Brett') 67.200, *tret* ('trete') rhyme 7 times with the *æ*-words, *spet* ('spät'), *stet* ('stets'), *wet* ('weht'); here *ē* has no doubt been lengthened, as also in the following cases.

The lines are obscure.

*weter* ('Wetter'): *speter* (inflected form of *spet*) 58.84.

*beten* ('beten') 69.88, 52.270 and *treten* 18.293 rhyme with *reten* (dat. pl. of *rat* 'Rat') and *besteten* ('bestätigen').

*federn* ('Federn'): *edern* ('aderlassen,' with *æ*) 19.150.

Before nasals we have—*dem:kem* ('kāme,' *æ*) 28.46, 37.10, 84.409, 85.462—*warnemer* ('Wahrnehmer,' *ē*): *kremer* ('Krāmer,' *æ*) 13.90; *nemen:kemen* (pret. subv. 'kāmen,' *æ*) 32.98. As *e* is equal to *ē* before nasals we may add here *pfenig* ('Pfennig,' *e*): *argwenig* (printed with *ð* but = MHG. *arcwænec*) 54.246.

Above (§ 3) we have seen words with the formerly accented final syllable *-ær* rhyme with regularly accented *-ær*. They rhyme also with the more common words in *-ēr* (*der*, *er*, *beger* 'Begehren,' *her*, *schmer* 'Fett, Öl'), as follows: *burger* ('Bürger') 27.266, *hawskumeter* ('Verwalter') 12.6, 18, *pfarrer* 37.24, *schuster* 52.304, *trometer* ('Dromedar'?) 85.59, *wanderer* 13.30, 122, 144, 276, *wucherer* 84.95.

Similarly, before a nasal, *dem* rhymes with *angenem* ('angenehm,' *æ*) 26.248, 356, 57.88, 84.170.

• On the model of these words other unaccented syllables may come under the verse-accent and rhyme as if they had *æ*. The cases are *her:aber* 43.108; *beschwer* ('Beschwerde' *æ*): *Jupiter* 78.26; *her:taler* 51.312, *wer* (nom. sg. of pronoun): *wider* (adverb) 67.320; *res* ('böse,' *æ*): *Diogenes* 44.290; *dem:Jerusalem* 26.106; *dem:Solonem* 71.246. For examples of such rhymes in older poets, cf. *Zwierzina*, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

As *ē* and *e* are equal before nasals, the rhyme *kent* ('gekannt,' *e*): *eilend* (participle) also belongs here.

5. *e:ē*.—Probably all the rhymes of *e:ē* given in the following paragraphs are due to lengthening of *e*. It is not necessary to call attention to the many cases where parallel rhyme-words of *ē:æ* and of *e:ē* are kept apart; what exceptions there are will be mentioned.

*ber* ('schlage, haue') 69.354, 76.175, *her* ('Heer') 2.4, 44.18, 67.4, *mer* ('Meer') 3.272, 5.163, 7.298, 35.158, *ner* ('nähre') 15.112, 21.182, 52.386, 60.312, 80.72, 82.80, *schwer* ('schwöre') introduction to 44, line 262, 44.284, 47.294, 67.180, *wer* ('Wehr') 27.72, 37.46, 75.306, *zer* ('zehre') 22.184, 61.152, rhyme with the *ē*-words *er* ('Ehre'), *ler* ('Lehre'), *mer* ('mehr'), *ser* ('sehr'), in all 24 rhymes.

*her* (adverb, with *ē*) makes impure rhymes with *er* ('Ehre') 1.290, and with *mer* ('mehr') 69.330.

*beschwerung* ('Beschwörung,' *e*) 34.200, 51.308, and *zerung* ('Kost, Nahrung,' *e*) 13.38, 39.65, 57.94 rhyme with *vererung* ('Verehrung').

*-ern:ērn* rhyme as follows: *bern* ('schlagen') 8.84, 22.172, 34.114, etc., *kern* ('kehren, fegen') 4.260, *nern* ('nähren') 3.332, 9.254, 15.118, etc., *schwern* ('schwören') 12.98, 23.132, 25.310, etc., *wern* ('wehren') 4.140, 19.126, 20.192, etc., *zern* ('zehren') 3.172, 4.4, 12, 6.8, etc., rhyme 65 times with *ern* ('Ehren'), *kern*, 'kehren, wenden,' *ē*, *lern* ('lehren; lernen'),<sup>1</sup> *mern* ('mehren, vermehren').

Of impure rhymes we have *wern* ('werden'): *ern* 10.110, 15.210.

*-ert:ērt* rhymes in *bert* ('geschlagen,' participle) 59.334,<sup>2</sup> *fert* (3. sg. of *farn* 'fahren') 39.245, 72.390, 77.52, *nert* 1.180, 3.264, 49.178, 85.192, *beschert* ('beschert, geschenkt') 13.338, 24.86, *gewert* ('verwehrt, verboten') 6.78, 85.230, *zert* 5.85, 8.40, 58.22—altogether 15 times with *kert* ('kehrt, wendet'), *lert* ('lehrt'), *mert* ('vermehrte'). Also *ferst* (2. sg. 'fährst'): *erst* ('ehrst') 6.146, 34.292.

Impure is *pfert* (*ä*): *gelert* 58.54; as the latter word here means 'gelernt,' the association of *lernen* may be in play.

The rhyme *hert* ('hart,' *e*): *lert* (*ē*) is probably impure as to quantity, for the former word rhymes 6 times with *kerrt* ('quält,' *e*) and *sperrt* (*e*) and only once (impurely, therefore) with *fert* ('fährt') 12.150. Cf. Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*, §138, 2, b.

The truth of the above paragraph depends of course on the *e* of *kerrt*, *sperrt* having itself remained short. These words rhyme with each other in the forms *kerren: sperren*—(10), and *kerrst: sperrst*—(1). With *-er*-words they rhyme only in *bern: kerren* 46.284; whence it is fair to conclude that their *e* remained short, the last-cited rhyme being impure as to quantity.

Hence also the rhyme *kerrt: gelert* (*ē*) is probably impure quantitatively.

<sup>1</sup> *lēr* 'lernen' does not rhyme in the *Fastnachtspiele*. It may account for the rhyme *begern* (*ē*): *lern*, which occurs at line 60 of Sachs's tragedy, *Der küenern Sewfrid* (ed. E. Goetze, in the *Neudrucke*).

<sup>2</sup> Or is the other rhyme-word here *kert* (from *kern*, 'kehren, fegen,' with *e*) and not *kert* (from *kern* 'kehren, wenden,' with *ē*)?

"Ich main, die pawern habn abkert,  
Einander leichnam uobel pert."

Before *l* we find the rhyme *quel* ('Qual'): *sel* ('Seele,' *ē*) 42.270, 46.160, 70.262. As no rhymes of *-ēl*-words with one another—or of *-ēl*-words—occur, it is fair to conclude from the 3 rhymes of *-ēl*: *ēl* that *e* has here been lengthened.

Before *ll* we have *gsell* ('Gesell') 17.102, *hell* ('Hölle') 42.290, 402, 49.28, etc., rhyming 10 times with *sel* ('Seele'). As the various *-ell*-words (cf. §1) rhyme with one another 14 times and with the rare *-el*-words twice (*quel*: *hell*; *wel* 'wähle': *stell* 'stelle'), we may infer that *e* before *-ll* was lengthened.<sup>1</sup>

In the rhymes *gefellig*: *selig* 3.118, 26.334 and *hellig* ('müde'): *selig* 24.184 we find the popular etymology which connects the latter word with MHG. *sēle*.

Impure rhymes are probably *quel* ('Qual,' *e*): *hartsel* ('Mühsal,' MHG. *-sælde*) 68.338; and *pfeller* (MHG. *pfellel*): *feler* ('Fehler,' *æ*) 50.283. There are, however, beside MHG. *quel*, the forms *quēl*, *quēl*; and the foreign word *pfeller*, in spite of its derivation with umlaut, from Lat. *palliolum*, may have been pronounced with *ē* on the model of words with a Latin *e*.

A rhyme of *e*: *ē* is *schmecken* (verb): *appodeken* 15.206, if we may attribute the value *ē* to the Late Latin long *e* of the latter word.

Before *-t* and *-d* we find *bet* ('Bett') 9.138, 46.10, 47.242, etc., *redt* ('redet') 26.60, 43.36, 45.38, etc., *stet* ('Stätte') 16.262, *verzett* ('fallen lassen') 40.325 (these words and *gewett* 'gewettet' rhyme with one another 6 times) rhyming 16 times with *claret* (Late Latin *clārētum*), *get* ('geht'), *stet* ('steht'), a type of rhyme-word making 14 rhymes (cf. §3). Note also *freten* ('plagen'): *planeten* ('Planeten,' probably *ē*) 10.88, and cf. §1 for the type of *freten*.

Kept apart from these are the rhymes of *red* ('Rede'; 'rede') 8.379, 12.40, 19.120, 35.70, etc. with *bed* ('beide')—(12), and with *schlappergred* ('Schlappergrete,' *ē*) 39.373. Also *reden* ('Reden'; 'reden') 4.28, 12.122, 14.54, 16.16, etc., with *beden* ('beiden')—(30) and with *schwadergreden* ('Schwatzgreden') 18.267.

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is confirmed by the following rhymes of *-ēn*: *ellen*: *wēln* ('wählen'): *gsellen*—(2), *seln* ('zählen'): *ellen* (pl.)—(2), *seln*: *stellen* (verb)—(1) (as opposed to 2 rhymes of *-ēn*-words with one another, and 18 of *-ellen*-words with one another); and further by the following rhymes of *-elt*: *-elt*: *welt* ('wählt'), *seit* ('zählt') rhyme 14 times with *fielt* (3. sg. of *fallen*), *helt* (3. sg. of *halten*), *held* ('Held'), *gesellt* ('zugesellt'), *stellt*; as opposed to 2 rhymes of the *-elt*-words with each other and 4 of the *-elt*-words.



Before nasals  $e:\dot{e}$  occurs as follows: *den* ('denn; dann') 23.72, 75.55, *wen* ('wenn; wann') 63.214, 65.70, *zen* ('Zähne') 11.140, 36.196, 37.274, etc., rhyme 10 times with *gen* ('gehen'), *sten* ('stehen'), *zwen* ('zwei').

*pfenig* 13.116, 60.172, 79.210, etc., and *menig*, *meng* ('Menge'—Sachs uses both these spellings) 20.158, 30.52, 67.54, 72.40 rhyme altogether 9 times with *wenig*, *weng* ('wenig'—Sachs writes *weng* wherever he writes *meng*). Further he rhymes *lenger* ('länger,' comparative): *wenger* ('weniger') 63.72, 74.232; and *lengern* (dat. pl.): *wengern* ('wenigern,' dat. pl.) 20.12.

*blend* ('blende'): *verstent* ('verstehen,' 3. pl.) 63.138; and *end* ('Ende'): *gent* ('gehen,' 3. pl.) 63.314 also belong here.

Moreover, as  $\bar{e}$  and  $e$  are equal before nasals, the following are regular: *den* (acc. sg. masc. and dat. pl. of pronoun) 23.60, 31.134, 35.94, etc.—12 times—with *gen*, *sten*, *zwen*; also in a triple rhyme *den:gen:sten* at 84.426 and 85.138.

6. *het*, *tet*.—To the above rhymes of  $e:\dot{e}$  a number of cases are added by the fact that Sachs rhymes the preterites of MHG. *hân* and *tuon* with these vowels.

*het* (1. and 3. sg., pret. ind. and subv.) rhymes with the following  $e$ -words: *bet* ('Bett') 35.98, 50.46, 52.372, etc. (6), *redt* ('redet') 40.249, 75.339, 85.296, *stet* ('Stätte') 71.204, 73.87, 81.216, *wett* ('wettet') 54.202, 85.200. With  $\dot{e}$ -words: *get* 21.208, 36.190, 81.232, *stet* 38.232.

The form *hêt* (Konrad von Würzburg, cf. Zwierzina, *ZfdA.*, XLIV, 108) might be in the rhyme *gebet* ('Gebet'): *het* 61.276; but more likely this is an impure rhyme.

In 22.44 we read:

*Damit hat man [= 'man ihn'] zum grab bestet.  
Kein ander kleidung er sunst het.*

Unless *bestet* is an umlaut-form of MHG. *bestatet*, we must read *bestatt:hat*; we have not Sachs's MS for this passage.

The rhymes of *tet* (1. and 3. sg., 2. pl., pret. ind. and subv.) are: *bet* ('Bett') 46.4, 50.271, 291, etc. (7), *redt* 1.124, 18.135, 26.160, etc. (7), *stet* ('Stätte') 1.370, 17.86, 76.14, *stet* ('Städte,' pl.) 3.254, 14.272, 30.74. With  $\dot{e}$ -words: *get* 9.12, 58.104, 69.32, *stet* 39.233, 66.198.

Cf. further *teten* (3. pl. ind.): *Lissabeten* 1.176. (*Lissabeta: Leonetta* 43.62, 278).

Finally *het:tet* rhyme 3.40, 12.78, 14.220, etc.—18 times; *hetst:tetst* 49.166, 63.48; *helen:teten* 51.162, 182.

There is no apparent difference in form between ind. and subv. of these words.

7. *Rhymes of e-vowels with other vowels*.—There are several rhymes of *e* and *ê* with *i*, which is in these cases spelled both by Sachs and by his printers as *e*; all these rhymes are of words in *-nt*: *brent* ('brennt'): *sind* 67.262; *end* ('Ende'): *sind* 51.94, *geschendt* ('geschändet'): *sind* 4.203, *zertrent* ('zertrennt'): *sind* 1.244; and, with *ê*, *vergent* (3. pl.): *sind* 85.445. Also, *bendig* ('zahn, ruhig'—printed *bentig*): *grindig* (printed *grentig*) 39.339.

There are some few rhymes of *e*-vowels with *ô* and *æ*; but they are very few, though Sachs uses rhymes of *ô*, *æ*, and *ô:æ* copiously. *e:ô* occurs in *gsell:sôl* (1. and 3. sg. ind. and subv., 'soll'; 'solle'—printed *sel, sôl*) 17.24, 39.57, 84.444. *stellen* (verb): *sôln* 52.64; *stellen* (verb): *dem Steffel Lôlln* 59.346. *decken* (verb): *rôcken* (dat. pl.) 52.312. *bechlein* ('Bächlein'—with *ä*?) : *lôchlein* (printed *Lechlein*). *gezesch* ('Gezische,' with *e* analogically, for MHG. *zesse*—printed *gezôsch*) 11.106.

*ê:æ* occurs in *glert* ('gelehrt'): *gehôrt* 8.54; and in *het* (printed *hôt*): *genôdt* ('genôtigt') 1.44.

Before a nasal we have *æ:ô* in *untertenig:hônig* ('Honig,' printed *henig*) 14.154. The *ô* here has no doubt been lengthened.

The rhymes of *wel, weln, welt* with *e* in § 1 probably include both ind. and subv., cf., e.g., 4.14, 62, 94, 194, 6.156, 9.16, 11.12. We find also a number of rhymes in which this verb (written usually with *ô*) rhymes with *sôl, sôllen, sôll, sôlst*, both verbs occurring probably both ind. and subv., e.g., 7.502, 16.194, 18.62, 82, 21.112, 24.68, 284, etc.—22 times in all. Cf. also *wôll:Steffel Lôll* 59.218.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the rhymes of these two auxiliaries represent the (modern literary) forms *wolle* (subv.): *soll, solle*; a parallel to the peculiar orthography would be the persistent writing of *kôm:nôm nom* for the common rhyme-words 'kâme': 'nâhme,' MHG. *kæme:næme*, e.g., 19.22, 40.207, but 14.30, 18.227, 32.94, 37.54.

<sup>1</sup> An indicative *will* sometimes also occurs (e.g., 21.184). Similarly there are rhymes of *sol:wol* ('wohl').

On the whole it is safe to call the rhymes of *e*-vowels with *ö* and *æ* impure.

MHG. *e:üe* we have in *gremest:rhūmest* 5.275, an impure rhyme, no doubt, though before nasal.

MHG. *æ:i* before nasal—perhaps a pure rhyme for Sachs's speech—occurs in *gemmern* ('jammern,' MHG. *jāmern* with shortening of vowel and umlaut): *wimmern* 7.136; *gemerst:wimmerst* (printed *wemmerst*) 53.122. Cf. the rhymes of *e:i* above; *gemern* further occurs in *gemerst:verlemerbst* (MHG. *verlemen* 'lahm machen') 5.273.

MHG. *ē:iu* and *ē:ou* seem to occur once each; MHG. *iu* and *ou* no doubt with the modern value, NHG. *eu*:

(Du hast auch vert ein Panckart tragen . . . .)  
Der bauch der wechst dir wider her.—  
Wie, wolst mir reden an mein ehr? (10.170.)

Cf. MHG. *hiur* 'heuer';

So gestw her und bist peschlept,  
Geschmuetzt, geflicket und pestrept (15.192).

Cf. MHG. (MLG.) *slēpen* 'schleifen,' or NHG. *schleppen*, and MHG. *bestrouben* 'struppig machen,' NHG. *sträuben*.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears that Sachs's language distinguished four *e*-vowels: one short closed vowel, MHG. *e* (rarely *ē*); one long closed vowel, MHG. *ē* and lengthened MHG. *e*; one short open vowel, MHG. *ē*, *ā*; and one long open vowel, MHG. *æ* and lengthened *ē* and *ā*. A critical text of Sachs should reproduce either Sachs's own habits of writing (so far as possible) or Sachs's pronunciation, for which four characters (or the equivalent of four characters) would be necessary. In any case the purposeless orthography of our MHG. editions, which indicates neither a writer's pronunciation nor the orthographic habits of his scribes, should be kept out of our Early New High German texts.

[NOTE.—In addition to the *Fastnachtspiele* I have gone through the other works of Sachs accessible to me and found them to agree, barring one exception, with the above results. The works examined, besides the *Fastnachtspiele* are: *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, ed. Edmund Goetze in the *Neudrucke*, Nos. 110–117, 126–134; *Der hürnen Seufrid*, ed. E. Goetze,

<sup>1</sup> A rhyme which I cannot judge is

" . . . . ehrlich  
Bay gellen leben frölich und sehrlich" (5.155).

*Neudrucke*, No. 29; and the selections in *Hans Sachs's Werke*, ed. Dr. Arnold, Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vols. XX and XXI; and in *Dichtungen des Hans Sachs*, edd. Karl Goedeke und Julius Tittmann, *Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vols. IV, V, and VI. The exception is the poem known as *Die wittenbergische Nachtigall* (Kürschner, XX, 111 ff.). This poem contains in all 350 couplets, including 16 rhymes of *e* (counting such words as *regiment*), 18 of *ē*, one of *ē:ā* (*recht:mecht* 'möchte' 502; this may however be a rhyme of *ē:ō*, cf. paragraph 4, below), 4 of *ē*, none of *æ*, 3 of *e:ē*, and 6 of *ē:æ*. It differs from Sachs's other verse in the following respects:

1. It contains 7 rhymes of *e:ē* before *r* and *l*, as follows: *bleren* ('lärmen,' *e*, also occurring with *ē*):*kopfbescheren* (*ē*) 122; *merck* ('merke,' *e*):*werck* (*ē*) 434; *mercke:wercke* 520; *mercken:wercken* 160; *genert* ('genährt' *e*):*herdt* ('Herde,' *ē*) 64; *bestell* ('bestellt,' *e*):*gelt* ('Geld,' *ē*) 206; *erzelt* ('erzählt,' *e*):*melt* ('meldet,' *ē*) 686. As the rhymes of *e*-words with one another before *r* are none, before *l* one (*abstellt:hellt* 560), of *ē*-words before *r* 4 (*erden:werden* 120, 666; *hertzen:schmertzen* 676; *sterben:verderben*, intrans. 384), before *l* 4 (*officieln:pedeln* 262; *gelt:welt* 448; *melt:welt* 380; *gelffen:gehelffen* 558), it appears that before these consonants *e* and *ē* rhyme together freely, as in the Alemannic dialect (cf. above § 1).

Further, we find 2 rhymes of *ē:æ* before *r*: *lehren* (infinitive, *ē*):*erkleren* ('erklären,' *æ*) 342; *schriftgelerten:erklärten* 294; one of *e:æ* before *r*: *blerren:beweren* ('beweisen,' *æ*) 544; and 4 of *ē:ē* before *r*: *ferr* ('weit,' *ē*):*ler* ('Lehre,' *ē*) 110; *her* (adverb, *ē*):*ler* 106; *Herr:mehr* 684; *gewert* ('gedauert,' *ē*):*gelert* 576. These rhymes also seem to have been used freely, as their ratio to the following will show: *ē*-words rhyme with one another before *r* twice (*keren:lernen* 592; *verkert:gelert* 548), *e:ē* before *l* 3 times (*hell:sel* 182; *erzelen:seelen* 668; *gefellig:selig* 416), *ē:æ* before *r* twice (*her:ler*, 'leer,' *æ* 528; *begert:erklert* 326), before *l* twice (*hel*, 'hell,' *ē:fel*, 'fehl,' *æ* 58; *schnell:fell* 'fehl' 462).

2. Three rhymes of *ē:ē* before *t* occur: *bet* ('Gebet,' *ē*):*complet* ('completa hora,' *ē* < Late Latin *ē*) 124; *gebet:verstet* ('versteht') 302; *treten* ('treten,' *ē*):*propheten* 290. With these compare the only other *e*-rhyme before *t*, *treten:reten* ('Räten,' *æ*) 188.

3. Unaccented *e* taking accent under the verse-stress and assuming (old or analogical) value of *æ* (cf. §§ 3 and 4 above) is used freely and awkwardly; its occurrences are: *Augustiner:Luther* 102; *Barfusser:leszmeister* 492; *Emser:tröster* 488; *stationirer:Valentiner* 236; *quatermer:ayer* ('eier') 170; *gern:kleydern* 296; *hell:capitel* 658; rhyming with *e* before nasal *denn:schulen* 630; with *i* before nasal *sen* ('sind' —?):*sibende*. Note also the rhyme with *ē* before *r* (cf. paragraph 1 above): *ler* ('Lehre,' *ē*):*seelsorger* 198.

4. The following 3 rhymes of *ē:æ* occur: *göt* ('geht,' *ē*):*morgenröt* 8; *propheten:morgenröten* 344; *entgen* ('entgehen'):*gedön* ('gesang') 72, and the

following of  $e:\delta$ : *flecken:blecken* ('in den Block legen,'  $\delta$ ) 280; to which we may perhaps have to add *recht:mecht* ('möchte,'  $\delta$  or  $\alpha$ ) 502 (cf. above). Of  $\alpha$  and of  $\delta$  there is only one rhyme each (646, 260). This rhyming of rounded with unrounded vowels is regular in Alemannic.<sup>1</sup>

5. Other irregular rhymes are  $e:ie$  in *brennen:denen* ('dienen,'  $ie$ ) 134 (cf. *verhienen*, 'verhöhnén,'  $\alpha:dienen$  556); and  $\ell:ei$  in *selig* (as Sachs seems to have spoken this word with  $\ell$ , cf. § 5 above):*heilig* 640.

I must leave it to students of literary history to explain this unique deviation on the part of Sachs from his usual rhyme-technique. Did he copy someone else's rhymes for this poem ?]

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
December 30, 1909

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further in this poem the numerous rhymes of  $i$ ,  $ie:a$ ,  $ae$ , also once,  $ei:ie$ —a kind of rhyme very rare with Sachs but freely used by Alemannic rhymers, who spoke "Sieddeitsch."



## LA BATAILLE DE TRENTE ANGLOIS ET DE TRENTE BRETONS<sup>1</sup>

### I. HISTORICAL

In an interesting passage of his *Chronicles*,<sup>2</sup> Froissart calls attention to the popular historical poetry relating to the conflict in Brittany between the factions of Charles de Blois and Jean de Montfort, a struggle which lasted from the death of Duke Jean III (April 30, 1341) to the battle of Auray (September 29, 1364).<sup>3</sup> Probably no period of the Hundred Years' War was so full of romantic incidents and dramatic situations well adapted to stir the mind of the popular poet, as this combined civil and international strife. While the long contest between France and England had from the very first its semi-apocryphal record in poetry of various kinds, ranging from the dignified compositions of writers like Deschamps<sup>4</sup> to the coarse expressions of vulgar superstitions and racial hatred of unnamed authorship,<sup>5</sup> probably the longest of these compositions relate to the Breton wars of which the battle of the Thirty was an incident.

However, if Froissart recognizes the existence of this poetry, in the passage referred to, he expresses himself in plain terms as to its unreliability and tells us that in order to obtain the truth,

ai ge allé et cherchiet le plus grant partie de Bretagne, et enquis et demandé as seigneurs et as hiraux les gerrez, les prises, les assaux, les envaiës, les bataillez, les rescousses et *tous les biaux fès d'armes* qui y sont avenut;

and further, that he did so,

à la requeste de mes diz seigneurs et à ses frais.

<sup>1</sup> In the MSS the poem is called *La Bataille de Trente Anglois et de Trente Bretons*; other editors, however, have styled it *Le Combat des Trente* by which term it is frequently referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Froissart, ed. S. Luce, Paris, 1870, II, 265.

<sup>3</sup> This contest, due to the rival claims of Jean de Montfort and Jeanne de Penthilèvre, wife of Charles de Blois, belongs to the domain of history and need not be considered here. The most exhaustive treatment is that of A. de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1906, III, 411 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ballade sur la mort de Bertrand du Guesclin*, pub. by Leroux de Lincy in *Chants hist. franç.*, 1841, I, 258, and *Ballade sur la trêve faite avec l'Angleterre*, *ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Leroux de Lincy, "Vaux-de-Vire du temps de l'occupation des Anglais," *op. cit.*, pp. 300 ff. The very considerable mass of poetry of this kind has never been published in entirety or treated as a whole. The editor of this text is now collecting the material for a bibliography of the subject and expects to publish it in due time.

Consequently, we are compelled to consider Froissart's criticism both in the light of his trip to Brittany, which extended from April, 1366, to January, 1367,<sup>1</sup> and also in that of the motives which influenced him and may have affected the accuracy of his statements. From his account we gather that there were many compositions of the popular sort and that the jongleurs had greatly departed from the truth.<sup>2</sup> Froissart's criticism has been referred to in this connection.<sup>3</sup> But apparently it has not been considered important to note what Froissart himself states a little farther on in the same passage, namely, that his original was Jehan le Bel and that a large portion of the account of the wars in Brittany is almost a literal transcription of the latter's work. As a matter of authority we must turn at once to Jehan le Bel and if Froissart copies him, we must remember that the first redaction of Book I (which contains the wars in Brittany) was written between 1376 and 1380 at the instigation of Gui de Blois<sup>4</sup> and that Froissart never is consciously unjust to the English side. As for Jehan le Bel, with whom we are directly concerned, we have also to remember that he gained his information by inquiry and hearsay from a distance and never, so far as we know, visited Brittany as did Froissart.<sup>5</sup> He twice speaks of the poetical literature, once in terms of a single book or *livre rimé* and again in the plural, indicating that he consulted several. I quote his words:

Je ne sçay pas dire toutes les aventures qui leur sourvindrent, car je n'y fus pas, et ceux qui m'en ont raconté m'en dit en tant de diverses manières que je m'en sçay à quoy tenir de la verité. J'ay trouvé en ung livre rimé, que ung jongleur a fait, tant de bourdes et de menteries que je ne les oseroie dire. Si me tairay, affin que je n'en soye repris de mensonge; et se j'en escriis plus avant ou mains qu'il n'en fut, si me soit pardonné car *je ne fus pas partout où les aventures avindrent*.<sup>6</sup>

and again:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1870, I, Part I, 151-55.

<sup>2</sup> "Pluiseur gongleour et enchanteour en place ont chanté et rimet les guerres de Bretagne et corromput, par leurs chançons et rimes controuvées, le juste et vraie histoire, etc.," Froissart, ed. S. Luce, II, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, Part I, p. 1087.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, Part II, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> "Et pour chascun mieulx infourmer comment tous ces maulx avindrent j'en conteray une partie ainsy que je le sçay et que j'en ay enquis et ouy dire à ceux qui ont esté où je n'ay mie esté."—Jehan le Bel, ed. Polain, Bruxelles, 1863, I, 226.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 11 (Jehan le Bel is referring to events of 1343).



Je ne m'ose plus avant entremettre de conter comment ces deux grandes assemblées se departirent ne quelles aventures il y eut, car *je n'y fus pas mye*, et jasoit que je treuve en ces romans rimés dont j'ay parlé cy dessus biacop de choses, neantmoins, pour ce qu'elles sont plus plaines de mensonge que de verité, je ne les ose dire.<sup>1</sup>

These references indicate the existence of a body of popular poetry relating to current events. The amount of this poetry was probably much larger than what has been preserved and the compositions were unreliable historically, as would be expected.

The most famous of the *fès d'armes* of which Froissart speaks is no doubt the *Bataille de Trente*, a bitterly contested duel by agreement between thirty Bretons headed by Jean de Beaumanoir, representing the party of Charles de Blois, and thirty combined English, Germans, and Bretons under the leadership of Richard Brambro, captain of Ploërmel, for the party of Edward III and Jean de Montfort. The most probable cause of the combat was the mistreatment of the peasants by the English commander, who extorted everything possible from them by imprisonment and even bodily torture.<sup>2</sup> Jean de Beaumanoir, the captain of Josselin, remonstrated with Brambro and was so discourteously treated that he challenged the latter to fight the matter out with an equal number on each side.<sup>3</sup> As a result the English were defeated and made prisoners and Brambro was killed. This victory, coming only five years after the disastrous day at Crécy,<sup>4</sup> was one of the bright spots for the French in the midst of a long list of calamities and was celebrated by them in the poem with which we are concerned. It was also celebrated in the chronicles, whereas the English, with comprehensible reticence, fail to make mention of it in their records. For a long time it

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 18. He is speaking of the armies of Edward III and of the Duke of Normandy.

<sup>2</sup> Bretagne suffered greatly from this sort of treatment; cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, pp. 509 and 511. It was out of such soldiery that the great companies were formed under the leadership of men like Calverley, Knolles, and Hawkwood, who made their names a terror even into Italy. (Further, cf. E. de Fréville, "Des grandes compagnies au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bib. Ec. Charles*, 1<sup>ère</sup> sér., III, 258-81 and V, 232-53.)

<sup>3</sup> There are a number of instances of this kind of combat in the Hundred Years' War. Cf. the combat between seven French and seven English in 1402, commemorated by a ballad of Christine de Pizan (Leroux de Lincy, *op. cit.*, II, 287); that of fifteen French and fifteen English at Nantes in 1382 (cf. *La Chronique du Loys de Bourbon*, ed. Chazaud, Paris, 1876, pp. 127-29); of five English and five French at Vannes in 1382 (*ibid.*, pp. 130-32); of ten Bretons and ten Germans at Rome in 1377 (cf. D. Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Guingamp, 1835, V, 148).

<sup>4</sup> The date of the battle of the Thirty was March 27, 1351.

does not seem to have been known through any work of earlier date than the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul* of 1470,<sup>1</sup> and this circumstance gave rise to disputes as to its authenticity.<sup>2</sup> In later years various accounts of the *Bataille* have been discovered which put an end to any doubt in the matter. The earliest historical version is that of Jehan le Bel which was written before 1357;<sup>3</sup> then follow the mention by Jean de Venette, the continuator of the work of Guillaume de Nangis, written between 1360 and 1368,<sup>4</sup> by the author of the *Chronique Normande du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, written 1369-72,<sup>5</sup> by Froissart in the first redaction of Book I of the *Chronicles*, written after 1376,<sup>6</sup> and in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*.<sup>7</sup> There is also a mention by Christine de Pizan in her *Life of Charles V*, composed in 1403.<sup>8</sup> These contemporary records leave no doubt that the combat actually occurred. Froissart even tells us that he saw one of the combatants, Yvain Charruel, at a banquet of the king of France (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, V, 295).

The question remains as to whether any of these chroniclers ever saw a version of our poem and whether it was one of the productions criticized by Jehan le Bel and Froissart. There is nothing in the accounts given by Jean de Venette, by the author of the *Chronique Normande*, or by that of the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* to show that they knew the poem; their accounts consist only of a few lines each.

By far the most extensive accounts of the combat are that of Jehan le Bel and the three versions of Froissart.<sup>9</sup> The version of Jehan le

<sup>1</sup> Still unpublished: MS Arsenal 3912 (263 H.F.), fol. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Daru, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1826, II, 112 n.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Chronique de Jehan le Bel*, I, Introduction, p. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> "Et sicut in Plamellis ubi triginta de parte Gallicorum contra triginta de Anglicorum insimul concorditur pugnauerunt, ubi pars Anglicorum devicta est."—Ed. d'Achéry, *Spicilegium, Parisiis*, 1723, III, p. 106. For the date of the Chronicle, cf. H. Géraud, "Guillaume de Nangis et ses continuateurs," *Bib. Ec. Charles*, 1<sup>ère</sup> sér., III, 17 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. A. et [E. Molinier, Paris, 1882, p. 101. For date of composition, cf. Introduction, p. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, Part I, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. S. Luce, Soc. de l'histoire de France, 1862, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Abbé le Bœuf, 1742, Book II, chap. 26, quoted by De Courcy, *Le Combat des Trente*, St. Pol de Leon, 1857, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> I.e., in the first redaction of Book I (ed. K. de Lettenhove, V, 289 f.); in the third redaction of Book I, written 1400-1404 (*op. cit.*, V, 291 f.); and in the *Chroniques abrégées*, written 1404-10 (*op. cit.*, XVII, 281 f.). For discussion of dates, cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, part II, pp. 168 ff.

Bel shows some discrepancies when compared with that of the poem. Jean de Beaumanoir is styled Robert de Beaumont; nothing is said of the oppression of the peasants and Beaumont (Beaumanoir) makes his challenge to fight for the honor of their *dames* whom Brambro calls *amyès*; Brambro is *ung souldoyer d'Alemaigne qu'on appelloit Brandebourch*; the day of the combat is Wednesday; the sixty are represented as meeting and conversing before the battle began. On the other hand it is equally true that there are expressions in Jehan le Bel's account which strikingly recall certain lines of the poem. Beaumont (Beaumanoir) asks the English leader if he has "*nulz compaignons ou deux ou trois*" who will respond to challenge (cf. D 110,<sup>1</sup> *ou trois ou cinq ou six*, etc.); Brambro says "*je vous diray que nous ferons, s'il vous plaist*" (cf. B67, *or le faisons, Bomcbourc, s'il vous plaist, sagement*); and "*aussy, fait Brandebourch, le jure-je*" (cf. B72, "*Sire,*" *ce dit Bourcbourc, "et je le vous fiant"*). We may also compare "*Ainsy fut ceste besogne acordée*" with D107, B73, *Ainsin fust (fu) la bataille*, etc.; "*chascun des soixante se pourvei d'armeures ainsy qu'il poent*" with D111, *Sans election d'armes, ainsin se combatroient, en guise et maniere que chascun le voudroint*; also "*Quant le jour fut venu les trente compaignons Brandebourch ouïrent messe*" with D225, *Quant le temps fust passé et le jour fust venu*; and D223, *il fist dire des messes par grant devociens*; also "*si les convint reposer par acord, l'ung d'une part et l'autre d'autre*" with B313-14, *Et toux par ordenance firent petticion, d'aller toux querre à boire à nulle arrestezon*. Jehan le Bel also mentions the fact that the English were finally routed by a Frenchman mounted on horseback, but he does not speak of Montauban by name. Lastly, he indicates one of his sources at least as being among the participators in the combat, e.g., *ainsy l'ay-je ouï raconter à ceulx qui y furent*.

The three accounts that Froissart gives in the redactions above mentioned are practically repetitions of the account of Jehan le Bel with some additions, of which two are worthy of notice. Beginning his account with the same sentence as Jehan le Bel, he adds the following, *mès le doit-on mettre avant pour tous bachelers encourragier* (cf. B2). Again, in the third redaction (*op. cit.*, p. 294) he adds the following to his previous version, "*Vous poés bien croire qu'il firent*

<sup>1</sup> D refers to the Didot MS of the poem; B to the Bigot MS.

entre yaus mainte belle apertise d'armes, gens pour gens, corps à corps, et main à main; *on n'avoit point en devant, passet avoit C ans, oy recorder la cose pareille*" with which we compare—

Sy s'esbatront souvent gentilz hons et clarjons

De cy jusqu'à cent ans, pour vray en leurs maisons.—B12 (also D12).

Did Jehan le Bel have our poem before him at the time he wrote his account of the event? We think probably not, but it seems likely that he had seen it in some form or heard a portion of it recited. The outline of the story is the same in the poem and in his account, the verbal coincidences are sufficiently numerous to attract attention, and the lack of more exact parallels can be explained as due to the great condensation in the chronicle. The discrepancies can be explained by Jehan's preference for hearsay evidence rather than the testimony of a *livre rimé*, and it is not astonishing that he fails to mention the poem since others who have used it have done the same.<sup>1</sup> The substitution of Beaumont for Beaumanoir is probably an attempt to reflect glory on Jehan le Bel's patron, the sire de Beaumont, for whom the author wrote his chronicle;<sup>2</sup> the name Brandebourch and the statement that he was a German is also comprehensible;<sup>3</sup> and as the two leaders represented the warring duchesses, we can appreciate Jehan's readiness to assign this cause for the battle in place of an act of humanity not quite so much in accord with the spirit of the fourteenth century.

There is nothing in Froissart's first account to indicate that he had seen more than the narrative of Jehan le Bel, but the addition quoted from the third redaction seems to indicate that he knew of the poem by that time. He had also had opportunity to get testimony from those present in the combat, for he mentions Yvain Charruel by name. Even then, his account contains inaccuracies.<sup>4</sup>

The poem was also the source of the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul*, already mentioned; it was used by D'Argentré in his account;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul* bears evidence in every line of being a copy of the poem; not only hemistichs, but in one case a whole couplet with rimes is incorporated. Yet no credit is given to the poem.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, Part I, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Introduction II, under Brambro.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., his inclusion of Enguerrand d'Endin and Hues de Raincevaus in the list of combatants.

<sup>5</sup> "I'ay veu un tres-ancien livre, traitant de ce combat, fait en mauvaïse rithme, dès le mesme temps, comme il est à croire."—D'Argentré, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1588, p. 300.

by Dom Lobineau,<sup>1</sup> by Dom Morice,<sup>2</sup> and all investigations so far made in the light of modern research go to confirm its historical accuracy. The event which it celebrates was one held dear by the Bretons and handed down from century to century. A plot of ground near My-voie, half-way from Josselin to Ploërmel, which was the scene of the combat, is still called the "Champ aux Anglais,"<sup>3</sup> for here, according to legend, the dead of Brambro's party were buried. As late as the early nineteenth century the popular poets were still composing lays telling of the victory won from the English.<sup>4</sup>

## II. THE COMBATANTS

The names of the antagonists in the *Bataille de Trente* vary in the two MSS and also in the various chronicles of Brittany. Those of the Bretons remain fairly constant and the historians seem to be in substantial agreement, which is probably due to the fact that the knights all belonged to well-known Breton families. On the other hand, the members of the English party were for the most part foreigners, and their names were consequently subject to misunderstanding and corruption. They were also mostly of inferior rank, common soldiers of adventure, known in many cases by the first name and a characteristic epithet. The scribe of B seems to have been more familiar with English names, for he does not mangle them out of recognizable shape as does the scribe of D; but he makes some mistakes in the rendering of the Breton names with which he is evidently unfamiliar. Though B and D give evidence of being copied from different MSS, the ultimate source must have been the same, as the names occur in precisely the same order and are the same in number if we accept the reading *Le Fonstenais* in D159 instead of the plural. Lists of the combatants occur in the works of D'Argentré, Lobineau, Morice, and in the unpublished *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul*, of 1473.<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Dom Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1707, I, 343.

<sup>2</sup> Dom Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Guingamp, 1835.

<sup>3</sup> De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Th. Hersart de Villemarqué, *Barsas Breiz*, 6th ed., Paris, 1867, pp. 193 f., for poem "Stourm ann Tregont."

<sup>5</sup> This I have consulted in the portion quoted by De Courcy, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-26. The work of Alain Bouchard (*Les grandes chroniques de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1887, pub. by Maignien in *Publications de la société des bibliophiles bretons*, and in 5 editions, 1514-41) does not contain a mention of the *Bataille*. I have not been able to consult the work of Pierre le Baud (first composed about 1480; cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n.). D'Argentré, however, mentions his acquaintance with the work.

the last-mentioned work the names agree almost exactly with those in the poem and occur in the same order, with but two exceptions. Lobineau and Morice practically agree with each other, but D'Argentré omits some names and substitutes others. D and B enumerate 30 Bretons, including Beaumanoir; Lobineau, Morice, and Jean de St. Paul give 31, while D'Argentré increases the list to 32. In regard to *Le Fontenais* he remarks that some include "deux frères de la maison de Fontenais."<sup>1</sup> The last four chroniclers mention a *Messire Huon de St. Yvon* after *Robin Raguenel*. The line in D, mentioning Raguenel reads,

Et Robin Raganel, ou nom de Saintt Symon (145),

while in B we have

Et Robin Raguenel, en non de Saint Y[v]on (106).

It seems probable that the chroniclers are in error here. Jehan le Bel mentions only Beaumanoir by name; he is followed by Froissart who, however, in another passage, speaks of Yvain Charruel and two others, not elsewhere mentioned, Enguerrant d'Endin, "un bon chevalier de Picardie" and "un bon escuyer," Hues de Rancevaus. The following brief summary of references regarding the knights is taken in part from De Courcy who traces the genealogies.

#### *The Bretons*

1. *Jean de Beaumanoir*, the Breton leader, is a well-known figure in history, his name occurring frequently.<sup>2</sup> We find him at the battle of Mauron in 1352; as one of the ambassadors sent the same year to England to treat for the ransom of Charles de Blois; as governor of Brittany in 1357 when, by convention, the Duke of Lancaster gave him the keys of Rennes; as one of the hostages of the treaty of Evran in 1363; as a prisoner at Auray where Blois was killed in 1364, and as representing the widow at the treaty of Guérande in 1365. He died 1365-66. His will is preserved in MS Bib. Nat. 5842.<sup>3</sup>

2. (Le sire de) *Tinténiac*, or *Tintiniac* as D'Argentré and Lobineau call him, was seigneur also of Bécherel and Romillé in Normandy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D'Argentré, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Index to Vol. II of Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin, s. nom.*, *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 193, 214, 331-34; and by Froissart (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, Index, Vol. XX). Cf. also De Courcy, p. 27 and Levot, *Biog. Bret.* (1852), I, 69-71.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, LVII (1896), p. 190.

He was killed at the battle of Mauron in 1352. According to De Courcy (p. 28) his granddaughter was the second wife of Bertrand du Guesclin; a later member of the family was Gaspard de Coligny, killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew (cf. also Levot, *Biog. Bret.*, 1857, II, 899).

3. *Guy de Rochefort*, called by De Courcy the seigneur de Harleix to distinguish him from his nephew, Guy de Rochefort, seigneur d'Asserac, is mentioned in a document received some months later (July, 1351) at Dinan by Thibaut de Rochefort, his cousin germain. In the same document are mentioned Caro de Bodégat and Hugues Catus.<sup>1</sup> In 1354 he took the château of Nantes from the English (D'Argentré, p. 303); and his name occurs in a document of Vitré in 1356, after which he is lost to history (cf. De Courcy, p. 29 and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 737).

4. *Charruel*, called *Yves*, *Yvain* or *Even*, seigneur of Guérand. He aided in 1342 in the defense of Rennes, was sent in 1352 to England to aid in the ransom of Charles de Blois, was chosen in 1357 to negotiate the prolongation of the truce concluded at Bordeaux, distinguished himself at the battle of Cocherel in Normandy in 1364 (cf. D'Argentré, Book V, chap. xl), and is cited in 1369 in the quality of commissioner to receive at Vitré the *montres* of men at arms, after which his name disappears.<sup>2</sup> Froissart (ed. K. de Lettenhove, XVII, 284) tells of seeing him at a banquet, and he is mentioned four times in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* (*op. cit.*, pp. 137, 140, 145, 159). Further, see Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 300-301.

5. *Robin Raquenel*, seigneur of Châteauloger, was the son of the counsellor of the dukes Jean II, Arthur II, and Jean III. Dom Morice (*Preuves*, I, col. 1479) gives a discharge of 1352, sealed with his arms. A daughter, Tiphaine, was the first wife of Bertrand du Guesclin.<sup>3</sup>

6. *Caro de Bodégat*, seigneur de Bodégat, is cited only in the poem and in the document of July 1, 1351, already mentioned in connection with Gui de Rochefort. None of his descendants are known.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that neither D'Argentré, Morice, or Lobineau include Catus in the list of combatants, this document is important as circumstantially confirming the testimony of the poem.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. De Courcy, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33, and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 677.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. De Courcy, p. 34.

7. *Guillaume de la Marche*. According to De Courcy (p. 31), there seems to be some uncertainty regarding the family of this knight. His arms are given by D. Morice (*Preuves*, I, cols. 1482-83) from discharges dated August 11, 1352, and he was killed three days later at Mauron with the sire de Tinténia, as the poem of Guillaume de St. André recalls.<sup>1</sup>

8. *Olivier Arrel*, seigneur of Kermarquer, accompanied Blois to the siege of La Roche Derrien in 1347, but not much else is known of him.<sup>2</sup>

9. *Jehan Rousselet* or *Rousselot*, according to De Courcy (p. 38), was a nephew of Raoul, bishop of St. Malo in 1310, of Laon in 1323.<sup>3</sup>

10. *Geffroi du Bois* is found in a *montre* of Jean de Beaumanoir, of June 22, 1351, in which figure also Alain de Keranrais, Louis Gouëon, Olivier de Fontenay, and Tristan de Pestivien and likewise with the same in a *montre* of October 10, 1351, from which time on he disappears. De Courcy says that it is impossible to state to which of the twelve Breton families of that name he belonged. It will be noted that in D384 he calls Beaumanoir his "cousin germain" (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 569).

11. *Guillaume de Montauban*, who decided the fate of the battle, was present at Mauron, August 14, 1352. De Courcy (p. 39) gives his ancestry and states that he died unmarried and childless (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 486).

12. *Alain de Tinténia* is mentioned as accompanying Charles de Blois to the siege of Quimper in 1344<sup>4</sup> and was still living in 1356, as attested by a discharge cited by D. Morice (*Preuves*, I, col. 1506; cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 899).

13. *Tristan de Pestivien* was a younger brother of Jean, baron de Pestivien and appears later in *montres* of June 22 and October 11, 1351 (cf. De Courcy, p. 41, and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 594-95).

14, 15. *Alain* and *Olivier de Keranrais*. The uncle is not mentioned later but Alain is found in *montres* of June 22 and August 30, 1351. De Courcy (p. 52) gives the later history of the family, which became extinct after 1550 (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 7-8).

<sup>1</sup> *Livre du bon duc Jehan*, par G. de St. André, ed. Charrière, 1835, II, 487 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 36-37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 787-88.

<sup>4</sup> *Enquête pour la canonisation de Charles de Blois en 1371* (Dom Morice, *Preuves*, II, col. 28, quoted by De Courcy, p. 40).



16. *Louys Gouyon*, *Goyon* or *Gouëon* was a younger son of Etienne, seigneur de Matignon, and appears in *montres* of June 22 and August 30, 1351, already cited, as well as in a discharge signed with his arms and dated July 9, 1351. De Courcy (p. 43) says that his family was later connected by marriage with that of Chateaubriand's mother (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 826-27).

17. (*Olivier*) *de Fontenay* is mentioned in the *montre* of August 30, 1351, with the four companions—Du Bois, Pestivien, Keranrais, and Gouëon—from whom he appears inseparable. According to De Courcy (p. 44) the name comes from a manor near Rennes. There is a question whether another of the name was also a participator in the *Bataille*; D apparently so indicates, but B speaks of only one as does the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul*. Lobineau and Dom Morice say positively, "les deux Fontenais," while D'Argentré quotes the fact on hearsay (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 709).

18. *Huet*, *Hauguet* or *Hugues Catus*, seigneur of Breuil in Bas-Poitou, is descended from a family mentioned as early as 1185. His name is found in the *montre* of July 1, 1351, with Rochefort and Bodégat.<sup>1</sup> The *Chronique de St. Paul* speaks of him, but he is not included in the lists of the Breton historians (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 267).

19. *Geffroi de la Roche*, to whose grandfather the poem refers (cf. note to D163-B122), is not mentioned in later records and De Courcy is unable to establish his family connections. He does not think it probable that he was of Poitevin origin (*op. cit.*, p. 46; cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 735-37).

20. *Geffroi Poulart* was the son of Pierre Poulart, the treasurer of the Countess of Blois, who founded the abbey of Beaufort in 1364. Other sons of Pierre receive mention in history but not Geffroi (cf. De Courcy, p. 47-48; see also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 655).

21. *Morice de Trézéguidy* came of a crusading family. His presence in the *Bataille* is attested not only by the poem but also by the *Histoire de Louis II, Duc de Bourbon*, composed in 1429 by Jean d'Orronville,<sup>2</sup> and he is mentioned by Christine de Pizan in a letter,

<sup>1</sup> De Courcy says that a part of the genealogy of the family was written by André du Chesne (*Hist. de la Maison de Chateignier*, 1634).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. of Jean Papire Masson, 1612, chap. xv (quoted by De Courcy).

dated October 2, 1402, with Du Guesclin as an example of those who loved loyally. The *Chronique de St. Paul* gives his name, but the Benedictines confuse him with the family of Tronguidy. D'Argentré calls him "*Huet*" or "*Morice de Tronguidy*," Lobineau says "*Morice de Tronguidy*" and mentions also a "*Geslin de Tronguidy*" which is repeated in the version of D. Morice. He is mentioned in a *monstre* of Vitré of 1357, of 1363 at Châteaugontier, and many times after in succeeding years. He was captain of Paris in 1380 (pay 1,200 livres parisis) and was still living in 1395, according to papers of a suit sustained against Olivier de Guesclin.<sup>1</sup> See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 928-29.

22. *Guyon de Pont Blanc*, not mentioned elsewhere, although De Courcy quotes various members of the family. He is not given by D'Argentré in the list of combatants. See Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 633.

23. *Morice du Parc* is mentioned in the *enquête* for the canonization of Charles de Blois, in 1371.<sup>2</sup> He was later the captain of Quimper, contributed 5,000 *écus* in 1359 to ransom Blois, aided in the rout of the English before Chisey in Poitou in 1372, and was governor of La Rochelle in 1373.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 564-65.

24. *Geffroi de Beaucours* or *Beaucorps* came of a family from St. Briec, according to the *Preuves* of P. Anselme, V, 400, which De Courcy quotes (p. 52). Various members of the family appear in records during the period. See Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 67.

25. *Lanlop* or *Villong*. D172 says *celuy de Villong* (which La Borderie<sup>4</sup> suggests should be *Villéon*); B132 says *celuy de Lenlop*, while the *Chronique de St. Paul* calls him *Geslin de Lanloup* and the Benedictine historians do not include him in the list at all. De Courcy (p. 53) notes the fact that he is wrongly called *Geslin d'Entraguy* (which name is unknown in the chartes) by D'Argentré and *Geslin de Troguindy* by Dom Morice. De Courcy traces the family for several centuries and appears to establish Lanlop's connection with the battle. The *la Villong* of D may possibly refer to some other estate which he possessed.

26. *Geoffroi Moelon* or *Mellon*, was probably of a family of this name at Rennes. A member of the family was one of the signers of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Preuves* of D. Morice, quoted by De Courcy, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note to *Alain de Tinéniac*.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Laboureur*, p. 54, quoted by De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *La Borderie*, *op. cit.*, p. 517, n. 2.

the association of nobility of Rennes, formed in 1379 to repel foreign invasion. De Courcy (p. 34) states that descendants still exist (i.e. in 1857). See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 453-55.

27. *Jehannot de Serrant* or *Desserain* (*Serens*, D'Argentré; *Serrent*, Lobineau and Morice), is mentioned by all the chroniclers and was the son of Alain de Serent, seigneur of Tromeur. Jehannot de Sérent, in 1356, gave a discharge signed with his arms.<sup>1</sup> His name and that of Jean, his eldest son, are frequently cited in *montres* of Olivier de Clisson, in 1375 and following years. See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 847.

28. *Olivier Monteville*. B has the right version of the name and is confirmed by all historians; the *Bouteville* of D is an error. He was seigneur of Launay and various members of the family are quoted in records of the time. See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 492.

29. *Guillaume de la Lande* is quoted by both MSS and in all historical accounts. He was probably a younger son of the family, which had its seat at Guichen (Ille-et-Vilaine). He was a signer of the treaty of Guérande in 1365.<sup>2</sup>

30. *Simon Richard* (*Pachart* in B) was seigneur of Kerjean (Finistère) and appears in a *montre* received by Charruel in 1356 and in one of Du Guesclin in 1370, he ratified the treaty of La Roche Derrien, May 2, 1381, to which his seal is appended. His name disappears after 1382. Further cf. De Courcy, p. 58 and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 704.

In addition to the names listed in the poem and in place of some of them, D'Argentré mentions *Maurice* and *Geslin d'Entraguy*, who have already been discussed, *Alexandre Fardet*, *Robin de Beaumont*, *Haterel* and a *Huon de St. Yvon* who is also quoted by all the chroniclers. De Courcy (p. 34) calls him seigneur of St. Hugeon (Côtes-du-Nord) and says he does not occur in history after this. He would have increased the list of combatants to 31. The others quoted by D'Argentré are not mentioned elsewhere, so far as I know.

### *The English*

The identification of the Englishmen is extremely difficult, as compared with that of the Bretons. They were mostly chosen from mercenaries engaged in the service of Montfort. For a number, the poem is our only reference, although a few, such as Calverley, Knolles,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by De Courcy, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> D. Morice, *Preuves* I, col. 1598, seals 249 (quoted by De Courcy, p. 56).

and Croquart, are figures known in history. Their names were unfamiliar to the author of the poem and are in the majority of cases mangled out of all recognizable shape. The task is made more difficult because in a number of instances only the first name is given, together with an epithet that is usually uncomplimentary.<sup>1</sup> The poem itself calls them mercenaries (D137) and the humble origin of at least one (D91-95) is also affirmed.

1. *Richard Brambro* (D, *Brambroc(h)*, B, *Bombourc*, *Bourbourc*) the captain himself, cannot be identified with positive certainty. De Courcy (p. 60) considers him an Englishman and notes that a family of this name existed in Brittany down to the sixteenth century. According to Cuvelier (*op. cit.*, I, 40) a *Richard Bembro*, captain of Fougeray, was killed at the capture of that place by Du Guesclin in 1353 and a *Guillaume Bembro* was wounded in single combat by the same (p. 69). I have been unable to secure information in regard to Brambro from a search made for me in the documents of the British Record Office, as many records of the time are lost. The affairs of the English in Brittany seem to have been in a confused state from the death of Thomas Daggeworth<sup>2</sup> to the coming of the king's lieutenant-general, Gautier de Bentley, in the early autumn of 1352.<sup>3</sup> During this period the English power was represented by the captains of the various places. Jehan le Bel (ed. Polain, p. 163) speaks of Brambro as "ung souldoyer d'Alemaigne qu'on appeloit Brandebourch." This statement Froissart copies. But we have seen reasons for doubting Jehan le Bel's accuracy; it is quite possible that, as there were Germans in the combat, he confused their leader with them and from the similarity of names called him Brandebourch (Brandenburg), a name which occurs in the operations of the early part of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>4</sup> Froissart went in person to Brittany and we may ask why he did not correct Jehan le Bel's error; but, when we remember that the former was a protégé of Queen Philippa of England and is in other ways closely connected with the English, it seems natural that he should allow the disgrace of the defeat to rest on the

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Brambro is "*le felon*," others are designated as "*renart*, *musart*, *cowart*, *con-tart*," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Killed near Auray, in August, 1350; cf. *La Borderie*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 509.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *La Borderie*, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Knyghton, *Rolls Series*, XCII, 11 (year 1339).

shoulders of a German. On the other hand, the circumstantial evidence that Brambro was an Englishman is very strong. The author of the *Chronique Normande* (*op. cit.*, p. 100) speaks of "Robert Brambroc, chef d'iceulz Engloiz." It hardly seems natural that a foreigner should be in command over such Englishmen of note as Knolles and Calverley. Still more striking is the fact that in the same county of Cheshire from which the two last named came lies the town of Bamborough.<sup>1</sup> A Bamborough family existed there in the fourteenth century and in the records the name is similar to the form in the poem.<sup>2</sup> We know that such companies as served in the wars in France were frequently recruited from one locality and served under their liege lord. It therefore seems reasonable that Richard Brambro was no German but an Englishman from Cheshire.

2. *Robert Knolles* (D, *Crolles*; B, *Canolez*; D'Argentré, *Knole*; Lobineau, *Cnole*) was one of the best-known figures of the Hundred Years' War. He was born in Cheshire about 1317 and after an adventurous life in the French wars he returned to England in 1381 and died about 1406 at his estate in Kent.<sup>3</sup> The most reliable accounts of his life are given by De Courcy (pp. 61-62) and by Ormerod (*Hist. of Cheshire*, II, 764). Additional notes of interest are recorded by D'Auvergne in *Archeologia*, VI (1782), p. 144 f.

3. *Calverley*. Sir Hugh de *Calverley* or *Calveley* was of a family of Cheshire, township of Lea in Broxton Hundred. The genealogy of the family is given by Ormerod.<sup>4</sup> The *Bataille* was Calverley's first appearance in history and from this time on until 1383 his name is frequent in the chronicles. De Courcy (pp. 63-64) reviews his life and mentions that at the combat of Montmuran in 1354 he was captured by Enguerrand de Hedin, or Endin, a Picard nobleman, whom Froissart wrongly styled one of the Thirty.

4. *Croquart* was a German adventurer who rose from the position of valet to one of wealth and military dignity.<sup>5</sup> He remained faithful to the English although the French king tried to bribe him. Froissart

<sup>1</sup> Township of Lea in Broxton Hundred.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Recognizance Rolls, *Brumburgh*, *Brumburgh*, *Bromborch*, quoted by Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, II, 428 and also 767.

<sup>3</sup> A note by Ainsworth in *Bentley's Miscellany*, XLV (1859), 9, says Knolles was buried at Grey Friars Church in London, August 18, 1407.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 285-86.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ed. S. Luce, IV, 69-70.

says that his death was due to a fall from his horse. Further, cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

5, *Plesanton*; 6, *Ridele*; 7, *Helecog*; 8, *Repefort*, are all mentioned by all the historians but we have no other mention of them save in the *Bataille*. *Plesanton*, from his title, appears to have been a man of rank.

9. *Taillart* (D, *Renegin Relcart*), called *Jannequin Taillart* by all the chroniclers, is said to have been identical with *Jannequin Toigné*<sup>1</sup> who captured Du Guesclin and put him to ransom as related by D'Argentré.<sup>2</sup> I am unable to see De Courcy's reasons for this assumption.

10. *Richard de la Lande*, dit *Le Fier*, occurs in *montres* of Olivier de Clisson, received at Vannes in 1375 and following years.

11. *Belifort* (*Billefort*, D'Argentré) is identified by De Courcy with a Thomelin Henefort, who is found in 1381 at the siege of Nantes with Calverly and Knolles. As both MSS and the historians agree on the name, De Courcy is probably wrong. There is no other mention of *Belifort*.

12. *Clamaban* or *Clomean* (*Clervaban*, D'Argentré) is known only by the poem.

13. *Hérouart* (D, *Helcart*; Lobineau, *Henouart*) may be the *Hérouart*, squire named in a *montre* of Eustache de Mauny, in 1371 (De Courcy). The name may be Hereward(?).

14. *Hulbure*, *Huebnie* (*Hulbilé*, D'Argentré) according to the poem, was a soldier of low degree but of great strength; he is not mentioned again.

15. *Betonchamp* or *Begurcamp* (called *Gamehoup* by D'Argentré and Lobineau; *Guennechoup* by Dom Morice; *Guenehoup* by *Chron. de St. Paul*) is also known only from the *Bataille*.

16. *Gaule l'Alemant*, as his name shows, was one of the six Germans in the *Bataille*. *Croquart* is the only other one who can be identified as German.

17. *Jannequin* or *Renegin Mareschal*; 18. *Thomelin Houlanton* or *Houalton* (*Huleton*, D'Argentré);<sup>3</sup> 19. *Robinet Melipart*, together

<sup>1</sup> De Courcy, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> D'Argentré, *op. cit.*, Book V, chap. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> The name may be Walton(?).

with 16, are mentioned by both MSS and all the chroniclers but are not known to occur elsewhere.

20. *Helichon* (or *Harclou*) *le Musart* is named only in the poem; none of the chroniclers mention him.

21. *Isinnay*, *Isanay* (*Yfray* or *Isannay*, D'Argentré) in 1363 took part in the attempt to relieve Bécherel, besieged by Charles de Blois.<sup>1</sup>

22. *Bicquillay* is mentioned by D alone.

23. *Troussel* (*Roussel*, Dom Morice) is connected by Dé Courcy with a Guillaume Troussel who fought against Du Guesclin at Rennes in 1356. D'Argentré (*op. cit.*, Book X, chap. xxxv) records the incident but says nothing of any relationship.

24. *Robin Adés* (the *Nadrés* of D is probably an error) under the leadership of Knolles captured Du Guesclin at the bridge of Evran in 1352.<sup>2</sup>

25. *Huelton le Contart* (*B. Dango le Couart*) is a personage about whose real name there is some question. The *Chronique de St. Paul* calls him *Andelé* and by De Courcy (p. 68) he is identified with a *James d'Andelé* who is found with Knolles in the army of the Duke of Lancaster at the siege of Rennes in 1356.<sup>3</sup> This is a good example of the way the scribes confused the names.

26. *Dagorne* was a nephew of Thomas Daggeworth whose murder led up to the battle. His name was Nicolas<sup>4</sup> and he is omitted by D'Argentré. His name occurs in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*.<sup>5</sup>

27. *Perrot de Commellan* (*Camaleon* or *Commelan*, D'Argentré; *Comenan*, La Borderie) was of a Breton family of which other members are cited by De Courcy (p. 69).

28. *Guillemín le Gaillart* (*Hamon*, D; *Jean*, D'Argentré; *le Caillart*, Dom Morice and *Chron. de St. Paul*) was of a family frequently mentioned in the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

29. *Raoulet d'Aspremont* (*Du Primant*, D; *Raoulet Prevost*, D'Argentré) is recorded as having married in 1351 and having

<sup>1</sup> Cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Book V, chap. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lobineau, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 518, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. De Courcy, p. 70.

acquired the right of burial in the abbey of Redon where, in 1364, with his consort he founded the chaplaincy of La Perche.<sup>1</sup>

30. *D'Ardaine*, who was killed at the end of the combat, belonged to a family holding the barony of Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine). The name first appears in 1150 (cf. De Courcy, p. 71).

Of the English contestants D'Argentré enumerates but 26, Lobineau 28,<sup>2</sup> Dom Morice 28, and the *Chronique de St. Paul* but 25. However, D'Argentré includes in the list:

1. *Hervé de Lexualen*, who is also cited by Lobineau and Dom Morice though the name does not occur in either MS.

2. *Valentin*, also cited by Christine de Pizan under the name of *Vuin* (*Gwynn*?).<sup>3</sup> He is mentioned by all the chroniclers.

MS B speaks of the four Bretons as *Brebenchons*; possibly a Picard scribe was more inclined to consider Brabanters fighting for the English than Bretons. Certainly Flanders and England were in close relations, with a Flemish princess, Philippa, as English queen.

### III. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Two manuscripts of the poem are known to exist:

I. (D), Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 4165, Nouv. Acq. Fr., called *Didot* as it belonged to the library of Firmin Didot and was sold to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1878,<sup>4</sup> being No. 35 of the list of the sale. The following portion of the description is taken from Delisle:<sup>5</sup>

Petit volume sur parchemin de 8 feuillets, 230 mm./156 mm. Ecriture du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Miniature en tête. Relié par Capé en maroquin rouge.

The miniature to which Delisle refers occupies about a third of 1' and represents the knights standing in readiness for combat; unlike the miniature reproduced by De Courcy, the battle is not being fought and the detail is very scant. The MS contains 33 lines to the page and is in very good condition. The scribe made comparatively few errors in copying, for it is a copy as shown by the nature

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also De Courcy, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Lobineau adds, "On ignore les noms de trois autres."

<sup>3</sup> "En cel an dessus dit (1372) arriva en France Yvain de Galles . . . et avec luy un sien parent et compaignon moult vaillant ecuyer, qui jadis avoit esté de la Bataille des Trente, du côté des Anglois, appelé Jehan de Vuin, dit le poursuivant d'amours, avecques autres Gallois, etc."—*Le Livre des Faits et des bonnes mœurs du Sage Roi Charles V*, composé en 1403 par Christine de Pizan, ed. 1743, II, chap. xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ro.* VII, 479.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L. Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie*, Paris, 1880, pp. 163-64



of the gaps in the text. In one instance, we have a gap of an entire page.<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations are not numerous: *mm* is regularly represented by  $\bar{m}$ ; the omission of *n* is usually indicated by (-) over the preceding vowel (e.g., *souwāt*, 12) although in some cases the *n* is written and the vowel is represented by  $\bar{n}$  (*bñ*, 14), or by  $\ddot{n}$  (*ġnt*, 37). Other occasional abbreviations are, *chūn*=*chascun*; *cend*<sup>s</sup>=*cendre*; *d'onnē*<sup>r</sup>=*d'onneur*; *mess.*=*messire*;  $\bar{q}$ =*que*; *le*<sup>s</sup>=*leurs*; *vo*<sup>o</sup>=*vous*; *q*<sup>i</sup>=*qui*; *čkal*=*cheval*; *nře*=*nostre*; *Jhūcrist*=*Jhesuscrist*; *Guilte*=*Guillaume*; *jusqz*=*jusquez*; *Bretaig*<sup>e</sup>=*Bretaigne*; *pñt*=*present*; *vře*=*vostre*; yet these abbreviations are by no means consistently used. Numerals are generally written out; where they are not, I have substituted the words in the text and indicated the variants; *u* within the word is regularly used for *v*, with which I have replaced it in the transcription. In some cases it is hard to distinguish between the copyist's *u* and *n*. The MS contains 499 lines.

II. (B), Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 1555, called *Bigot* from having belonged to a Picard scholar, Bigot, in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> It occupies ff. 50v.-58v. The following is from the Crapelet edition of 1827:

Ce ms. forme un volume petit in 4°, sur vélin, fatigué, sali, déchiré et raccommodé en plusieurs endroits. Il est d'une écriture ronde, peu régulière, du commencement du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il contient 225 feuillets numérotés en chiffres arabes, d'une main moderne. Après trois feuillets d'une écriture cursive gothique, qui servent de garde, on lit au bas de la première page du texte:

Ms de Mrs. Bigot, 328

R. 7595

2.

On trouve des réclames à la fin de chaque cahier, et chacun de ces cahiers se compose d'un nombre inégal des feuillets. Le volume a été rogné, et plusieurs lettres du haut des pages ont été atteintes. Un certain nombre de feuillets qui conservent des traces d'écriture ont été grattés pour être employés dans le volume, dont les deux derniers feuillets sont blancs. On lit sur le verso du dernier, vers le milieu de la page, ces mots en écriture gothique:

"Ce livre appartient à Symon Pierres, conseiller en court lay, demourant à Vernon sur Seine."

<sup>1</sup> *Laisse XXXV* and part of *Laisse XXXIV* of B are lacking in D.

<sup>2</sup> La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1906, III, 510, n. 1.

Trois autre feuillets, qui ont été grattés, terminent le volume et laissent également apercevoir plusieurs lignes d'écriture.

Crapelet, pp. 2 ff., gives a full description of the 27 different works contained in the MS, of which a few only need be mentioned. I refer to them by the order of occurrence.

3. *La Bataille de XXX Englois et de XXX Bretons qui fu faile en Bretaigne*, etc. Ff. 50v.-58v.
- 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22—The Lives of various saints.
12. *Ave Maria*, glossed.
20. *Cy commence le livre de la passion Nostre Segneur Jhesucrist*.
21. *Cy commence la vanganche Notre Segneur Jhesucrist*.
23. *La cause pourquoy (no) on doit amer et visiter le saint lieu de Fescamp et devotement entendre l'histoire du precieus sanc*.
24. Four miracles about the vial of blood at Fécamp.
25. Piece, without title, upon a comet.<sup>1</sup>

The large number of religious works and the space given to the miracles indicate that the scribe was possibly a monk at Fécamp, or, that it was written in that town.

As has been noted by La Borderie and others, B is much inferior to D in execution. In B the letters are not so plain, and there are many omissions of single words through carelessness. Twice an omitted line is put at the bottom of the page;<sup>2</sup> in various instances the scribe does not take the trouble to erase a miswritten word but draws a line through it and adds the correction. His treatment of the names has already been mentioned.<sup>3</sup> It is hardly necessary to add that, like D, B is also a copy of an earlier form; as it stands, it contains 519 lines. The scribe of B does not use so many abbreviations as we find in D— $\overline{m}$  and  $\overline{n}$  frequently stand for the doubled consonant; *chlr̄s* is not uncommon for *chevaliers*; *mess.* for *messire*; *vo<sup>o</sup>* = *vous*; *Guill'e* = *Guillaume*; a vowel with (-) for vowel + *n* (e.g., *encōbrier*); *ff* for *livres* (155); *no<sup>s</sup>* = *nous* are the commonest abbreviations found, but words are generally written out in full. *V* within a word is written as *u* which I have altered to *v* in the transcription, as in the case of D.

The most casual inspection of the two MSS shows that they are themselves copies. The number of lines which are literal parallels

<sup>1</sup> This composition speaks of a comet which appeared in 1402 and consequently the MS is posterior to that date.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., ll. 221 and 324.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Introduction*, II, "The Combatants."

is surprisingly small, and even when we add the lines that vary but so slightly that the variations may be ascribed to a copyist, we still come far short of the total number. As for the rest, there is sometimes a complete variant or else the words are materially altered. A striking illustration of this is the substitution of the arms of Agappart (B159-160) for those of *jadis roy Edouart* (D199). While there are some passages in which B is the clearer in sense, in general D offers the fewest difficulties and requires less emendation; consequently, it may be considered as representing more nearly the original form. A combination of D with the lines supplied by B would result in a poem of 575 lines. The last of B, XXXIV, all of B, XXXV, B, XXVII, and B, ll. 431-40 have undoubtedly been omitted from D. If we add them we get 550 lines, which is probably not far from the original form. It is very likely that B contains some interpolated lines, as indicated in the notes.

#### IV. EDITIONS

The poem has been published in its entirety five times, in each case from the Bigot MS alone; D seems to have been entirely unknown to the early editors. The following are the editions.

##### I. LE CHEVALIER DE FRÉMINVILLE.<sup>1</sup>

"*La Bataille des Trente*, Brest, 1819 (Lefournier et Deperiers), in 8°, 39 pp. Poème du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle transcrit sur le MS originale, conservé à la bibliothèque du roi et accompagné de notes historiques."

The history of the Fréminville edition is given by Crapelet in the *Avertissement* of his 1827 edition of the *Bataille*, q.v.

En 1813, M. le Chevalier de Fréminville, en s'occupant avec M. de Penhouet, ancien officier de la marine royale, de recherches historiques sur les antiquités de la Bretagne, decouvrit à Paris, dans un recueil de pièces manuscrites de la Bibliothèque du Roi, le récit en vers du *Combat des Trente*.

Continuing, Crapelet recognizes the service done by Fréminville but severely criticizes the inaccuracy of his transcription, saying that it offers so many differences from the MS:

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to consult the Fréminville edition, not being able to find it in America. However, the work was used by Crapelet, De Courcy, and others. By them it is considered inaccurate and, as it contains scarcely more than the text, it can hardly be considered a valuable or an accurate work.

que j'ai douté un instant s'il ne se trouvait pas deux manuscrits . . . à la Bibliothèque du Roi, *ce qui n'existe pas en effet.*

He notes,

comment nombre des mots ont été changés et remplacés par d'autres, dont l'éditeur donne même l'interprétation; comment plusieurs vers ont été omis, d'autres transposés; enfin comment *il se trouvent cinq cent dix neuf vers dans le manuscrit original et seulement cinq cent un dans l'édition de M. de Fréminville.*

From Crapelet's account one might suspect that this edition was taken from another MS now lost. He, however, seems to be satisfied that it was based on the Bigot MS, and that the inaccuracies are due to recopying and printing.

## II. J. A. BUCHON.

*Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises*, Vol. XIV, Paris, 1826, pp. 301-20. In a note Buchon acknowledges having received a copy of the MS from "M. Méon,<sup>1</sup> employé aux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi." Buchon's text is a close reproduction of B with all the errors as they stand.

## III. G. A. CRAPELET.

*Le Combat de Trente Bretons contre Trente Anglais*, publié d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, 1827. (Imprimerie de Crapelet.)

This is an octavo volume, No. III of the *Collection des anciens monuments de l'histoire et de la langue française*, according to the title-page, "Imprimé sous les auspices de M<sup>re</sup> Le Comte de Corbière ministre et secrétaire d'État au Département de l'Intérieur." It contains vii + 110 pp. with frontispiece described as "Le monument de la Bataille des Trente, élevé dans la Lande de Mi-voie en 1819." At the end of the volume are six plates giving the armorial bearings, 31 in number, of the Bretons.<sup>2</sup> There is also a list of the English participants, 7 chevaliers, 9 écuyers, and 15 gendarmes; and a table of contents. After the introduction Crapelet reproduces ff. 50<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>r</sup> of B, followed by the description. The text occupies pp. 13-35; the translation into modern French with notes, pp. 37-58; Froissart's account, pp. 59-68; a long account of the monument

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Crapelet, ed. 1827, avertissement.

<sup>2</sup> Both Nos. 25 and 26 are those of Trézéguidy.

raised July 11, 1819. This last recounts the speeches and the names of the principal participators and spectators. Crapelet evidently had no intention of omitting anybody who had a pretense to importance. As to the text, it is practically identical with the Buchon text, save that, while Buchon solves the MS abbreviations, and changes *u* to *v*, Crapelet aims at exact reproduction.

IV. G. A. CRAPELET, Paris, 1837, *chez Jules Rénouard*.

The second edition has the same pagination as the first edition (of 1827) and is a reproduction of it, apparently from the same plates. In the 1837 edition the rubrics are poorly marked and, through an error, the six plates with the armorial bearings are interposed between pages 96 and 97 instead of coming at the end after page 110. Save for this and the difference in publishers, they are the same.

V. PITRE-CHEVALIER.

In *La Bretagne Ancienne et Moderne*, Paris (no date),<sup>1</sup> in-folio, pp. 365-85. Pp. 371-85 contain the text, with some notes. After criticizing the edition of Fréminville as "assez incorrecte" and that of Crapelet as "plus brillante que rigoureuse,"<sup>2</sup> Pitre-Chevalier says,

Nous imprimons ici l'excellente copie faite par M. Méon lui-même pour M. Buchon. . . . C'est le fac-simile parfait de l'original, avec toutes les naïvetés de son style, etc.

This edition adds practically nothing to our knowledge of the subject.

*Partial Reproductions*

I. K. BARTSCH, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, X<sup>e</sup> ed., Leipzig, 1910.

This is based mainly on the edition of Crapelet which is collated with D from a copy made by M. Apfelstedt for K. Bartsch. It is a text reconstructed from both D and B and comprises 186 lines, representing D to l. 186 and B to l. 145. A number of emendations are made, usually good, but occasionally without seeming justification.

II. POL DE COURCY, *Le Combat de Trente Bretons contre Trente Anglais*, St.

Pol de Léon, 1857, in 4<sup>o</sup>, title, 78 pp.+2 plates with armorial bearings.

The frontispiece is a picture of the battle, taken from the original miniature of Pierre le Baud, reproduced in color. It represents the sky and sea in the background (an error, as the sea is a

<sup>1</sup> The signature to the preface indicates the date as 1844.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

considerable distance from the scene of the fight). Two castles are to be seen on the shore, on opposite sides of the picture; nearer, and in the center, is the "Chêne de Mi-Voie." In the foreground are the knights, engaged in combat, their figures well distinguished. Part of the combatants on both sides are clad in silver-colored armor and part in gold. The Bretons are marked by black crosses on a white background on their breasts and their opponents by red crosses on a white background. Beaumanoir with his coat of arms (*d'azur avec onze billets d'argent*) is seen to the left, urging on his men, and is the only knight to be identified. After a historical sketch of the locality and his visit to it (pp. 1-3), the author proceeds to an account of the battle and events preceding (pp. 4-14), a note on the monuments erected (pp. 15-19), an extract from the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul* (pp. 19-26). Then follows the really important part of the work (pp. 27-72), the biographies and genealogies of the Breton knights and of some of the English party. The author's sources are various chroniclers, the Benedictines Dom Morice, Dom Lobineau, and D'Argentré and various documents dating from the period. It contains a large proportion of the information obtainable on the subject, in many cases conclusive, although the author evidently is striving for a glorification of the Breton nobility and seeks to connect the heroes of the *Bataille* with contemporary families whenever he can do so. In the course of his work De Courcy quotes 127 lines of the poem, either from B itself, or from one of the editions of it. His reproduction consists merely of a line or two at a time, modernized freely.

III. A. DE LA BORDERIE, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1906, III, pp. 510-29.

Quotes in all 44 lines of the poem, partly from the Crapelet text, partly from the Didot MS which he mentions.<sup>1</sup>

V. LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION

I. The poem in D and B consists of 499 and 519 Alexandrine lines respectively, divided into monorimed *laises* of very unequal length. The longest *laisse* of D is IV (44 lines in 6) and of B is IV (43 lines

<sup>1</sup> There is also a translation into English verse by W. H. Ainsworth in *Bentley's Miscellany*, XLV (1859), 5 ff. and 445 ff., entitled *The Combat of the Thirty*. It is a translation of one of the editions of B and is accompanied by some biographical notes.

in *é*); the shortest is the assonanced *laisse* in *on—e* (D, XIV; B, XIII), which contains only 4 lines in both MSS.

The rimes are but 22 in number and as some of these are but slight variations the list might be reduced still further. The list of rimes, arranged alphabetically, is as follows:

- 1) *-a* (D, XXXII, 17; B, XXXII, 19).
- 2) *-aige, -age* (D, XVIII, 13; XXIV, 9; B, XVII, 13; XXIII, 8).
- 3) Assonanced *-an—e* (D, VIII, 10; XIII, 8; B, VII, 9; XII, 7).  
This assonance presents no mixture of *an—en* for, although we have *alience* (D, 180) and *pestilence* (B, 140), we also have *aliance* (D, 133) and *pestilance* (D, 182).
- 4) *-ant* (D, XXXI, 23; B, XXXI, 25). Free from mixture with *-en*.
- 5) *-art* (D, XV, 27; B, XIV, 29).
- 6) *-é* (D, III, 44; XIX, 8; B, III, 43; XVIII, 8). This rime includes the form *e* for *ui* < *hōdīe* (B, 210; D, 249). This development of *o* + *i* is a dialectical feature of certain districts in the west. Latin MODIA appears as *mée* in place names in depts. Eure-et-Loir, Mayenne, Manche, Sarthe, Ille-et-Vilaine (cf. Östberg, *Les voyelles vélaires accentuées*, 1899, p. 88), instead of *Muids* which is the form outside this district. Cf. also, *pée* for *puis*, *piée* for *pluie*, *net* for *nuît*, etc. (Goerlich, *Die nordwestlichen Dialekte der Langue d'oïl*, in *Rom. Studien*, V, pp. 50–51). See also *Atlas linguistique*, map 72 (*aujourd'hui*), s.e. Morbihan. The rimes in *-é* are also mixed with *-ié* (1 syl.), e.g., *devié* (B, 21; D, 21), *pitié* (B, 24; D, 23; B, 38; D, 37), *pechié* (B, 45; D, 44), *pié* (B, 63; D, 64), etc.
- 7) *-ée* (D, XXIII, 18; VI, 9; B, XXII, 19; VII, 8).
- 8) *-el* (D, XXXIII, 14; B, XXXIII, 22).
- 9) Assonanced *-en—e* (D, II, 8; B, II, 8). Free from mixture with *-an*.
- 10) *-ent* (D, IV, 8; B, IV, 9). Contains a trace of mixture with *-an* (D, 72 *avant*; B, 71 *avant*, B, 72 *fiant*)—of these B, 72 may be an interpolation (cf. note to text).
- 11) *-er* (D, V, 34; XI, 14; B, XXXV, 24; X, 14). Contains some mixture of *-ier* (1 syl.) with *-er* (cf. *pautonnier*, D, 95, etc.).
- 12) *-és (-ez)* (D, XXXIV, 25; XXX, 21; B, XXXIV, 36; XXX, 20).

- 13) **-ie** (D, XXVII, 28; XXV, 17; XXXV, 11; B, XXVIII, 27; XXIV, 21; XXXVI, 10). This rime contains no trace of reduction of **-iée** to **-ie**, save *aillie* (B, 281; B332; D357) which is probably a common expression from the Francian. (Cf. note to D275.)
- 14) **-iers** (D, IX, 7; B, VIII, 7). In all cases without diaeresis.
- 15) **-is** (D, XX, 11; XXII, 7; B, XIX, 11; XXI, 8).
- 16) **-oint** (D, V, 8; B, VI, 5). For *feroint*, etc., cf. *Versification*, II, 3.
- 17) **-on** (D, X, 12; B, IX, 11; XXVII, 7).
- 18) **-ons** (D, I, 13; XVI, 11; B, I, 13; XV, 11).
- 19) Assonance in **-on—e** (D, XIV, 4; B, XIII, 4).
- 20) **-ort** (D, XXVI, 10; B, XXV, 11).
- 21) **-u** (D, XXIX, 19; XXVII, 15; XVII, 6; XXI, 5; B, XXIX, 19; XXVI, 15; XVI, 6; XX, 6). In the list of these rimes occurs several times the form *lu* for *luy* (B, 310, 348, 355; D, 340, 373, 378, etc.). This form is not Picard (although it is found in eastern France—cf. Rydberg, in *Bausteine d. rom. Phil., Festgabe Mussafia*, Halle, 1905, p. 370), nor is it quoted by Goerlich, but it is found in Anglo-Norman (cf. Suchier, *Les Voyelles Toniques*, Sec. 24, 4, b); it is used by Frère Angier (cf. Cloran, *Dialogues of Gregory the Great, translated into Anglo-Norman French by Frère Angier*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 57). M. K. Pope (cf. *Study of the Language of Frère Angier*, Paris, 1903) advances the theory that Angier wrote in the dialect of Anjou (cf. the review of by A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIII). This would accord well with the other dialect features of the *Bataille*. The form occurs in the patois of Maine as late as the seventeenth century, e.g., “o lu l'en ne fait,” *Dialogue de Trois vigneronns du País du Maine sur les misères de ce temps*, Jean Lousnor (2d ed. Rouen, 1630, pp. 22 and 37).
- 22) **-y(-i)** (D, XII, 8; B, XI, 8). This *laisse* rimes *ly* (pron.) with *mercy*; etc.

There occur no rimes in **-ou** and **-eu** or in **-oi** and **-ei**, so that it is impossible to consider the author's usage under these two heads. In both MSS *eu* occurs regularly in the tonic syllable, as in Francian; *ou* is, however, found in *seignours* (D1), *executour* (D53), *flour* (D305,



D312), *paour* (D331), *goule* (D396), *chalour* (D439). *Ei* for *oi* (regular in the *Livre des Manières*) does not occur in the *Bataille*. Records of the thirteenth century (cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Afz. Gram.*, 8th ed., pp. 285–87) give frequent examples, but Reis in his work on Guillaume de St. André (*Die Sprache im Livre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne*, Erlangen, 1903, pp. 23–24) finds no traces of it in this composition of the late fourteenth century. The form *vroy* for *vray* also occurs.

## II. The number of syllables—

1) *ə* between consonants regularly has metrical value save in the following cases—*messire* (B36, 108, 110, 146, 150, 293, 356, 391; D35, 187, 191, 379); *sire* (D149?). *Messire* is 3 syl., D417; *sire* is 2 syl., B236, 247; D284, 327; *eglis(e) chanta*, D437; *mich(e) ne*, B437; *royaulm(e) de*, D132.

2) *Enclisis*. There are no cases in the *Bataille*.

3) *ə* following the tonic vowel and in hiatus with it frequently occurs:

(A) Where followed by a vowel—*myē achivé*, D52; *espéē et*, B447; *journéē est* (!) B480.

(B) Where consonant follows—*pryē*, D19; *priē*, D494; *envoyē*, D185; *espées et*, D219; *Montjoie*, B480.

(C) Has no metrical value when followed by consonant—*journée sera*, B396; *My(e)-voy(e)*, D451; *dient*, B394.

(D) The *-ent* of pres. 6, ind. and subj. regularly has metrical value save in *aient* (*ayent*), B52, D51, D496; *soient*, B516, 517; *soint*, D497.

(E) The *-ent* of fut. and cond. 6 is always without value and is often not written—*estoient*, B48; *devoient*, B187, D226; *faisoient*, D416; *combatoient*, B415; *vouloyent*, D491; *feroyent*, etc., D108–112; *feroient*, B276; *devroient*, B126; *vouldroient*, D112, etc.

4) A pretonic *ə* immediately following another pretonic vowel is doubly treated. It has metrical value in *poësté*, D59; *escuièrie*, D312; *praërie*, D342; *prayèrie*, D489; *pra[ë]rie*, B318. In the future it is regularly without metrical value and is sometimes not written—*hayeront*, D240; *haerront*, B201; *envoieray*, B232; *tuerai*, B359; *mainront*, D334; *amerron*, B216; *merront*, B303; and in the conditional, *daigneroient*, B275 (2 syl.). However in *envoyeré*, D255, D270; *remuëra*, D289 *ə* has metrical value.

5) An atonic *ə* preceding a tonic vowel in hiatus is found both with and without metrical value.

(A) With metrical value—*menestreëlz*, B4; *vëu*, B301; *bëu*, B316; *congnëu*, B356; *ëu*, B490; *Clomëan*, D197, etc.

(B) Without metrical value—*veoir*, D36; *seurs*, B214; *congneu*, D331; *veu*, B352; *cheu*, B354, B365; *aconcheu*, B357; *Jehan*, B110, B150, D191, etc. The form *jëuna*, B418 (2 syl.) is also found. A similar double treatment exists in the *Livre* of Guill. de St. André (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

6) *Elision of ə*—

(A) Before *h* aspirate *ə* is always retained with metrical value, e.g., *de hache*, B90; *de honte*, B143, D184; *le hardy*, B166.

(B) The feminine form of the possessive adjective is regular in the *Bataille*—*m'entente*, B227; *m'amie*, B336, D361; *s'image*, B261; once, *mon entente*, D265.

(C) *Elision of vowel in monosyllable.*

(1) *Que* (pronoun and conjunction) is generally elided, but examples of hiatus are also common, e.g., *que | on*, B18; *que | il*, D29; *que | aions*, B92, D286; *que | est*, D371; *que | oublier*, B107; *que | une*, D426, etc.

(2) *Qui* is never elided—*qui est*, D18, B108, B109; *qui aura*, B71, D72, etc.

(3) *Si(sy) < SIC* is never elided—B44, B321, D43, D102, D128, etc.

(4) *Se < SI* is elided—B11, B299, D210, D242, etc.

(5) The object pronouns, *se*, *me*, *te*, *le*, *la*, are always elided.

(6) *je* is usually elided; but also not—B283, D270, D274.

(7) *ce* is regularly elided; but occasionally not—*ce | auray*, B236.

(8) *ne < NEC* and *ne < NON*, and *de* are invariably elided.

(9) *Li(ly)*, nom. plu. masc. is never elided.

7) *Hiatus* is often avoided by the elision of a final *ə* but also occurs frequently—

(A) After a single consonant, or doubled consonant.

(1) With *e*— *histoire | en*, BD7; *trente | Englois*, BD8; *vueille | ayder*, D91; *chose | est*, D129; *hache | et*, D285; *cruelle | est*, D425, etc.

- (2) With other vowels—*parlera* | *on*, B93; *verra* | *on*, B70; *ainsi* | *est*, B431.

(B) After a mute+liquid—*ventre* | *ot*, D97; *vostre* | *estoutie*, B265, D412; *chapple* | *orrible*, B386, D434; *combatre* | *ensemble*, D116, etc.; but *combatre ensemble*, D126, is to be read with elision.

8) *Synæresis* is rare but occurs twice—*n'y en*, B215; *n'y a*, B447.

9) Metrical value of groups. *Diaeresis* is found of, -*ie* in *biën*, D387 (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 13), e.g., *achier*, B155; *liëpart*, D206 (but not in *liespart*, B168); regularly in words ending in -*ion*, e.g., *religions*, B3, D4; *nacions*, B403, etc.; -*oe*- in *Ploërmel*, B32, D31 (cf. *Pelmel*, B78); -*oua*- in *Houalton*, B165, *Edouart*, B58, D58, D199, D255 (but as one syl. in B216, B232, D270); -*oue*- in *jouël*, B439; -*ue*- in *Huëlroc*, D192, etc., *Charruël*, B104, D144, etc. (but as 1 syl. in B257, D294). To be noted also without *diaeresis* is -*oie*- = -*oi*- in *Beau-manoier*, B188, B192, B226.

10) *Epenthesis*. Epenthetic *e* occurs once—*esbateront*, D11.

III. *Cesura*.—The author strongly favors masculine *cesura*. Of the 499 lines of D no less than 334 (67 per cent) have masculine *cesura* and 165 feminine; in B the figures are 353 (68 per cent) and 166 feminine. The tendency to strengthen *cesura* is also shown by the large proportion of words of more than one syllable upon which the *cesura* falls (238 masc. *cesuras* in D on such words and 250 in B). Moreover, a *cesura* resting on the tonic syllable alone is comparatively rare (40 times in both D and B). Such a thing as a weakening of the sixth syllable is unknown and thus the verse, like much epic verse, presents an impression of unrelieved monotony.

IV. *Rime*.—Rich rimes are frequent in the *Bataille*, occurring 42 times in both D and B in consecutive lines; occasionally leonine rime is found—D310-12, 443-45, 465-66; B59-60, 403-4, 412-13, etc. The rimes in the *laissez* are consistent with but few exceptions. Assonance occurs only in the *laissez* with a nasal followed by *e*; -*age* is unmixed in B but the -*aige* *laissez* of D have a few cases of mixture, e.g., *oultrage*, D232, *viage*, D240, and *rage*, D300. This peculiarity of *rage* is mentioned by Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 34) who quotes Palsgrave's reference to the word. Leroux, *Marche du patois actuel dans l'ancien pays de la Mée*, St. Brieuc, 1886, p. 8 (quoted by Reis) affirms this

mixture of **-aige** and **-age**. The reduction in one case of **-iée** to **-ie** and the occurrence of *lu* in rimes with *abatu*, etc., have already been discussed (I, 13, I, 21). Forms in **-er** occur rarely in **-és** *laissez*, e.g., *blechiers*, B378; *pensers*, D476, D482. Conversely, **-és** and **-ez** are found in **-er** *laissez*, e.g., *postez*, B490; *tappichies*, B502. *Lui* becomes *ly* and rimes with *mercy*, *aussy*, etc., B134, D174, etc. In *laissez* in **-és** (**ez**) an ungrammatical *s* is very frequently added, e.g., *passés*, B364, D389; *verités*, B367, D392; *enversés*, B371, etc.; *blechiez*, B452, D467; *alosés*, B454 (even *aloser*, D469); *à son grés*, B458. Sometimes the author changes a modifying pronoun to the plural to agree, e.g., *à ses grés*, D471.

V. *Enjambement*.—Enjambement occurs 24 times in both D and B, e.g., DB17–18, D55–56, B56–57, D102–3, D105–6, D125–26, B146–47, etc. I have included only the most marked cases such as a noun followed by a modifying prepositional phrase in the next line.

VI. *Faulty verses*.—Faulty verses occur rarely in D, ll. 192, 200 (misunderstanding of proper names), and possibly 294; in B they occur 23 times in the MS—15*a*, 86*b*, 115*ab*, 128*b*, 142*ab*, 151*a*, 151*a*, 215*b*, 275*b*, 330*a*, 353*b*, 365*a*, 371*b*, 380*a*, 387*a*, 390*a*, 399*b*, 411*a*, 417*a*, 429*b*, 440*a*, 495*a*, 497*a*. Nearly all of these are scribal errors and corrections are either made in the text or indicated in the notes. In the case of 142*ab* I have not ventured to do more than prefer the reading of D.

VII. The versions of the poem vary considerably in the two MSS, for, of the 499 and 519 lines of D and B, only 138 are identical in both, and even if we add to this the 188 which differ only in a word or in word order, we have still a third of the lines which are not parallel; some are in *laissez* missing in the one or the other MS; yet, even with such allowance, the reconstruction of a text becomes a questionable matter and for that reason it has seemed preferable to print both MSS as they stand.

#### VI. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION

The *Bataille de Trente* has generally been assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century by the various editors of the text up to this time. Fréminville remarks that, "L'oeil le moins exercé serait frappé de sa ressemblance matérielle avec les Chroniques de

Saint Denis, années 1375–80.”<sup>1</sup> He also notes that the arms and armor cited in the poem belong to this period, “notamment le fauchard et le branc et le branc d’acier qui disparut au siècle suivant.” Another part of Fréminville’s introduction is still more specific. He says, “c’est un récit en vers, . . . composé dans le temps même où elle eut lieu. Ce récit, très détaillé, a été écrit sous le règne de Charles V, c’est à dire seulement quelques années après l’affaire”<sup>2</sup> (1364–79). There is apparently no good reason for doubting Fréminville’s rather general surmise that the *Bataille* was at least as early as the date indicated. Although B was certainly not copied until after 1402,<sup>3</sup> it says of the combatants *quer le plus sunt en cendre* (B20). At the time the poem was written then, some of them must still have been alive. The fact that D20 reads *car les corps sont en cendre* does not prevent this assumption. It is evident from the reference to *jadis roy Edouart* (D199) that D was copied after 1377 but we do not know how much later. There are, however, good reasons for believing that the original poem was written considerably before 1377 and the reference to the demise of Edward III does not stand in the way of an acceptance of this theory because this reference does not occur in B where we find the comparison made to the Agappart or the *Cycle d’Orange* fame. It is likely that D was copied shortly after Edward’s death, when that occurrence was still fresh in the popular mind and his name was therefore substituted by the scribe for the less familiar Agappart (or it may be that Agappart is a substitution of the scribe of B). If the theory be accepted that Jehan le Bel either saw the poem or heard it recited, the date is at once fixed within narrow limits as it is shown by Polain<sup>4</sup> that from the time of the battle of Poitiers (1356) to the end of his chronicle, which stops abruptly in 1361, he sketched events in diary style, while events from 1340–1357 are written in a more deliberate manner. If he had an acquaintance with the poem, the latter must have been written before 1357 and this conclusion we are inclined to accept from the tenor of the poem itself. It is written in the full tide of partisan conflict, when the struggle between Blois and Montfort was far from

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Pitre-Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Daru, *op. cit.*, p. 112, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note to Piece 25 in Bigot MS in *Introduction*, III, II.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.

being decided. Eastern Brittany is still in the hands of the Blois party and the idea of its capture by the English is regarded as an idle jest;<sup>1</sup> Charles de Blois is apparently no longer a prisoner in England<sup>2</sup> and his fortunes have not yet taken the desperate turn that they did after the coming of the duke of Lancaster in 1355;<sup>3</sup> lastly, at the very least, the poem was written while Charles de Blois, who was killed at Auray, in 1364, was still alive.<sup>4</sup> Thus, disregarding any consideration of Jehan le Bel, the poem was written not later than 1364 nor earlier than 1353. It is probable that it was composed before 1355.

As to the locality in which the poem in its original form was composed, all the evidence goes to show that it was written not very far from the scene of the combat. It is intensely partisan in its spirit but the author is in plain sympathy with the French as well as with Charles de Blois;<sup>5</sup> we have a vivid realistic picture of the miserable peasants led in chains to Ploërmel, such a picture as an eyewitness might well have sketched. The author is acquainted with the geographical features which he describes. The *moult beau pré* with its vegetation and the *chesne de Mye-voie* are known to him. All the members of both parties are named. This would not be surprising in the case of the Bretons but it would astonish us if he could enumerate all the English, for the most part men of comparative insignificance, unless he had some personal knowledge of them. The conclusion we draw is also borne out by what we are permitted to judge of the original language of the poem. Both MSS, as might be expected of any composition of so late a date, are filled with Francian traits which occur in D along with the western forms. The scantiness of rimes has already been mentioned; however, two are significant for the language of the author. In D249, B210 occurs the form *au jour d'é* for *au jour d'ui* (cf. *Introduction*, V, I, 6) which is found in Ille-et-Vilaine. This brings us within a short distance of the scene of the combat. Further west at this time the Breton language was spoken. The local tone eliminates a consideration of the more easterly portion of *q+i* development. The other form in rime is *lu* (for *luy*) in D228, B189, etc. (cf. *Introduction*, V, I, 21), which,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D56-64; B56-63.

<sup>2</sup> He was ransomed early in 1353; cf. *La Borderie*, *op. cit.*, III, 536.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *La Borderie*, *op. cit.*, III, 547.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. D238; B199.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. D237; B198.

according to Miss Pope, is regular for Anjou, just south of where we suppose the *Bataille* to have been written. Its occurrence in the popular speech of Maine has also been affirmed. Putting these linguistic features together, we believe we are justified in concluding that the *Bataille* was written in the southern part of Ille-et-Vilaine, not far from the boundary of Morbihan, or possibly even in the eastern part of the latter department.

## VII. AUTHOR

The authorship of the *Bataille* has been ascribed to Cuvelier,<sup>1</sup> the author of the *Vie Vaillant de Bertrand du Guesclin*,<sup>2</sup> on account of a great similarity of style. It is not to be denied that the work of Cuvelier, written in the same meter, sounds in many places like the *Bataille*. On the other hand, a great deal of this effect is produced by repetitions of epic phrases and conventional terms that are a general characteristic of the *chanson de geste* and not to the *Bataille* and the *Vie Vaillant de Bertrand du Guesclin* alone. We have seen that the *Bataille* was written probably as early as 1355, while the poem of Cuvelier was composed after 1380.<sup>3</sup> It is also significant that, while Cuvelier mentions Beaumanoir and several others who were in the *Bataille de Trente*, he nowhere refers to that event as he would certainly be likely to do if he had been the author of our poem. Again, in the passage of Cuvelier's poem (ll. 1670 ff.), in the account of the capture of Fougerei he brings Du Guesclin into conflict with two Englishmen, Guillaume and Robert de Brambroc. Who these individuals were has not been determined. Charrière<sup>4</sup> thinks it probable that tradition has established a connection between the English leader of the *Bataille* and the leader at Fougerei. However that may be, one thing is certain, namely, that if Cuvelier wrote the *Bataille* he would not have been likely to cause Brambro to be killed a second time, by Du Guesclin.

This deduction from the subject matter is also borne out by the rimes in the poem of Cuvelier. A *laisse* in *u*, which is so favored by the author of the *Bataille*, is almost unknown in the approximately 23,000 lines of the *Bertrand du Guesclin* where we find only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ed. Charrière, 2 vols., Paris, 1835.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ed. Charrière, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, p. 337.

one *laisse* (ll. 19928-72) with this termination and only nine *laisses* in *-us*. While the form *lu* is found four times in rime in both MSS of the *Bataille* it is entirely lacking in Cuvelier and is even avoided by inversion (e.g., 395, *de lui quatre festus*). *Lui* is frequent in *laisses* in *-i*. The development  $\rho + i = \acute{e}$  is also unknown; instead, we have regularly *ui* (e.g., *hui*, 1778; *anuit*, 19969; *anuitie*, 1404; *pluie* : *prairie*, 18364-65). On the other hand we have *laisses* in *-ie* which show numerous reductions of *-iée* to *-ie* which is entirely lacking in the *Bataille* save for the easily explained *aillie*.

Who then did write the *Bataille*? De Courcy says, "*un trouvère inconnu*"<sup>1</sup> and probably not much more can be affirmed. We may hazard a conjecture that the author was of the clergy, possibly connected with Saint Marcel<sup>2</sup> (D455), for the religious note is frequently struck. Moreover, there are many learned words, especially in B *laisses* XXVII and XV; D XVI. But whatever his standing, it seems very probable that he was a Breton from not far from the scene of the battle and that he wrote within a few years after it occurred.

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note to D455.



## SOME ALLUSIONS TO RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL PLAYS

The use of the sixteenth-century stage in the interests of religion and politics has received recent treatments by Chambers,<sup>1</sup> Miss Gildersleeve,<sup>2</sup> and to a lesser degree, by De Rothschild.<sup>3</sup> Since allusions to performances of a controversial nature are, I believe, of considerable value in illustrating an important function of the early theater, I have considered it worth while to point out a few passages which do not seem to be generally known.

The first few months of Elizabeth's reign, a period of extreme uncertainty with respect to the outcome of the Reformation, seem to have been especially productive in controversial entertainments presented to arouse the anti-Catholic feeling. So boisterous, indeed, were histrionic activities as to call forth two royal proclamations in as many months. E. K. Chambers<sup>4</sup> after speaking of the proclamation of May 16, 1559, remarks: "I do not think the proclamation loosely referred to by Holinshed (1587), iii, 1184, as at 'the same time' as another proclamation of 7 April is distinct from this." Miss Gildersleeve (*Government Regulations*, 14) expresses the same opinion. Holinshed, however, is right about the April proclamation. Besides the reference to it by Machyn,<sup>5</sup> there are various others. As these bring out the occasion of the edict they will be cited together with one or two other statements of the time.

On January 23, 1559, Il Schifanoia wrote:<sup>6</sup>

As I suppose your Lordship will have heard of the farce performed in the presence of Her Majesty on the Epiphany, and I not having sufficient

<sup>1</sup> *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 218-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Government Regulation of the Eliz. Drama*, esp. pp. 4-20.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare and His Day*.

<sup>4</sup> *Med. Stage*, II, 225, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Diary* (Oamden Soc.), p. 193. Machyn states that on "the viii (*sic*) day of April" there was an elaborate proclamation of peace and "that no players shuld play no more tyll a serten tyme of no mans players; but the mare or shreyff, balle, constabull, or odur offesors take them, lay them in presun, and the quen('s) commondement layd on them." It seems that this April proclamation, however, was concerned with undesirable plays, especially on Sundays and holidays. See below.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-80, p. 11. With this performance should be compared *Esop's Crowe* in Edward VI's reign "wherein the moste part of the actors were birds" (Collier, *Annals*, I, ed. 1879, p. 152).

intellect to interpret it, nor yet the mumming performed after supper on the same day, of crows in the habits of Cardinals, of asses habited as Bishops, and of wolves representing Abbots, I will consign it to silence, etc.

Writing<sup>1</sup> on February 6 of the same year he says:

There are yet many frivolous and foolish people who daily invent plays in derision of the Catholic faith, of the church, of the clergy, and of the religion; and, by placards posted at the corners of the streets, they invite people to the taverns, to see there representations, taking money from the audience.

On April 11 he wrote:<sup>2</sup>

The peace was subsequently published here, and immediately after the proclamation a stringent order was promulgated, forbidding in future the performance in the hostels and taverns of certain plays and games on holidays, which used to be held in abuse and derision of the Catholic religion, of the Mass, of the Saints, and finally of God; so that some persons say things will yet return to their former state, if not from love at least by force.

On April 22, 1559, Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador in Spain, wrote to the Doge and Senate:<sup>3</sup>

Letters of the 11th from England announce that the peace has been proclaimed and that on the same day certain plays usually performed daily in the hostels and taverns in derision of the clergy were prohibited.

His letter of May 4 is more detailed:<sup>4</sup>

The demonstrations and performance of plays by the London populace in the hostels and taverns, which as written by me had been prohibited by the Queen, were, according to the account given me by a trustworthy person who has come hither from those parts, so vituperative and abominable that it was marvelous they should so long have been tolerated, for they brought upon the stage all personages whom they wished to revile, however exalted their station, and amongst the rest, in one play, they represented King Philip, the late Queen of England, and Cardinal Pole, reasoning together about such things as they imagined might have been said by them in the matter of religion; so that they did not spare any living person, saying whatever they fancied about them.

The April proclamation, however, did not accomplish its purpose. On April 27, 1559, Feckenham in his speech in Parliament against the Act of Uniformity used the significant words:

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-80, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1558-80, pp. 80-81.

And now, since the coming and reign of our most sovereign and dere lady, Queen Elizabeth, by the only preachers and scaffold-players of this new religion, all things are changed and turned up sett down, notwithstanding the queen's highness proclamations, most godly made to the contrary.<sup>1</sup>

Two days later Count de Feria<sup>2</sup> in describing an interview with Elizabeth wrote to the Spanish king:

She was very emphatic in saying that she wished to punish severely certain persons who had represented some comedies in which Your Majesty was taken off. I passed it by and said that these were matters of less importance than the others although both in jest and earnest more respect ought to be paid to so great a prince as Your Majesty, and I knew that a member of her Council had given the arguments to construct these comedies, which is true, for Cecil gave them, as indeed she partly admitted to me.

This reveals Cecil in a new rôle;<sup>3</sup> and the words of the edict of May 16 that some plays which "have been of late used, are not convenient in any good ordered Christian Common Weale to be suffered" probably assume a more specific significance. Such passages as those cited above aid us in understanding such explanatory prologues as that of *Damon and Pythias*; and they remind us of *New Custom* declaring the "Mass, Popery, Pergatory and Pardons to be flatt against Goddes Woorde" and Henry Cheke's *Freewill* "wherein is set forth in manner of tragedy the devilish device of the Popish religion." And both may be earlier than "cir. 1563" and "cir. 1561," the dates usually assigned (Schelling, *Eliz. Drama*, I, 60). We are reminded, too, of Machyn's statement:

The same day at night [December 31, 1559] at the quen court ther was a play a-for her grace, the wyche the plaers plad shuche matter that they were commadyd to leyff off, and contenenent the maske cam in dansyng [*Diary*, 221].

Thompson (*Puritans and the Stage*, 38) is inclined to attribute this move to the "grossness in the dialogue." Considering the date of the performance and the Elizabethan temperament, it is perhaps better to suppose that the Reformers were too bold in instructing Her Majesty in matters religious, and too strong in the denunciation of their opponents. Elizabeth, it must be remembered, never got over

<sup>1</sup> Lord Somer's *Tracts*, I, 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558-67, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> This statement about Cecil causes one to doubt whether the Earl of Derby was merely cultivating the artistic side of the complete gentleman when in June, 1599, he was "busy penning comedies for the common players" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1598-1601, p. 227).

a certain fondness for features of the old religion. As Birt has said (*Eliz. Religious Settlement*, 11), her real religious views are extremely hard to determine, yet "it would seem that her leanings were rather to the side of the Catholics, but that self-interest determined her to throw in her lot with those of the New Learning."

Various stories are told of her keeping in her private chapel an altar garnished with tapers, etc., her "honorable sentiments" for the Virgin, Saints, and Cross,<sup>1</sup> and her interrupting the Dean of St. Paul's who was padding his sermon with an abusive digression on images.<sup>2</sup> "Leave that," exclaimed Her Majesty, "it has nothing to do with your subject, and the matter is now threadbare." We can believe that anti-Catholic matter was threadbare in 1565. More interesting is a passage in the letter of August 19, 1564, written by the Spanish ambassador<sup>3</sup> to the Duchess of Parma:

When the Queen was at Cambridge they represented comedies and held scientific disputations, and an argument on religion, in which the man who defended Catholicism was attacked by those who presided, in order to avoid having to give him the prize. The Queen made a speech praising the acts and exercises, and they wished to give her another representation which she refused in order to be no longer delayed. Those who were so anxious for her to hear it, followed her to her stopping-place, and so importuned her that at last she consented. The actors came in dressed as some of the imprisoned Bishops. First came the Bishop of London carrying a lamb in his hands, as if he were eating it as he walked along, and then others with different devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth. They write that the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber using strong language, and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark and so ended the thoughtless and scandalous representation.

This is obviously a description of the exercises of August 9. According to other accounts,<sup>4</sup> after a dispute on the proposition "Major est autoritas scripturae quam ecclesiae," so long that the following debate was much abbreviated and that of the lawyers entirely omitted, the Queen made a Latin oration to the university and retired to her lodging. *Ajax Flagellifer* was ready for presenta-

<sup>1</sup> Dodd, *Church History* (ed. Tierney), II, 149; *Spanish Papers*, 1558-67, pp. 387, 401, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558-67, p. 405. Letter of March 12, 1565.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of Eliz.*, ed. 1805, I, 20-21, III, 178-79.

tion, but Her Majesty declined to attend, "whether weary with ryding in the forenoone, and disputations after dinner; or whether anie private occasion letteth the dooinge thereof, was not commonly knownen." There was, we are told, "great sorrow not only of the players, but of all the whole University" as a result of the Queen's non-appearance. Now if the ambassador's account is to be accepted,<sup>1</sup> and I see no reason for rejecting it, then it would seem that the disputants who had not been allowed to perform in the afternoon insisted on presenting the royal visitor with a very dramatic disputation, a sort of *débat* apparently, with the result that she refused to attend *Ajax Flagellifer*, to the "great sorrow not only of the players but of all the whole University."

Elizabeth, then, was capable of putting a stop to performances too radically anti-Catholic. There is perhaps a better explanation, however, of the objectionable matter in the play mentioned by Machyn. As is well known, one of the burning questions during the first years of the Queen's reign was that of her marriage. At the particular time when the play was interrupted, the agitation on the subject was unusually intense. The Earl of Arran, Archduke Ferdinand, Robert Dudley, and the Prince of Sweden were the chief candidates for attention; and on August<sup>2</sup> 13, 1559, we find the Bishop of Aquila consoling the King of Spain in the following terms: "The King of Sweden's ambassadors who have arrived are being treated by the Queen in a manner that does away with any doubt about her marrying their master, for they are being made fun of in masques in their own presence." A few days later Lord Robert Dudley in a quarrel told the Duke of Norfolk that he was "neither a good Englishman nor a loyal subject who advised the Queen to marry a foreigner."<sup>3</sup> On January 21, 1560, Bishop Quadra wrote<sup>4</sup> that the Queen's marriage with the Earl of Arran "is more talked about than

<sup>1</sup> It should perhaps be noted that Cecil was interested in the Cambridge entertainments, and that two years later when the Queen visited Oxford this same ambassador rode all the way from London partly "to hear what is going on"; and he took the trouble to write to his master that in the "various lectures, disputations, and comedies only ordinary matters have been treated, and nothing has been said about religion, except on the last occasion, when the subject was Theology" (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish, 1558-67*, p. 578).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish, 1558-67*, p. 91. The letter is dated July, but this is in all probability a mistake for August.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

ever, no doubt because the Archduke's suit is looked upon as at an end." About December 31, 1559, matters must have been pretty warm when Quadra, the advocates of Arran, and the special embassy under the leadership of the Swedish suitor's brother<sup>1</sup> were all at court in the interest of their various champions. Surely we may assume that under such circumstances court politicians would have been tempted to drop gentle hints from the stage and that at such a crucial moment any such attempts would have been promptly silenced.

That the court stage did concern itself with the royal marriage there is, of course, no doubt. We remember in this connection *Gorboduc*, Leicester's postponed *Zabeta*, and the performance at Woodstock which Professor Cunliffe (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XIX) regards as a sort of foil to Gascoigne's production. On July 10, 1564, Guzman de Silva<sup>2</sup> wrote to King Philip:

After supper she [the Queen] stayed talking to me for some time, and as it was already late I thought it was time to leave her. I was about to take my leave when she told me not to go yet, as she wished me to see a comedy that was to be acted. . . . The Queen came out to the hall, which was lit with many torches where the comedy was represented. I should not have understood much of it if the Queen had not interpreted, as she told me she would do. *They generally deal with marriage in the comedies.*

After a passage which implies that the comedy being presented dealt with a very specific marriage, he continues:

The comedy ended, and then there was a masque of certain gentlemen who entered dressed in black and white, which the Queen told me were her colours, and after dancing a while, one of them approached and handed the Queen a sonnet in English, praising her.

On March 12, 1565, after speaking of the tourney and banquet given by Leicester on the 5th, he writes:<sup>3</sup>

When this was ended we went to the Queen's rooms and descended to where all was prepared for the representation of a comedy in English, of which I understood just so much as the Queen told me. The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in

<sup>1</sup> The Swedish prince arrived in England on September 27 (Machyn, 213; Hayward, *Annals of Eliz.*, p. 37).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558-67, pp. 367-68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 404-5.

favor of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, "This is all against me." After the comedy there was a masquerade of satyrs, or wild gods, who danced with the ladies, and when this was finished there entered 10 parties of 12 gentlemen each, the same who had fought in the foot tourney, and these, all armed as they were, danced with the ladies—a very novel ball, surely.

In view of the facts that comedies about marriages were so popular in Elizabethan times, that noblemen were not averse to using the stage for political purposes, and that the Queen was capable of interrupting or refusing to attend undesirable performances, it is perhaps worth while to note that on February 2, 1578/79, a "history" was "provided to have been shewen at Whitehall . . . by the Earl of Warwick's players" but the Queen "wold not come to hear the same."<sup>1</sup> At this particular time, it must be remembered, there was much agitation<sup>2</sup> regarding the proposed French marriage and the trouble between Casimir and the ambassadors from France, while Warwick was a brother of Leicester, a bitter opponent of the marriage with Alençon. Similarly a "history" was "provided to have been shown" on Innocent's Day, 1579, by Leicester's servants but the Queen "coulede not come forth."<sup>3</sup> At this particular time Leicester was "in disgrace" with Her Majesty as a result of his strenuous opposition to Alençon.<sup>4</sup>

A few references to plays in which royalty was brought upon the stage for political purposes may be of interest. The performance of June, 1522, in which the King of France was represented as an unruly horse is well known through Hall's account (*Chronicle*, 641), but since the description of the Spanish ambassador is much fuller, I feel justified in quoting it as it stands in the Spanish State Papers:

The same day [June 16] the King gave a banquet. . . . After supper, however, a French play was performed by young gentlemen. It was a farce, and in it the King of France and his alliances were ridiculed. The first actor who came on the stage declared that he was Friendship, who had performed many great and noble deeds in the time of the Romans, and afterwards. After Friendship, Prudence entered, and was received by Friendship with

<sup>1</sup> Feuillerat, *Doc. of Revels*, 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1568-79, pp. 636-44.

<sup>3</sup> *Doc. of Revels*, p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1568-79, pp. 692-93, 709.

many demonstrations of joy. Friendship said that he had sought him and that both, if united, could perform very great deeds. They concluded an alliance. Whilst they were doing so, Might entered, and was very well received by Friendship and Prudence, who told him that they wanted no other ally than him, in order to execute their great plans. Friendship was to see that no disunion broke out between them; Prudence would counsel, and Might would carry out the measures. Thus, there was nothing in the world they could not do, and any horse, however wild and unruly he might be, would soon be made to obey them. . . . A man came on the stage with a great horse, very wild and ferocious. Friendship, Prudence, and Might asked him what he wanted. He answered that that horse belonged to him, but that it was so wild and untamable that he could not make any use of him. Friendship said to the man with the horse that he had come just to the right persons, as they knew best how to manage an unruly horse. If he would confide the horse to them, they would not only subject him, but also make him as tame and obedient as any horse in the world. They made a bridle, and bridled the horse with it. That done, they asked the master of the horse to mount him. At first the master was afraid, but when he mounted the horse he found he was quiet and obedient, although he raised his head very high. Friendship said they would make him lower his head. A curb (Barbada) was attached to the horse, which directly lowered his head. Without being led, the horse followed his master wherever he went.

Thus the farce ended. The meaning of it is clear. The horse is the King of France. . . . When the comedy was concluded, eight ladies came into the room in fancy dresses and danced the "Pabana" with eight gentlemen whom they chose as partners. After them came eight gentlemen, who were disguised, and who also danced. After the dance came supper, and after supper all went to bed.<sup>1</sup>

Another Spaniard, Inigo de Mendoza, did not enjoy so much a similar performance at Court on November 10, 1527. The King, he writes, was presented with the Order of St. Michael, and at night entertained the French ambassadors with a great banquet and dancing.

Then came the play (*farsa*) which represented the King and Cardinal supporting the falling church by their writings against Luther, and also procuring the Pope's liberation. In which play the Spaniards were called *barbarians* and the Emperor a tyrant. The two sons of the King of France were introduced, imploring the help of the King and Cardinal, who agreed to challenge the Emperor, should he not consent to release them. Then the

<sup>1</sup> Martin de Salinas to Treasurer Salamanca, *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1509-25, pp. 444-45.



Emperor's chancellor (Gattinara) came forward to conclude peace, and so the performance ended, the whole argument tending to show that the Emperor was the enemy of England.<sup>1</sup>

Philip II of Spain apparently enjoyed considerable prominence in Elizabethan performances. We have already seen how in 1559 he made his appearance upon the English stage. Of the later dramas of a similar type, Lyly's *Midas* is the most noted example. It was of such plays that Verstegan was thinking when he wrote in 1592 that England's policy was to make "Philip II odious unto the people, and to that end certain players were suffered to scoff and jest at him upon their common stages."<sup>2</sup> Considering the times, it is not surprising to find Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian ambassador in Spain, writing on July 20, 1586, to the Doge and Senate:<sup>3</sup>

But what has enraged him [Philip II] more than all else, and has caused him to show a resentment such as he has never before displayed in all his life, is the account of the masquerades and comedies which the Queen of England orders to be acted at his expense. His Majesty has received a summary of one of these which was recently represented, in which all sorts of evil is spoken of the Pope, the Catholic religion and the King, who is accused of spending all his time in the Escorial with the monks of S. Jerome, attending only to his buildings, and a hundred other insolences which I refrain from sending to Your Serenity.

The "summary" does not appear to be in the printed Spanish Papers, which are by no means complete. And I doubt seriously the Queen's ordering such performances. A letter of Antonio de Vega written at London on January 9, 1588,<sup>4</sup> is of interest in this connection. After stating that Elizabeth was determined to make peace with the Spanish and mentioning a council meeting which accomplished nothing, he says that

at 11 o'clock at night, after the Queen had heard a comedy, she flew into a passion with the Earl of Leicester, who was present, and told him that it behoved her at any cost to be friendly with the King of Spain. "Because,"

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1527-29, p. 458. For other accounts of this play, see Hall, p. 735, Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, I, 136; Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 219, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by R. Simpson, *Trans. New Sh. Soc.*, 1874, 374. His identification of Tamburlaine as Philip II (*ibid.*, 382-83) is, of course, unconvincing. For Spanish plays in general, see Simpson's article, and Schelling, I, 428-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1581-91, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1587-1603, p. 191.

she said, "I see that he has great preparations made on all sides. My ships have left to put to sea, and if any evil fortune should befall them, all would be lost, for I shall have lost the walls of my realm."

The patriotic and anti-Spanish tone of the "comedy," I venture to say, was the immediate occasion of this outburst.

Such are some of the references which illustrate a function of the sixteenth-century stage which has not received the treatment that its importance deserves. Passages like those cited above aid one in understanding why Elizabethan court politicians were interested in preserving Elizabethan players and play-houses. They serve to show, too, that all Elizabethan regulations of the stage were not directed against the vagabondish nature of players and their unwillingness to conform to later-day standards of morality. If we appreciate this truth, together with the exaggeration of certain Puritans and the poetry of Shakspeare's famous sonnet, we can realize more fully that in the time of Elizabeth there were actors and actors—a fact which Miss Gildersleeve has brought out recently in her book on government regulations of the drama.

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## NOTE ON *BEOWULF* 1591-1617

The story of the slaying of Grendel's mother, apart from the preparations at the beginning and the rejoicing at the end, may be analyzed as follows:

I. Vss. 1497-1569. The fight and the death of the monster. (In the cave.)

II. Vss. 1570-90. Beowulf explores the den, finds Grendel dead, and strikes off his head. (In the cave.)

III. Vss. 1591-1605a. The Danes wait until they are convinced that Beowulf has perished; they then return home, but the Geats, though hopeless, remain longer. (On the cliff.)

IV. Vss. 1605b-17. The sword-blade melts in the blood of Grendel, but Beowulf takes the hilt and the head as trophies. (In the cave.)

V. Vss. 1619-43. Beowulf comes up from the den and swims to land; the Geats meet him and escort him back to Hrothgar's Hall.

The purpose of this paper is to show the probability that a part of the story has been misplaced, to suggest a way in which this may have happened, to discuss the natural results of such an accident, and perhaps thus to contribute something to the method of discovering and correcting such faults elsewhere. I assume that originally the poet finished the account of the fight in the cave as described in I, II, and IV before telling what took place meanwhile on the cliff as related in III and V, and that the shift of scene from cave to cliff and back again, which we find in the poem as it has reached us, is the result of an exchange of the position of III and IV. This shift would not perhaps be a satisfactory basis for the assumption of such an exchange in a poem of so early a date, when we have no right to look for the highest skill in construction of stories, unless we can support it by other evidence also; but in the case under discussion additional evidence is not lacking, for other difficulties are found, which may be explained by the assumed change from an older order and removed by restoring it. They furnish further arguments in favor of the assumption and will be taken up and discussed farther on.

It will be noticed that passage IV is the end of the account of the fight and that III begins the story of the return to the Hall. They do not differ greatly in length, a fact that suggests that the

dislocation of the story is due to an exchange of position of two units of measurement, pages or leaves, no doubt the former, since the misplaced matter is not enough to fill both pages of an ordinary folio. The difference in length is not more than is often found in surviving manuscripts, and even this disappears if another hypothesis, which will be discussed later, be accepted as plausible. As regards the method of exchange of two adjacent passages, the simplest explanation is the assumption that in some earlier manuscript of the work a leaf had become loose and was wrongly faced in rebinding. The possibility of such an accident calls for no proof, but it is an interesting fact that such proof is offered by the *Beowulf* that has reached us. In the manuscript of the Cotton Library a folio with the number 131 is found between 146 and 147, while a number is wanting between 130 and 132. The connection plainly shows that the present place is the right one, and it is clear that at the time of the numbering of the leaves this one was out of its proper order and in consequence received a wrong mark, but at a later date was restored to its place. The same is true of folio 197, which now stands between 188 and 189, while a number is lacking between 196 and 198, and here too the connection shows that the present position is the right one.

The result of such a displacement in a narrative poem like the *Beowulf* would be a disturbance in the order of events. Such a fault in the story of the Old English *Exodus* has recently been pointed out by Professor Napier,<sup>1</sup> who assumes the same cause that I have suggested for the *Beowulf* passage, except that he thinks that a sheet of two leaves was wrongly faced. But a break in the continuity of the story is not the only result and in fact is the one least likely to be noticed, as can easily be shown by the fact that no one had called attention to the disagreement of the *Exodus* with its source in the order of the events of the march. The failure to observe it is easily explained by the custom of the Old English poets of treating their sources with great freedom, omitting or adding details, and transposing them at will. Other results would certainly follow, which a copyist, even a very careless one, could hardly fail to notice. Unless each of the interchanged pages began and ended with a complete

<sup>1</sup> In *Modern Language Review*, VI, 2 (April, 1911). I owe to this note my explanation of the way in which the confusion in the *Beowulf* came about, though I had noticed the fault long before.

sentence, there would be also dislocation of sentence structure, faults of grammar, or more probably both, and in consequence faults in sense; in poetry, moreover, also faulty scansion and alliteration. These latter would be absent only when both pages began and ended with complete verses, and how rarely all disturbing conditions would be lacking can easily be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to examine an Old English manuscript (or a modern book in prose) and note the instances in which a leaf could be wrongly faced without producing some of the faults listed above. It is only rarely that a single case occurs; that three should occur in succession is an improbability so great that it can be expressed only by using the law of permutations and combinations. Even if a single case occurs, we have to reckon with the probability that the false juncture, though it may chance to cause no errors in grammar or meter, would be likely to destroy sense by coupling incongruous words or statements.

The wrong facing of the loose leaf was probably due to the binder, whose task did not call for a critical examination of the book to avoid faults of this kind and who perhaps from ignorance of writing was unable to detect them. But they would be apparent at once to a reader or a copyist, who would observe the errors, though in the absence of numbering or other indication of the order of the leaves he might easily fail to observe the cause. Postulating a manuscript with faults resulting from displacement put into the hands of a copyist who gave enough attention to his task to see the errors, we naturally inquire how he would treat them in his transcription. If he chanced to notice the misplacement of the leaf, it would be a simple matter to restore the order of the pages in copying and thus remove the faults. If he failed to notice it, he would no doubt do just what editors do now, change forms to correct the grammar, insert or omit words to right scansion or alliteration, put in matter of his own to bridge over gaps in connection, etc. That the copyists took on themselves the task of correctors, and even of revisers where there were no actual faults, is clear from a comparison of readings in the few cases where more than one copy has reached us. Moreover, as in the case of modern editors, it is not to be expected that the copyist's corrections would always be felicitous or that he would always make a smooth juncture in sense, though his knowledge of the language and his

familiarity with the meter might enable him to patch up the grammar and restore scansion and alliteration. There would remain ordinarily some marks that would indicate awkward correction, and which, though unnoticed at first or charged to lack of skill in the poet, would be plain when the fact of displacement was suspected. A close scrutiny of the passage in the *Beowulf* shows that at each of the three points of juncture difficulties are found, and that a part, at least, of the efforts of the copyist to correct the errors of the manuscript he was copying can be recognized.

The three places in which faults would occur as a result of a wrong facing of a leaf would be where a false juncture is made, to wit, where the verso of the misplaced leaf follows the verso of the preceding leaf, where the recto of the misplaced leaf follows its verso, and where the recto of the following leaf follows the recto of the misplaced leaf. These three places are fixed in the *Beowulf* passage by the shift of scene as follows: (a) between 1590 and 1591; (b) between 1605a and 1605b; (c) between 1617 and 1618. To point out the incongruities in these places is not difficult; to remedy them and restore the older form by showing the faults that the copyist left uncorrected and indicating the changes he made in his attempt to correct others calls for the same ingenuity that is needed in the emendation of faults from other causes. I offer the following discussion, therefore, only as further evidence, in addition to the confused order of events, of a misplacement of part of the story, and I do not feel sure that all my suggestions will be accepted without question; some of them are offered with much hesitation, though not without careful consideration. It is futile to assume that in such a case we can ever be sure of recovering the original words of the poet, and I am far from thinking that I have done more than point out what I think the poet might have written; even if my main thesis of a misplacement be accepted, I should never suggest that the transmitted text of the *Beowulf* be changed to conform to it.

We can best consider the faults caused by the displacement and the scribe's way of curing them by accompanying him through the passage. I assume that in making his copy he found at the bottom of the page next preceding the misplaced leaf the statement of 1588-90 that Beowulf struck Grendel with the giant sword, and at the top

of the next page the beginning of the account of what happened on the cliff while the fight beneath the water was going on, 1591 ff. Had the leaf been in its proper position the account of the effect of Grendel's blood on the blade would have followed, but the misplacement had put this at the top of the page overleaf. As this account begins with a half-verse, 1605*b*, the page that formerly stood directly before it must have ended with a half-verse, and the copyist, finding a full verse, 1591, after this, inserted 1590*b* to fill out the meter. The omission of a half-verse is one of the commonest faults in transmission; no doubt he assumed such a fault here and mended it with a half-verse of his own, just as editors do now. It is superfluous to point out the awkwardness of this insertion; every reader of the poem must have noticed it. But it filled the metrical gap, the fault most apparent, and the sudden shift to a new topic would not attract his attention, since he could not know until he had gone farther that the account of the fight was not yet completed.

After thus bridging the break in meter the copyist found no further trouble until he finished the page, originally the verso of the leaf. At the bottom stood the sentence which ends with 1605*a*. As understood by editors this sentence tells us that the Geats sat watching the sea without hope of seeing their lord again. As it stands in the transmitted text it can hardly mean anything else, but the difficulty of construing the words *wiston ond ne wendon* suggests that perhaps the restoration of the older order would make a different connection of thought and bring into it a different meaning. This will come up later; meanwhile it seems clear that the copyist gave to it the same meaning that commentators now give. On turning the leaf he found the statement about the melting of the sword, which begins with 1605*b*. As the text stands now there is no metrical fault, only the shift of scene back to the cave. But as this is the beginning of the recto of the leaf in the proper position, it must have followed 1590*a* originally and have had *h* as its alliterating letter, instead of *s* as now. The faulty alliteration was easily mended by putting *sweord* in place of some word with initial *h*, perhaps *hraðe* or *hringmæl* or some other poetical epithet of a sword. There are instances elsewhere of faulty alliteration due apparently to the substitution of a synonym for the alliterating word, and the scribe probably

assumed such a mistake here and made the needed correction. The alliteration was thus corrected, but the sense of the words *wiston ond ne wendon* has never been made out and it is possible that some change besides that in alliteration was made here to remedy a break in sense caused by the displacement. This will be considered later; it is enough here to say that the scribe, if he did make such an attempt, was quite as unsuccessful as in his mending of the first break.

The next difficulty was found at the beginning of the page that followed the misplaced leaf. As this followed 1615a before the misplacement, it began with a half-verse, which was now made to follow a full verse, and the copyist, as before, filled the apparent gap with a half-verse of his own, 1618a. This insertion was more skillfully made than the former one and standing alone does not by its character suggest its origin. But in the assumed older order, only a half-verse is possible, and this must be the second one. It will be noticed that 1618b fills out 1605a perfectly in sense as well as in alliteration.

The faults of meter and alliteration were thus mended, two of them fairly well, but the confusion in the order of events remains, and the copyist seems to have had more feeling for rhythm than for logical connection, for at each juncture there is a fault which he seems to have made no attempt to cure, and which is removed by restoring the older order. Thus 1591 begins with *sona*, and tells us that the water became turbid with blood directly after Beowulf struck off Grendel's head. To call attention to the fact that a dead body does not bleed would be mere quibbling in view of the statement that the blood of the dead Grendel was hot enough to melt the sword-blade, but it is quite pat to ask why the sea was not reddened earlier by the blood of Grendel's dam when her head was cut off. If we restore the older order, this will be implied, for the sentence beginning with 1591 will come after the story of the fight has been finished and the poet begins to tell what took place meanwhile on the cliff. In telling this he naturally goes back in time to the beginning of the fight. It was soon after this that the Danes saw the blood in the water and learned that a conflict was going on below. Which party was victorious could not be known, but they naturally supposed that Beowulf, if he had won, would at once return, and when he did not appear they



came to the conclusion that he had perished and that it was his blood that had stained the water. They, therefore, left for home, not expecting to see him again and not knowing that he was searching for Grendel in the cave and had thus delayed his return. In the older order, therefore, *sona* fits into the story perfectly, and the reddening of the sea is the result of the slaying of Grendel's mother, as we should expect.

A like fault is found at the second juncture. What is the sense of telling the reader that the Geats had no hope of seeing their lord again and adding "Then the sword melted"? In its proper place the melting of the blade follows the statement that Beowulf struck off Grendel's head with it, and *ða* has its usual force as a continuative adverb. At the third juncture there is no such fault as in the first two, for the copyist has made the union by means of a half-verse of his own which begins a new statement that has no connection with the preceding one. But it will be noticed that the restoration of the proper order makes a different connection and improves the meaning of the passage. As the text now stands, the relative clause that begins with 1618b is merely descriptive and serves only to suggest the unexpressed subject of the inserted statement *was on sunde*, but when the older order is restored this clause will refer to *winedrihten* in 1604 and will have a concessive force, the meaning conveyed being that the Geats had lost hope of seeing their lord again, though he had been the victor in all previous contests.

This explanation rests, of course, on the acceptance of *ne wendon* as the correct reading and the correction of *wiston* to *wiscton*, both of which appear necessary as the story stands in the manuscript; moreover, *gesawon* must be regarded as an optative. But if the displacement took place as here described, it seems to me more likely that *wiston* is right and that *ne* was put in by the copyist to mend the connection broken by the false juncture. If we strike out *ne* the natural sense will be "they knew and believed that they saw their lord, who had compassed the fall of his foes." But "they believed that they would see their lord" is inconsistent with the epithet "sick at heart" applied to the Geats just before, and the scribe by inserting *ne* on the supposition that it had been left out by error, removed the contradiction and made the passage mean "they did not expect

to see their lord again." As usual his change was no improvement, for we are now confronted with the problem of reconciling the contradiction in "they knew that they would see" and "they did not believe that they would see," and the last state of the sentence is worse than the first. But if we restore the older order, omit *ne* as an addition of the copyist, and treat *gesawon* as an indicative, which it is in form, the story runs thus: "The visitors were sitting sick at heart and gazing on the sea; [then] they knew and believed that they had caught sight of their lord, who had compassed the fall of his foes; he was coming up through the water. He came stoutly swimming to land, etc." This interpretation does not remove the "hysteron proteron" in *wiston ond wendon*, to be sure, but one can hardly object to a peculiarity of rhetoric so common that it has been presented with a Greek name, and which does not seem to have seriously offended the commentators on the present text. If, however, anyone is insistent on chronological accuracy, he may credit the order here to the copyist, and assume that he turned *wendon ond wiston* into *wiston ond ne wendon* to bring the second negated verb into closer connection with the following clause. Naturally as Beowulf came up through the water, his followers thought that they saw him before they were sure of it, but it does not follow that the literary sense of the author of the poem compelled him to mention the thinking before the knowing.

At the third juncture, moreover, there is a fault, which may perhaps be connected with the wrong facing of the leaf but more probably is an independent error and may be assigned to the present manuscript quite as well as to an earlier one. As the story now stands the return of Beowulf to the cliff begins with 1619 but is interrupted by three verses that tell us that the sea was now cleared of the monsters, after which the account of the return to land is resumed. But the statement that the waters were cleansed belongs with the story of the fight, to which it forms a fitting close. A similar statement that Hrothgar's hall was cleansed closes the story of the fight with Grendel, 825 ff. If we suppose that the three verses were omitted and afterward inserted in the wrong place, and place them after 1617, we shall increase the matter on the recto of the leaf to fifteen and a half verses, thus making it more nearly equal to

the verso, which contained fourteen and a half. Even the slight difference that remains disappears if we assume that the scribe began a new canto with 1591, where the scene shifts from cave to cliff. This would require an extra line of space, and render the pages exactly equal. Neither the transposition nor the new canto is necessary, for the difference in the length of the assumed pages is not enough to be important, but they have a bearing on the question of displacement in another way. It will be noticed that in the discussion of the dislocation of grammar and meter, I have assumed that each page began and ended either with a half-verse or with a whole one, a circumstance not likely to occur three times in succession, but the assumption is based on the fact that the shift of scene occurs at these points of division in our present manuscript. Now if a new canto was made by the scribe on turning the leaf and beginning a new topic, this would account for the page division falling between full verses in the older order and therefore for the occurrence of two full verses at two of the false junctures after displacement. That each of these was joined to a half-verse as assumed is by no means certain, for the scribe may have found it necessary to add or omit words to mend the scansion, not simply to insert a half-verse of his own, but if such was the case it would not be easy to detect such changes now. In the third instance, where two half-verses are brought together, the restoration of the older order makes so satisfactory a junction that we are justified in thinking that no change was made for metrical reasons, but, as I have shown above, there is good reason for thinking that the copyist made an unsuccessful effort to improve the sense by inserting *ne*.

To enable the reader more easily to test the theory of a displacement I print the passage in the form in which, as I assume, it stood before the reversal of the leaf. My one conjecture made for the sake of alliteration is indicated by the use of italics; other errors having no bearing on the matter here treated and probably belonging to the present manuscript, have been corrected by editors already, and their readings have been followed without any indication of a change. I add, moreover, a free version of the story to show the way in which, as I assume, the poet told it. I supplement this by giving a copy of the passages at the false junctures made by the displacement in the

form in which I assume that the copyist found them; the present editions will show how he left them. A space indicates the beginning of a new page.

### *Beowulf* 1588b–1625 IN THE ASSUMED OLDER ORDER

1588b                      Hra wide sprong,  
syððan he æfter deaðe      drepe þrowade,  
heorosweng heardne.

Recto 1605b  
of leaf later  
misplaced

Da hringmæl ongan  
hildegicelum  
æfter heafoswate  
wigbil wanian; þæt wæs wundra sum  
þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost,  
ðonne forstes bend fæder onlæteð,  
onwindeð wælrapas, se gewæld hafað  
sæla and mæla, þæt is soð metod.  
Ne nom he in þæm wicum, Wedergeata leod,  
mæðmæhta ma, þeh he þær monige geseah,  
buton þone hafelan ond þa hilt somod  
since fage; sweord ær gemealt,  
forbarn broden mæl, wæs þæt blod to þæs hat,  
ættren ellorgæst, se þær inne swealt.  
1620 Wæron yðgeblond eal gefælsod,  
eacne eardas, þa se ellorgast  
oflet lifdagas ond þas lænan gesceaft.

Version of 1591  
leaf later  
misplaced

SONA þæt gesawon      snottre ceorlas  
    þa ðe mid Hroðgare      on holm wliton,  
    þæt was yðgeblond      eal gemenged,  
brim blode fah.      Blondenfeaxe,  
gomele ymb godne,      on geador spræcon  
    þæt hig þæs æðelinges      eft ne wendon,  
    þæt he sigehreðig      secean come  
mærne peoden,      þa þæs monige gewearð,  
    þæt hine seo brimwylf      abroten hæfde.  
    Ða com non dæges;      næs ofgeafon  
hwate Scyldingas,      gewat him ham þonon  
goldwine gumena.      Gistas setan  
modes seoce      ond on mere stæredon;  
wiston ond wendon      þæt hie heora winedrihten  
selfne gesawon,

**1618b**

wighryre wraðra; Com þa to lande swiðmod swimman, mægenbyrþenne,	se þe ær æt sæcce gebad wæter up þurhdeaf. lidmanna helm sælce gefeah, þara þe he mid him hæfde.
---------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

## THE FALSE JUNCTURES AS FOUND BY THE COPYIST

The perpendicular lines show the division of the pages

- (a)                               Hra wide sprong  
 syððan he æfter deaðe       drepe þrowade  
 heorosweng heardne ||  
 sona þæt gesawon       snottre ceorlas  
 . . . . .
- (b)                               gistas setan  
 modes seoce       ond on mere stædon  
 wiston ond wendon       þæt hie heora winedrihten  
 selfne gesawon ||       ða hringmæl ongan  
 æfter heaþoswate       hildegicelum  
 wigbil wanian. . . . .
- (c)                               þa se ellorgæst  
 oflet lifdagas       ond þas lænan gesceaft  
 || se þe ær æt sæcce gebad  
 wighryre wraðra       wæter up þurhdeaf  
 . . . . .

## THE STORY IN ITS OLDER FORM

After Beowulf had succeeded in the fight with Grendel's mother and had slain her with the giant sword, he searched the den for Grendel and finding him lying on a couch, smote off his head. Then the blade of the sword began to melt from the heat of the monster's blood, as ice melts in the spring when the fetters of the frost are broken. The hero kept the hilt and took with him also Grendel's head, but brought back only these trophies, though there was much treasure in the cave.

Meanwhile on the cliff Hrothgar and his men had soon observed that a fight was going on below the waters, for the sea was stained with blood. They waited for some time, but as Beowulf did not appear the Danes returned home, convinced that he had perished. But Beowulf was looking for Grendel in the cave and had delayed his return. His own men had remained longer and were sitting, sick at heart, and gazing on the sea. Then they thought and soon knew that they had caught sight of their lord, who had compassed the death of his foes and was coming up through the water. He came swimming stoutly to land, joyfully bringing the proof of his success in the form of Grendel's head. His followers met him with thanks to God for his safety and exultantly escorted him back to Hrothgar's court.

As was said in the beginning, the purpose of this paper is not simply to point out the probability of a displacement in the passage under discussion, but also to discuss the effect on the grammar and meter of a displacement caused by the wrong facing of a leaf, and the way in which a copyist would try to remove it. The displacement of a single verse or a short passage has been observed in many places

and in some of them editors have been bold enough to restore them to their places, but the cause of the displacement is generally assumed to be an accidental omission and later insertion in the wrong place. The wrong facing of a loose leaf can be assumed only when the passage is of sufficient length to fill at least a page and when it is separated from its right position by a passage of approximately equal length. Moreover, in the case of a short passage it is not likely that the dislocation of grammar and meter would occur; the copyist who inserted it in the wrong place would avoid such faults for the same reason that he would correct such, if he found them in his copy.

It is quite possible that there are other passages in Old English poetry that have undergone transposition in the way here described. Besides the passage in the *Exodus* treated by Professor Napier, I have noticed one other, which furnishes the conditions required for such an explanation. In Cynewulf's *Ascension*, vss. 118-46 (*Christ* 558-85), we have a passage of twenty-seven verses that should properly follow vs. 87 (*Christ* 526). The passage immediately preceding contains thirty-one verses; the two are therefore only slightly unequal and the transposition, if such be assumed, can be explained in the same way as those in the *Beowulf* and the *Exodus*. It is noticeable, however, that Professor Napier says nothing of faults in structure, grammar, or meter, such as would certainly follow an exchange of pages, and no such faults are apparent to the reader of the *Ascension*; the transposition is assumed only because of the faulty order of events or a break in the connection of the thought. This need not trouble us, however; we have seen the attempts of the copyist of the *Beowulf* passage to mend these errors, and it is quite possible that the copyists of the other passages were skilful enough to restore sense and meter so well that we cannot now detect the faults, though the broken connection remains and is good evidence of the transposition. In view of the success of certain editors in their attempts to give sense to mangled passages in the *Beowulf* and elsewhere, we can hardly refuse to assign equal skill to some of the old copyists. To the copyist of the *Beowulf*, however, I feel that I owe the acknowledgment of a personal obligation for his bungling work, since it has supplied me with arguments for use in this discussion.

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## LORDINGE (*alias* "LODOWICK") BARRY

Of the Elizabethan playwright, Barry, little has been recorded. His name appears on the title-page of *Ram-Alley* (1611), and he is mentioned by Anthony à Wood, and in the manuscript of Coxeter. The two latter references, however, have been hitherto regarded as highly puzzling. For example, the *Dictionary of National Biography* begins its short notice of Barry thus: "(17th century), dramatist strangely miscalled by Anthony à Wood, and in the manuscript of Coxeter, Lord Barry"; Thomas Whincop, in his *List of Dramatic Authors* (1747), says: "A Gentleman of an ancient Family in Ireland, but not a Lord, as Mr. *Anthony Wood* is pleased to call him"; Isaac Reed, in *Biographia Dramatica* (1782), says: "What this Gentleman's rank in life was seems somewhat difficult to determine. The writers on dramatic subjects, viz., Langbaine, Jacob, Gildon, Whincop, etc., stiling him only Mr. Lodowick Barry; whereas Anth. Wood, in his *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I, p. 629, calls him Lodowick Lord Barry,<sup>1</sup> which title Coxeter in his MS has also bestowed on him. This is, however, positively denied by Whincop, p. 91";<sup>2</sup> and in the Introduction to *Ram-Alley* in Dodsley's *Old Plays* (Reed, Vol. V, Collier, Vol. V, Hazlitt, Vol. X) we read: "Lodowick Barry is said to have been a gentleman of Irish birth, and Anthony Wood is pleased to compliment him with the title of Lord, which is very probably a mistake."

In this paper I shall attempt to explain the seemingly absurd references in Wood and in Coxeter; to restore to Barry his true Christian name ("Lordinge," not "Lodowick"); and, finally, to direct attention to an interesting chapter in his dramatic career.

At the outset let us observe the title-page of his play: "*Ram-Alley: Or Merrie-Trickes. A Comedy Diuers times here-to-fore acted. By the Children of the Kings Reuels. Written by Lo: Barrey. At London . . . . 1611.*" In subsequent editions of the play, 1636 and 1639, this title-page was not altered.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is not exactly true, for Wood did not use the word "Lodowick" at all.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated verbatim by Stephen Jones, *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812.

<sup>3</sup> See Greg, *A List of English Plays*. Lowndes mentions an edition of 1635, which

The author, it will be observed, is called "Lo: Barrey." Yet every modern writer on the drama confidently refers to him as "Lodowick" Barry. So far as I can discover, the first person to expand the abbreviation "Lo:" into "Lodowick" was Langbaine, in *The English Dramatick Poets* (1691). The accuracy of this expansion, however, may be suspected, for Langbaine could tell nothing of Barry save what might be gathered from the title-page: "An Author that liv'd in the middle of the Reign of King *James* the First: who writ a play call'd *Ram-Alley*." Now, the customary abbreviation for Lodowick was "Lod."; the abbreviation "Lo." is quite indefinite; and in view of the apparent ignorance of Langbaine, the expansion of the letters into "Lodowick" may be considered as open to reasonable doubt.

The play, it will be observed, was performed by the Children of the King's Revels. This troupe, which existed only from 1607 to 1609,<sup>1</sup> acted at the Whitefriars Playhouse. Fortunately we know something of their history; enough, I hope, to enable us to identify the author of *Ram-Alley*. In the *Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society*, 1887-92, Mr. James Greenstreet has printed an interesting chancery suit concerning the children and their owners. From these documents we discover that one of the prime movers in organising and managing the troupe was "one Lordinge Barry"; and from his conduct we are led to believe that he was also, to a certain extent, experienced in dramatic affairs. Associated with him in the enterprise were Michael Drayton, the poet, John Mason, the author of *The Turke* (like *Ram-Alley*, acted by the Children, printed in 1610),<sup>2</sup> Martin Slater, who figures conspicuously in Henslowe's *Diary*, and several other "gentlemen, of London." The venture proved unfortunate, the troupe disbanded in 1609, and shortly after, 1609-11, the plays owned by the company were printed.<sup>3</sup>

There can be little doubt that Lordinge Barry, sharer and part manager of the Whitefriars Playhouse, was the "Lo: Barrey" of the sold at the Rhodes's sale for 2s.; but the date, 1635, was probably an error for 1636 or 1639.

<sup>1</sup> Probably from the autumn of 1607 to the spring of 1609.

<sup>2</sup> An edition of this play, with an Introduction and Notes by the present writer, is now in the hands of the printers.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of these see F. G. Fleay, *History of the Stage*, p. 188; and *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, 329.



title-page of *Ram-Alley*, and the "Lord Barry" of Anthony à Wood and the manuscript of Coxeter. In the two latter cases, apparently, "Lord" was intended as an abbreviation for "Lordinge";<sup>1</sup> or, as in the case of many of the Elizabethan playwrights and actors, Barry may have been good-naturedly dubbed by his fellows with a nickname—"Lord" Barry. And the abbreviation on the title-page may be similarly explained, for "Lo." was used in the seventeenth century as an abbreviation for "Lord"; the *New English Dictionary* (*s.v.* "Lo.") quotes from the *True Declaration of Virginia* (1610): "That noble Gouvernour, the Lo. Laware."<sup>2</sup>

The legal documents to which I have referred throw considerable light on Barry in his relations to the drama. To indicate the nature of these relations I quote here the opening part of the suit, stripped somewhat of its legal verbiage:

George Androwes, of London, silkeweaver, [complains] That whereas one Lordinge Barry, about february, 1607, pretending to be lawfully possessed of one moitie of the late dissolved monastery called the Whitefriars, in fleete streete, vnder a lease from the right honorable Robert, lord Buckhurst, vnto one Michaell Drayton and Thomas Woodford for the tearme of sixe yeares eight monthes and twentie dayes, for the yearely rent of fiftie pounds, The moitie of which lease by meane assignment from Thomas Woodford was lawfully settled in the said Lordinge Barry, togeather with the moitie of divers plaie books, apparrell and other furnitures vsed [by] the Children of the revells in settinge fourth playes; and the said Lordinge Barry, being desirous to ioyne others with him in the interest of the same, who might be contributorie to such future changes as should arrise in settinge fourth of playes there, and sharers in the gaine to be made thereof, did there vpon, by himself, and by the meanes of one Martyn Slaiter, cittizen and iron-monger of London, and other his confederates, sollicite and perswade your orator to take from the said Barry an assignement of a sixth parte of the premisses and profitts aforesaid, alleadinge the great benefit that would redound vnto your orator by meanes thereof . . . your orator was most notably abused and drawne into a good opinion thereof, and did accepte of the said bargaine, and went through with Barry for the purchase of a sixth parte thereof, and accepted an assignement from the said Barry of a sixth parte of the said lease.

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered, too, that "lording" was a variant for "lord."

<sup>2</sup> Further examples may be found in reprints of early manuscripts. I quote from the Privy Council Register, *Malone Society Collections*, I, 378; "Lo: Arch B: pp of Cant. Lo: Trear. Lo: President. Lo: Steward. Lo: V: Wallingford. Lo: Carewe. Lo: Chichester."

For the subsequent history of this ill-starred theatrical venture I must refer the reader to Mr. Greenstreet's article. Perhaps the pecuniary distresses indicated by the suit led Barry into other fields of endeavor; at all events we do not again hear of him in connection with the drama.

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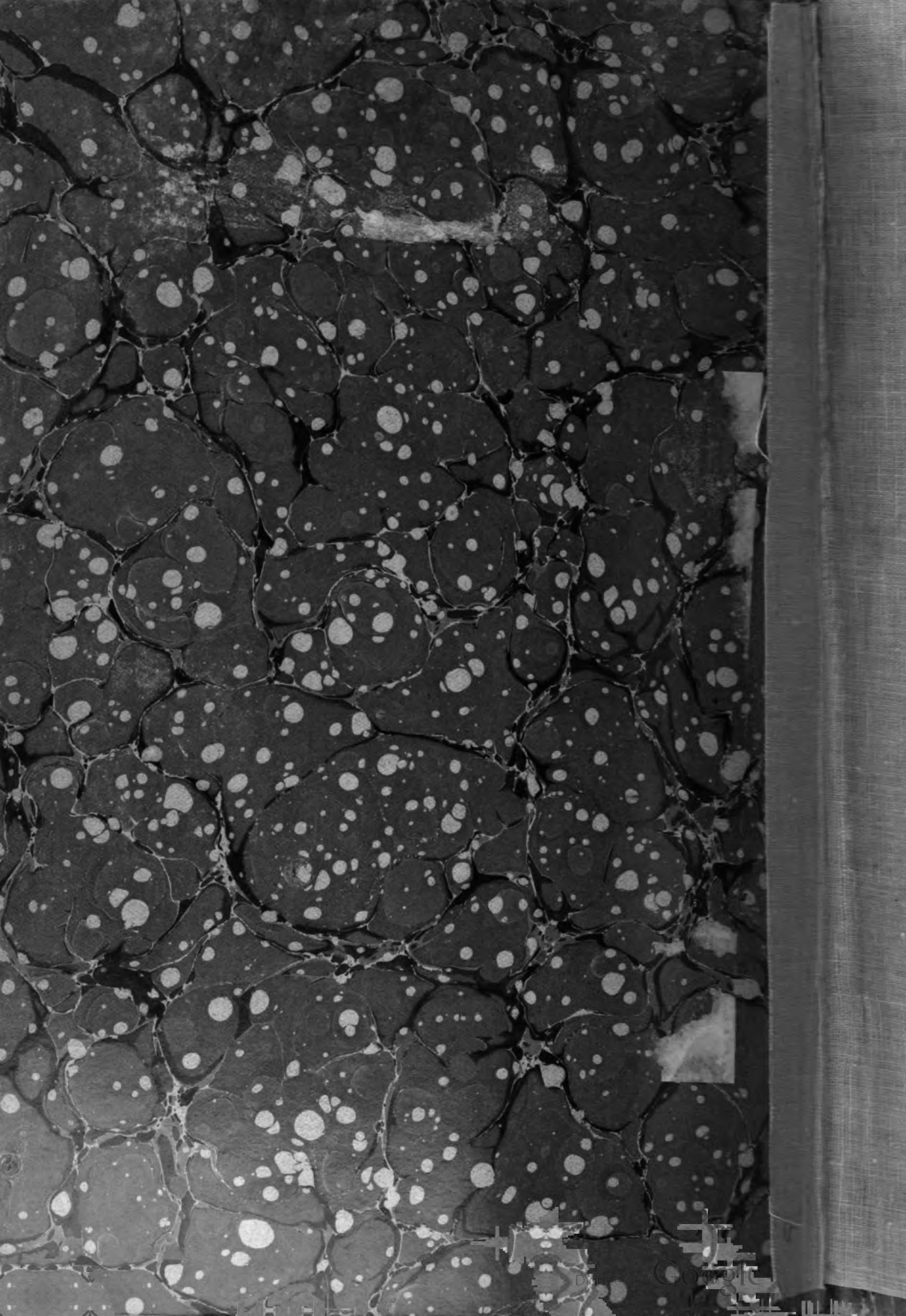














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